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# A COMPANION TO LATIN GREECE

*Edited by*

NICKIPHOROS I. TSOUGARAKIS

AND PETER LOCK

BRILL

A Companion to Latin Greece

# Brill's Companions to European History

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Nickiphoros I. Tsougarakis and Peter Lock

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*Cover illustration*: The exonarthex of the Byzantine monastery of Daphni, rebuilt by the Cistercians. Photograph courtesy of the 1st Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sport—General Directorate of Antiquities.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A companion to Latin Greece / edited by Nickiphoros I. Tsougarakis and Peter Lock.
pages cm. — (Brill's companions to European history, ISSN 2212-7410 ; volume 6)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-90-04-28402-9 (hardback : alk. paper) — ISBN 978-90-04-28410-4 (e-book) 1. Greece—History—323–1453. 2. Latin Empire, 1204–1261. 3. Greece—Civilization—Roman influences. I. Tsougarakis, Nickiphoros I., editor. II. Lock, Peter, 1949– editor.

DF611.C65 2014
949.5'04—dc23

2014035132

This publication has been typeset in the multilingual "Brill" typeface. With over 5,100 characters covering Latin, IPA, Greek, and Cyrillic, this typeface is especially suitable for use in the humanities.
For more information, please see www.brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 2212-7410
ISBN 978-90-04-28402-9 (hardback)
ISBN 978-90-04-28410-4 (e-book)

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This book is printed on acid-free paper.

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# Note on Rendition of Proper Names and Transliteration

We have tried, as far as possible, to use the forms of proper names most familiar to an English-speaking audience, even at the expense of consistency. In the case of western rulers and other widely-known persons, these are usually the anglicised versions of their names, for example, William de Villehardouin (rather than Guillaume de Villehardouin). We have used the non-anglicised versions in the cases where these are so well-established that it would be pedantic not to. The same consideration has been used with regards to Greek names. The names of very famous people, such as emperors, appear in their most familiar i.e. anglicised form. Transliteration of Greek names generally follows the Greek, rather than the Latin spelling; thus, Palaiologos (rather than Palaeologus) and Komnenos (rather than Comnenus), except, once again, for cases where a different spelling is particularly well-established. In the case of Greek place-names we have opted again for the most familiar version, even at the expense of consistency; thus, for example Macedonia (rather than Makedonia), Achaea (rather than Achaia), Naupactus (rather than Nafpaktos).

The dedications of Greek churches appear in their English forms, where a direct and obvious correspondence exists, for example St George (rather than Hagios Georgios). Where the connection is less obvious, we have given the Greek form, for example Hagioi Tessarakonta.

CHAPTER 1

# The Latins in Greece: A Brief Introduction

*Nickiphoros I. Tsougarakis*

The Fourth Crusade and the sack of Constantinople by the crusaders cast a long shadow on Greece's subsequent history and on relations between Greeks and western Europeans down to the present day. Pope John Paul II's apology to the Orthodox for the events of the crusade, in 2001, and the satisfaction with which it was received by certain sections of the clergy and of wider Greek society serves to illustrate, if not the actual impact of the events themselves, at least popular perceptions of the events in Greece and the West as well as the use made of these events in 20th-century historiography. Today, the relations of the medieval western world with the Greek/Byzantine East may be more relevant than ever. The Eurozone crisis of the early 2010s has been accompanied by the re-emergence in segments of the press and society (both Greek and western European) of negative national stereotypes emphasising the differences between Greek and western-European culture and questioning whether a union between the two is viable or indeed desirable.

The terms 'Latin Greece', which features in the title of this volume, and 'medieval Greece', which also features in the book, may require some explanation. Here, they are used as shorthand to refer to the Latin polities that were founded on Byzantine lands in the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade. They can be taken therefore as rough synonyms for the political entity known as the Latin Empire of Constantinople or Romania, as it was more commonly called by Latin contemporaries. These polities were the product of conquest. Even before the conquest of Constantinople was achieved on 12 April 1204, the crusading army, comprised of Frankish knights and Venetians, had inadvertently laid the foundations of the new empire by agreeing on a pact, aimed at safeguarding the interests of the participants in the expedition in the event of the siege's success. Following the city's capture and the installation of a Frankish knight, Baldwin of Flanders, in the throne of Constantine, the crusaders set about partitioning the Byzantine Empire amongst themselves. This was a daunting task not only militarily, but administratively as well, for the conquerors first had to determine what lands and resources were there for the taking and how they might be equitably divided. In the event, both the theoretical division and the conquest of the new lands were achieved rapidly if somewhat haphazardly. Out of this process a number of Latin crusader polities emerged,

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which either owed allegiance to the emperor at Constantinople but were in practice governed independently, or, as was the case with Crete, were ruled as colonial appendages of western European powers.

The first such state to be founded was also the shortest-lived one: Boniface of Montferrat, who had led the Fourth Crusade and had hoped to be elected emperor, conquered much of northern Greece and founded what would later be known as the Kingdom of Thessalonica. The suzerainty of Constantinople over the kingdom was implicitly acknowledged when, in 1209, Emperor Henry crowned Boniface's orphaned son Demetrios as first king of Thessalonica. The kingdom's fall to the Greeks of Epirus in 1224 was a stark reminder to the West of the precariousness of the new empire's position.

Faced only with sporadic resistance, Frankish contingents of knights carried the expansion southwards, eventually founding the lordship (later duchy) of Athens and Thebes, the counties of Boudonitsa and Salona, in central Greece and the Frankish state *par excellence* in the Aegean, the Principality of Achaea, in the Peloponnese. The new lords of these territories were the vassals of the emperor of Constantinople. The conquest progressed at an equally rapid pace in the islands. Euboea (called Negroponte by the Latins), in Latin hands since 1204, was assigned by Boniface of Montferrat to three Lombard nobles, known as triarchs, each ruling a third of the island. Between 1209 and 1216 the entirety of the island had come under the control of a single one of these lords, Ravano dalle Carceri, who placed himself under the suzerainty of Venice. Thereafter, the island occupied a peculiar position whereby it technically owed allegiance to the empire but was in all but name a Venetian appendage, ruled by the *Serenissima*. Venetian subjects, led by Marco Sanudo, also embarked on the conquest of the Aegean islands and the establishment of the Duchy of the Archipelago, with its "capital" at the island of Naxos. The establishment of the Venetian nobility in the Aegean islands, again, meant that while technically the islands were held of the emperor (and of the prince of Achaea after 1248), their rulers had to balance their own interests and those of their suzerains against those of their motherland.[1] Venice's most important domain however, was the island of Crete. Realising Crete's advantageous position, Venice conquered the island and began a well-planned colonisation campaign in 1211. Though conquered as a direct result of the Fourth Crusade, Crete was not part of the Latin Empire and was subsequently ruled as a dependence of Venice, by colonial authorities appointed from the metropolis. Venice's acquisition of

1 For an examination of this balancing act, see Marina Koumanoudi, "The Latins in the Aegean after 1204: Interdependence and Interwoven Interests", in *Urbs Capta: the Fourth Crusade and its Consequences*, ed. Angeliki Laiou (Paris, 2005), pp. 247–65.

Crete, along with the Peloponnesian harbour-towns of Modon and Coron, were instrumental in ensuring her mastery of the Eastern Mediterranean throughout the Late Middle Ages.

Other Latin polities in Greece were created as an indirect result of the crusade. Genoa, who had been excluded from the whole enterprise, managed to re-establish a presence by allying herself with the Greeks of Nicaea in 1261 and being rewarded with trade privileges and quarters in the capital and other coastal areas after Michael VIII's reconquest of Constantinople. In 1304 the Genoese Benedetto Zaccaria managed to take the island of Chios, which was thereafter controlled by Genoese agents until 1566 (except for the period 1329–46, during which it reverted to Byzantine control). At the start of the 14th century the Knights Hospitaller, now expelled from the Holy Land, also embarked on the conquest of an island base in the Aegean. By 1309, they had conquered Rhodes, where they moved their headquarters, and proceeded to establish their authority over the rest of the Dodecanese. The islands of the Ionian Sea had known Latin rule even before the Fourth Crusade, having been captured by William II of Sicily in 1185. At the time of the crusade, Cephalonia, Zakynthos (Zante) and Lefkada (Santa Maura) were ruled by the Orsini family, under the title of Counts Palatine. Corfu, which was awarded by the Partition Treaty to Venice, was leased to ten Venetian nobles, who only managed to hold on to it until 1214, at which time it was taken over by the Greeks of Epirus.

The newly established polities had to contend with the indigenous populations and with the remnants of the previous regime. Indigenous resistance was haphazard at best, but certain local magnates, such as Leo Sgouros (d. 1208) managed to at least put up a fight. The town of Monemvasia, in the Peloponnese, was exceptional in managing to withstand the Franks until 1248. Much more formidable, during the years of the conquest was the opposition of the Bulgarians under their leader Kalojan. His resistance to Latin expansion in the Balkans led not only to the capture and death of Emperor Baldwin in 1205 and to the death of Boniface of Montferrat in 1207, but also to the relinquishing of substantial crusader gains in Thrace. Kalojan's own death in October 1208 was a blessing for the nascent Latin Empire. Though resistance at a local level remained limited among the Greeks, three rival Greek states emerged as successors of the Byzantine Empire, the so-called Empire of Trebizond, the Empire of Nicaea and the Despotate of Epirus. The first of these remained peripheral to the political developments of Latin Greece, but the other two posed enormous threats to the emergent Latin states. Throughout the first half of the 13th century the rulers of Epirus put the Latin rulers of northern and central Greece under incessant pressure culminating in the capture of Thessalonica in 1224. The threat from Epirus subsided in subsequent decades

as the Epirote rulers were forced into alliances with the Franks, hoping to counter the rising power of their Nicaean rivals. It was indeed the emperors of Nicaea who succeeded in recapturing Constantinople in 1261, thus reviving the Byzantine Empire. A warning shot had been fired two years earlier, when the Nicaeans had defeated the combined Epirote and Frankish forces at the battle of Pelagonia, capturing the Prince of Achaea, William II de Villehardouin in the process. Though the Greek recapture of Constantinople brought an effective end to the Latin Empire, the demise of this political entity was not formally acknowledged in the West and titular Latin emperors continued to lay claim to the Constantinopolitan throne for more than a century. The revival of the Byzantine Empire at Constantinople coincided with a resurgence of the Greeks in the Peloponnese; having re-established bases in Maina, Monemvasia and Mistra, from the 1260s onwards the Byzantines made significant inroads against the Franks of the Morea.

The ability of the Latins to secure their possessions in Greece was severely hampered by their inability to maintain peace among themselves. In 1255 a serious war broke out between the Prince of Achaea (William II de Villehardouin) and the Lord of Athens (Guy de la Roche), over William's attempts to extend his overlordship to the island of Negroponte. The prince won the war, after defeating his opponents at the battle of Karydi in 1258, but his success was short-lived, for, as we have seen, in the next year he was captured by the Nicaeans after a disastrous defeat at Pelagonia. The Italians of Greece were even less amenable to peaceful co-existence: the Veneto-Genoese rivalry was transferred to, and intensified in the Aegean, once the Genoese managed to get a foothold in the region. Four wars were fought between the two cities, culminating in the catastrophic war of Chioggia (1258–70; 1294–99; 1350–51 and 1375–81).

The loss of Constantinople and the declining fortunes of the Franks in the Morea proved that the Frankish states were incapable of surviving as independent entities. At Viterbo in 1267 William II signed a treaty with Charles of Anjou (brother of the French king Louis IX and newly-crowned king of Naples and Sicily) recognising him as his sovereign and ceding the principality to the Angevins following his own death. For Charles, who entertained serious hopes of seizing the throne of Constantinople, the acquisition of the Morea was a stepping stone in his campaign against the Byzantine Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos. Along with the Peloponnese, Charles also acquired Corfu, which had been briefly held by Manfred of Sicily whom Charles defeated, dispossessed and executed after the battle of Benevento in 1266. Corfu was formally surrendered to Charles in 1272, starting the period of Angevin domination of the island, which would last until 1386. The death of Prince William in 1278 ushered in a new era for Frankish Morea, during which the principality would

be ruled by representatives of the Angevins. Though the annexation of the principality ensured that assistance from the West would be forthcoming, it also meant that the fortunes of the Peloponnese would be subsumed in the broader politics and ambitions of the Angevins and be ruled by delegates in the name of absentee princes.

For a brief period, the Franks of Athens and Thebes could revel in the knowledge that theirs was the only surviving independent Frankish crusader state in Greece, whose lords could still trace their lineage back to the conquest. In the 14th century, however, all this was about to change. In 1311, a group of Catalan adventurers known as the Catalan Grand Company, who had previously served as mercenaries for the Byzantine Emperor Andronikos II but had since fallen out with him, arrived at the duchy after having terrorised Asia Minor and most of mainland Greece. In a pitched battle at Halmyros they annihilated the Burgundian knights and took over Athens, with most of central Greece soon to follow. That once in Athens the Catalans abandoned their nomadic lifestyle of recent years in favour of settlement and state-building made little difference to the other Latin states of Greece. Their violent establishment and continued aggression earned them the hostility of the Franks and repeated sentences of excommunication from the papacy. The Venetians were also wary, fearing that the Catalans would put an end to the Venetian trade monopoly in the Aegean. In an effort to legitimise their conquests the Catalans of Athens recognised the Aragonese kings of Sicily as their suzerains. Thereafter, the title of Duke of Athens passed to members of the Aragonese royal family, while the duchy was governed through vicars (much like the Principality of Achaea after the Angevin cession). The suzerainty of the Aragonese of Sicily, though it might have provided the Catalans with a powerful patron, did little to improve relations with the Angevin-dominated Morea, and in fact further embroiled the Latin polities of Greece in the rivalries and disputes of western Europe.

The Catalans burst into medieval Greece in spectacular manner, but their domination of Athens and Thebes ended with a whimper rather than a bang. Moreover, the hardened soldiers of fortune were replaced by the unlikeliest of conquerors—a branch of the cultured and urbane Acciaiuoli family of Florence. The Acciaiuoli had first acquired claims to territories in the Peloponnese as payment for funding Angevin expeditions in the Morea in the 1320s, and in subsequent decades had expanded these claims through bequests and purchase. Throughout the 1370s and '80s Nerio Acciaiuoli extended his domains by conquest into the Duchy of Athens, ousting the Catalans from Athens and the newly-installed Navarrese adventurers from Thebes in 1388. The dynasty that he established ruled the Duchy of Athens and Thebes until its fall to the Ottomans.

The 14th century also witnessed the beginning of the Turkish ascendency both in mainland Greece (where Turkish mercenaries were employed by the Catalans) and in the islands which were increasingly faced with Turkish raids. Meanwhile the Byzantines of Mistra continued to inflict heavy losses on the Angevins of the Morea. Through all this, only Venice, among the western powers managed not only to hold on to her domains but to expand them and prosper. The process had not been easy: throughout the 13th century the colony of Crete had been threatened by a series of uprisings by local Greek magnates fighting to recover the privileges they had lost with the Venetian conquest. An even greater threat emerged in 1363, when certain Venetian feudatories rebelled on account of a taxation dispute, appeased the Greeks and declared the island an independent kingdom. Through the combination of brutal force and compromise, the Venetians managed to put down all these rebellions and establish in Crete (and its capital Candia in particular) a well-run bureaucratic regime modelled on Venice's own and powered by the lucrative commerce of the Eastern Mediterranean. By the early 14th century, there were no longer any pretensions that Negroponte was anything but Venetian and by 1386 Venice also annexed the Angevin island of Corfu at the request of the local population. The willing surrender of territories to the Venetians would be repeated time and again, as local populations realised that the *Serenissima* was the only power strong enough to resist the Turks. The Knights Hospitaller were also faced with similar responsibilities to protect the beleaguered Latin domains. In 1376 they leased the Principality of Achaea from Joanna, Queen of Naples and Princess of the Morea, for five years and tried to organise a counter-offensive with the help of Navarrese mercenaries. Though these campaigns met with some success, they also resulted in the introduction of a new faction with its own territorial ambitions in Latin Greece.

If the 14th century was an age of flux and decline for the Latins of Greece, the 15th was one of panic and collapse. Even under the mounting pressure of the Turks, the Latins of Greece were unable to put up a united front. The Acciaiuoli of Athens fought against the Venetians of Negroponte and eventually became clients of the Sultan in order to defend their claims. In the Peloponnese, the tiny remnants of the principality were passed on from the Navarrese to a branch of the Genoese Zaccaria family and in 1430 to the Byzantines of Mistra, not through conquest, but through marriage. The fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans in 1453 was understood by all, not just those present in Greece, to prefigure Turkish expansion into Europe. By 1460 almost all of mainland Greece was under the control of Mehmed II, with the exception of Modon and Coron and several other fortresses that had come under the protection of Venice. The Venetians, usually pragmatic and reluctant to

antagonise the Turks, spent most of the 1460s campaigning for a new crusade to stave off the Ottoman onslaught. The western powers, however, remained non-committal and when war came Venice could only rely on her Hungarian and Albanian allies, who were as threatened by the Turks as her own colonies. The first Ottoman-Venetian war (1463–79) was a disaster for Venice, who was forced to relinquish most of her possessions in Greece. The most traumatic loss was the island of Negroponte, which fell despite putting up heroic resistance. The brutality of the sack and the wholesale slaughter of the city's population shocked European public opinion. Despite the losses Venice held on to Modon and Coron (until 1500), Monemvasia, Navarino and Nauplion (until 1540), and Lepanto (until 1499). She also managed to claim through treaty the Ionian Islands, which the Turks had seized from the Counts Palatine, and hold them, along with Corfu, until the dissolution of the Venetian Republic in 1797. More importantly, she retained her most significant possession, the island of Crete, until 1669. With the Venetians forced into a treaty, Mehmed was free to turn his attention to the Knights Hospitaller, who, since their installation on Rhodes had been the most aggressive of the Christian powers, albeit through small-scale piratical attacks. In the summer of 1480 the town of Rhodes suffered a horrific siege, but somehow the Hospitaller, mercenary and Greek defenders managed to overcome the overwhelming numerical superiority of the Turks and retain the island. The victory was widely publicised in the West, but there was little cause for celebration: with Latin and Greek resistance gone, a Turkish fleet was able to sack Otranto in the same summer. Moreover, though the Hospitallers had won an important victory, it must have been clear to contemporaries that their days in the Eastern Mediterranean were now numbered. Undoubtedly, one of the most unsavoury aspects of this phase of Latin domination of Greece is the unwillingness of the Venetians and Hospitallers to unite against their common enemy. During the Ottoman-Venetian war, the Knights had actively disrupted the Venetian campaign; in 1480 the Venetians returned the favour by remaining aloof while Rhodes was being pounded by Turkish cannon.

The end of the 15th century found the Latin states of Greece all but extinct. The dukes of the Archipelago were allowed to carry on ruling their islands until 1566 as were the Genoese lords of Chios, but both had been reduced to tributaries of the Sultan long since. The Hospitallers continued to hold Rhodes and the Dodecanese until 1522, at which point a second siege forced them to admit defeat and surrender the island to the Turks. Only Venice continued to maintain a significant presence in Greece, well into the early modern period and in the case of the Ionian Islands until the dissolution of the Republic itself. Despite their sorry state at the end of the 15th century, it is worth reminding

ourselves that these tiny polities founded as a result of the Fourth Crusade outlived the crusader states of the Middle East by several centuries.

## Historiography

The political history of Latin Greece has been the object of scholarly attention since the publication of Du Cange's *Histoire de l'Empire de Constantinople sous les Empereurs Français* in the 17th century, in the wake of the appearance of crusader historiography in the early modern period.[2] It was the 19th century, however, that saw the beginnings of the modern historiography of medieval Greece, largely through the tireless work of Jean Alexandre Buchon and Karl Hopf, much of which is still useful today.[3]

The nationalist currents of the 19th century brought about a shift in the historiography of the crusades, which were now treated much more sympathetically than they had been by the scholarship of the previous two centuries.[4] The same nationalist currents brought about the exact opposite result in the treatment of the crusades by the historians of the newly-founded state of Greece. With Byzantium having been habilitated in the narrative of the national history of the *Hellenes*, the crusades and especially the Fourth Crusade and the period of Latin rule that followed it, came to be seen by historians such as Paparrigopoulos, and later Lampros, unequivocally as A Bad Thing.[5] This polarised view of the Latin period of Greece remained influential in Byzantine

2 Charles Du Fresne Du Cange, *Histoire de l'Empire de Constantinople sous les Empereurs Français*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1657; repr. Paris, 1826; New York, 1971).

3 See indicatively: Jean Alexandre C. Buchon, *Recherches et matériaux pour servir à une histoire de la domination française au XIII^e^, XIV^e^ et XV^e^ siècles dans les provinces démembrées de l'empire grec à la suite de la quatrième croisade* (Paris, 1840); idem, *Nouvelles recherches historiques sur la principauté française de Morée et ses hautes baronnies* (Paris, 1843); idem, *Recherches historiques sur la principauté française de Morée et ses hautes baronnies*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1845); Karl Hopf, *Geschichte Griechenlands vom Beginn des Mittelalters bis auf unsere Zeit*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1867–68; repr. New York, 1960); idem, ed., *Chroniques Gréco-Romanes inédites ou peu connues* (Berlin, 1873; repr. Brussels, 1966); idem, *Bonifaz von Montferrat, der eroberer von Konstantinopel, und der troubadour Rambaut von Vaqueiras* (Berlin, 1877).

4 For a brief overview of crusade historiography, see Christopher Tyerman, "Historiography, Modern," in *The Crusades: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Alan V. Murray, 4 vols. (Santa Barbara, 2006), 2:582–88; Giles Constable, "The Historiography of the Crusades", in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy Paviz Mottahedeh (Washington DC, 2001); Peter Lock, *The Routledge Companion to the Crusades* (London, 2006), pp. 255–72.

5 For a synopsis of Greek historiographical attitudes towards the Fourth Crusade and Latin rule in Greece see Chryssa A. Maltezou, "The Greek Version of the Fourth Crusade: From

historiography for much of the 20th century and persists in Greek popular attitudes to this day.

The first half of the 20th century saw the publication of landmark works on the period by William Miller and Jean Longnon. Miller's *The Latins in the Levant* remained for decades the standard English-language narrative account of the period;[6] Longnon produced a string of publications elucidating, in particular, the political history of the Frankish states of the Peloponnese and of central Greece in the 13th century.[7] These historians had inherited from the 19th century a romantic view of the crusades and of Frankish expansion into the Eastern Mediterranean, which would fall out of fashion in the post-war period. The same period is also noteworthy as the starting point of systematic study of the hitherto neglected archaeology of medieval Greece, by the likes of Anastasios Orlandos and Antoine Bon.[8] Bon's work in particular, starting with fieldwork undertaken in the 1930s, culminated in the publication of the two-volume *La Morée Franque* in 1969, which is still one of the most essential and detailed studies of Frankish Peloponnese.[9] Similar fieldwork was undertaken earlier in the case of Crete, by Giuseppe Gerola, whose masterful four-volume *Monumenti Veneti nell'isola di Creta* appeared between 1905 and 1932.[10] The work is still indispensible, not least because many of the monuments that Gerola studied and photographed no longer exist today.

The study of medieval Greece was revitalised in the second half of the 20th century. To the general surveys of political history there were now added more specialised studies, focusing on particular regions and, predominantly, on the institutions (legal, social, political and religious) of the Latin polities, grounded in painstaking archival research and complemented by the

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Niketas Choniates to the *History of the Greek Nation*", in *Urbs Capta: The Fourth Crusade and its Consequences*, ed. Angeliki Laiou (Paris, 2005), 151–60.

6 William Miller, *The Latins in the Levant: a History of Frankish Greece* (*1204–1566*) (London, 1908; repr. Cambridge, 1964). See also, idem, *Essays on the Latin Orient* (Cambridge, 1921; repr. Amsterdam, 1964).

7 Longnon's output is far too lengthy to be cited here in full. One might cite indicatively: Jean Longnon, *Recherches sur la vie de Geoffrey de Villehardouin* (Paris, 1939); idem, *L'Empire latin du Constantinople et la Principauté de Morée* (Paris, 1949); idem and Peter Topping, eds., *Documents sur le régime des terres dans la principauté de Morée au XIV^e siècle* (Paris, 1969).

8 See, for example, Anastasios Orlandos, *Μοναστηριακή αρχιτεκτονική* [*Monastic Architecture*] (Athens, 1927); idem, *Τα παλάτια και τα σπίτια του Μυστρά* [*The Palaces and Houses of Mistra*] (Athens, 1937; repr. 2000).

9 Antoine Bon, *La Morée franque: recherches historiques, topographiques et archéologiques sur la principauté d'Achaie* (*1205–1430*), 2 vols. (Paris, 1969).

10 Giuseppe Gerola, *Monumenti veneti nell' isola di Creta*, 4 vols. (Venice, 1905–32).

publication of primary sources. Robert Lee Wolff wrote on the political and religious organisation of Latin-dominated Constantinople.[11] Raymond Loenertz, in an exceptionally prolific career, contributed immensely to the study of the Franks in central Greece, of the Venetians in the Aegean islands and of the establishment of the Latin Church (especially the Dominican friars) in Latin Greece.[12] Freddy Thiriet wrote the definitive survey of Venice's involvement in Latin Romania and supplemented this with a multivolume edition of relevant archival materials from Venice.[13] Michel Balard undertook the same task with regards to the Genoese territories.[14] Kenneth Setton wrote extensively on the Catalans and Florentines of Athens and Boeotia and moreover produced the best account to date of the Latin involvement in medieval and early modern Greece: his four-volume *The Papacy and the Levant* is unparalleled both in its scope and in its detail.[15] Most importantly, it succeeds with great narrative flair in setting the historical developments of the Eastern Mediterranean within their wider European political context. The work of at least two more scholars, who have continued to publish with astounding regularity since the 1950s and '60s deserves particular mention: Anthony Luttrell has almost single-handedly

11 See for example, Robert Lee Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople and the Franciscans," *Traditio* 2 (1944), 213–37; idem, "Romania: The Latin Empire of Constantinople," *Speculum* 23 (1948), 1–34; idem, "The Organization of the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople," *Traditio* 6 (1948), 33–60; idem, "Baldwin of Flanders and Hainaut, First Latin Emperor of Constantinople: His Life, Death and Resurrection, 1172–1225," *Speculum* 27 (1952), 281–322; idem, "A New Document from the Period of the Latin Empire of Constantinople: The Oath of the Venetian Podesta," *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves*, 12 (1952), 539–73; idem, "Politics in the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, 1204–1261," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 8 (1954), 225–304; many of these articles, and others, are reprinted in idem, *Studies in the Latin Empire of Constantinople* (London, 1976).

12 Indicatively, see Raymond Joseph Loenertz, *Les Ghisi, dynastes vénitiens dans l'Archipel, 1207–1390* (Florence, 1975), as well as the two volumes of his collected essays: idem, *Byzantina et Franco-Graeca I*, ed. Peter Schreiner (Rome, 1970) and *Byzantina et Franco-Graeca II*, ed. Peter Schreiner (Rome, 1978).

13 Freddy Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne au moyen âge: le développement et l'exploitation du domaine colonial vénitien, XII^e–XV^e siècles* (Paris, 1959); idem, ed., *Régestes des délibérations du sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie: 1329–1463*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1958–61); idem, ed., *Délibérations des assemblées vénitiennes concernant la Romanie: 1160–1463*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1966–71).

14 See in particular Michel Balard, *La Romanie génoise* (*XII^e-début du XV^e siècle*), 2 vols. (Rome, 1978).

15 Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy in the Levant* (*1204–1571*), 4 vols. (Philadelphia, 1976–84); see also his collected studies in idem, *Athens in the Middle Ages* (London, 1975), and idem, *Catalan Domination of Athens, 1311–1388* (London, 1975).

written the history of the Hospitallers in Rhodes;[16] and David Jacoby, two of whose essays grace the present volume, has published ceaselessly since the 1960s on almost every aspect and region of medieval Greece.[17] Though the work of all these scholars is diverse in its aim and in its subject matter, it is characterised by its careful use of official/archival sources and by its preoccupation to supplement the narrative political history of the period with an account of the social realities of life in the Latin states of Greece, whether that be through the examination of religious life, legal institutions, or commercial and financial activity. One of the facets of this preoccupation which has been increasingly prominent since 1970s and '80s has been the study of the position of the Greeks in the Latin states and their relations with their western European rulers.

In the last 30 years the field of study of medieval Greece has been as lively as ever, invigorated also by the contributions of Byzantinists (such as Michael Angold[18] and Angeliki Laiou[19] to name but two) and by the reinterpretation

16 His work on the Order of St John, including its Rhodian period, has been collected in five volumes: Anthony Luttrell, *Latin Greece, the Hospitallers and the Crusades, 1291–1440* (London, 1982); idem, *The Hospitallers in Cyprus, Rhodes, Greece and the West, 1291–1440* (London, 1978); idem, *The Hospitallers of Rhodes and their Mediterranean World* (Aldershot, 1992); idem, *The Hospitaller State on Rhodes and its Western Provinces, 1306–1462* (Aldershot, 1999); idem, *Studies on the Hospitallers after 1306: Rhodes and the West* (Aldershot, 2007).

17 David Jacoby, *La féodalité en Grèce médiévale: Les "Assises de Romanie": sources, application et diffusion* (Paris, 1971); idem, *Société et démographie à Byzance et en Romanie Latine* (London, 1975); idem, *Recherches sur la Méditerranée orientale du XII^e au XV^e siècle: Peuples, sociétés, économies* (London, 1979); idem, *Studies on the Crusader States and on Venetian Expansion* (Northampton, 1989); idem, *Byzantium, Latin Romania and the Mediterranean* (Aldershot, 2001); idem, *Commercial Exchanges across the Mediterranean: Byzantium, the Crusader Levant, Egypt and Italy* (Aldershot, 2005); idem, *Latins, Greeks and Muslims: Encounters in the Eastern Mediterranean, 10th–15th Centuries* (Farnham, 2009); idem, *Travellers, Merchants and Settlers across the Mediterranean, Eleventh-Fourteenth Centuries* (Farnham, 2014).

18 See for example, Michael Angold, "The interaction of Latins and Byzantines during the Period of the Latin Empire (1204–1261): The Case of the Ordeal," in *Actes du XV^e congrès international d'études byzantines*, 3 vols. in 4 (Athens, 1979–81), 4:1–10; idem, "Greeks and Latins after 1204: The Perspective of Exile," in *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. Benjamin Arbel, Bernard Hamilton and David Jacoby (London, 1989) [= *Mediterranean Historical Review* 4:1 (1989)], pp. 63–83; idem, *The Fourth Crusade: Event and Context* (London, 2003).

19 See especially Angeliki E. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins: The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II, 1282–1328* (Cambridge Mass., 1972); eadem, *Byzantium and the Other: Relations and Exchanges* (Farnham, 2012).

of the crusading movement in general and the reassessment of the Fourth Crusade in particular (largely effected through the works of Donald Queller and Thomas Madden).[20] Accordingly there has been a proliferation of studies focusing both on political history (both general and more localised) as well as on the social, religious, economic and art history of the period. This output cannot be adequately summarised here, and the reader is referred to the footnotes accompanying each chapter and the extensive bibliography appended to the volume, but a few trends and contributions may be noted. Peter Lock's *The Franks in the Aegean* provided a much needed new account of the whole period (with particular emphasis on, but not solely restricted to, the Frankish domains) which is both thorough and accessible.[21] The issue of Greco-Latin relations and interactions has continued to engage historians with stimulating results: Aneta Ilieva's *Frankish Morea* was the first monograph to approach the topic so systematically.[22] More recently, Sally McKee's *Uncommon Dominion* provided a fresh, attractive and very influential perspective on the matter, by examining it through the prism of identities.[23] Charalambos Gasparis has filled in much of the detail as regards the economic and social history of Venetian Crete, both through his own writings and through his impressive editions of primary material;[24] and Anastasia Papadia-Lala has shed light on the evolution of civic communities and institutions in the Venetian *Stato da Mar*.[25] A very

20 See in particular, Donald E. Queller and Thomas F. Madden, *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia, 1997).

21 Peter Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean, 1204–1500* (London, 1995).

22 Aneta Ilieva, *Frankish Morea (1205–1262): Socio-cultural Interaction between the Franks and the Local Population* (Athens, 1991).

23 Sally McKee, *Uncommon Dominion: Venetian Crete and the Myth of Ethnic Purity* (Philadelphia, 2000).

24 Charalambos Gasparis, "Οι επαγγελματίες του Χάνδακα κατά τον 14ο αιώνα. Σχέσεις με τον καταναλωτή και το κράτος" ["The Professionals of Candia in the 14th Century. Relations with Consumers and the State"], *Σύμμεικτα* 8 (1989), 83–133; idem, *Η γη και οι αγρότες στη μεσαιωνική Κρήτη, 13ος–14ος αιώνας* [*Land and Peasantry in Medieval Crete, 13th–14th Centuries*] (Athens, 1997); *idem, "*Από τη βυζαντινή στη βενετική τούρμα: Κρήτη, 13ος–14ος αι.*"* ["From the Byzantine to the Venetian Turma: Crete, 13th–14th Centuries"], *Σύμμεικτα* 14 (2001), 167–228; idem, "Έλληνες φεουδάρχες στο σεξτέριο του Dorsoduro. Στοιχεία για την ελληνική γαιοκτησία στη μεσαιωνική Κρήτη" ["Greek Feudatories in the Sexterium Dorsoduri. Evidence on Greek Landownership in Medieval Crete"], *Σύμμεικτα* 15 (2002), 195–227; idem, ed., *Catastici Feudorum Crete: Catasticum sexterii Dorsoduri, 1227–1418*, 2 vols. (Athens, 2004); idem, ed., *Catastici Feudorum Crete: Catasticum Chanee, 1314–1396* (Athens, 2008).

25 Anastasia Papadia-Lala, *Ο θεσμός των αστικών κοινοτήτων στον ελληνικό χώρο κατά την περίοδο της βενετοκρατίας (13ος–18ος αι.): Μια συνθετική προσέγγιση* [*The Institution of Civic*

welcome re-examination of the political institutions of Latin Constantinople has recently appeared in the form of Filip van Tricht's *The Latin Renovatio of Byzantium*.[26] The brevity of Latin domination over Constantinople has meant that the history of the Latin Empire's capital has been somewhat neglected by historians in recent decades, who have preferred to look at the more durable regimes of mainland Greece and the islands. Van Tricht's work goes some way towards redressing this problem through a very detailed examination of just the first two decades of the Latin Empire. In closing this short overview of the historiography of medieval Greece, we would be remiss not to mention the work of Chryssa Maltezou and the Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini of Venice, which has published very widely on all aspects of Greco-Venetian history in the Middle Ages and the early modern period.[27]

Finally, three recent collected volumes need particular mention here, for they epitomise the direction in which the scholarship of medieval Greece has been moving: Judith Herrin's and Guillaume Saint Guillain's *Identities and Allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204* publishes the proceedings of a conference devoted to the prosopography of the Byzantine world in the period when no Byzantine Empire existed, that is between 1204 and 1261.[28] *Byzantines, Latins and Turks in the Eastern Mediterranean World after 1150*, meanwhile, deals with the complexity of the interactions between these three groups and implicitly questions assumptions concerning the lines along which competition between them developed.[29] Finally, *Contact and Conflict*

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*Communities in Venetian-Ruled Greek Lands (13th–18th Centuries): A Synthetic Approach*], 2nd ed. (Venice, 2008).

26 Filip van Tricht, *The Latin Renovatio of Byzantium: The Empire of Constantinople (1204–1228)* (Leiden, 2011).

27 See indicatively, Chryssa A. Maltezou, *Ο θεσμός του εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Βενετού βαΐλου (1268–1453)* [*The Institution of the Venetian Baili of Constantinople*] (Athens, 1970); eadem, ed., *Όψεις της ιστορίας του βενετοκρατούμενου Ελληνισμού: αρχειακά τεκμήρια* [*Aspects of the History of Venetian Rule in Greece: Archival Evidence*] (Athens, 1993); eadem, ed., *Bisanzio, Venezia e il mondo franco-greco (XIII–XV secolo): atti del colloquio internazionale organizzato nel centenario della nascita di Raymond-Joseph Loenerz o.p., Venezia, 1–2 Dicembre 2000* (Venice, 2002); eadem and Angeliki Tzavara, and Despina Vlassi, eds., *I Greci durante la venetocrazia: uomini, spazio, idee (XIII–XVIII sec.): atti del convegno internazionale di studi, 3–7 Dicembre 2007* (Venice, 2009); eadem and Angeliki Tzavara, and Despina Vlassi, eds., *Βενετοκρατούμενη Ελλάδα: Προσεγγίζοντας την ιστορία της* [*Venetian Greece: Approaching its History*], 2 vols. (Athens, 2010).

28 Judith Herrin and Guillaume Saint-Guillain, eds., *Identities and Allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204* (Farnham, 2011).

29 Jonathan Harris, Catherine Holmes and Eugenia Russell, eds., *Byzantines, Latins and Turks in the Eastern Mediterranean World after 1150* (Oxford, 2012).

*in Frankish Greece and the Aegean, 1204–1453*, explores the ways in which the crusades in Greece shaped the contacts and interactions between Latins, Greeks and Turks in various fields.[30] Though the three volumes have different chronological and geographical scopes (and though the Latin states of Greece are not the main focus of the first two) all of them highlight the fluidity and flexibility of religious and cultural identities and their role in shaping political allegiances in the fragmented world of the Eastern Mediterranean.

Despite this flourishing of interest, the history of Latin Greece remains, to a certain extent, both fragmentary and unevenly written. This is the result partly of the nature of the Latin polities themselves and partly of the peculiarities of the surviving sources. As is apparent even from the most synoptic overview of their history, the Latin states of Greece were extremely fragmented and, in many cases, enjoyed closer ties with western European political entities than with each other. This makes it very difficult to write a detailed and coherent narrative account of medieval Greece, without favouring certain regions (usually Frankish Peloponnese and Venetian Crete) over others.

## The Sources

The problem is compounded by the uneven survival of sources. As one would expect, given the immense significance of the conquest of Constantinople, the Fourth Crusade itself is well-documented in the narrative accounts of the age. Three accounts written by participants or on behalf of participants stand out: the chronicles of Geoffrey de Villehardouin with its continuation by Henry of Valenciennes, of Robert de Clari, and of Gunther of Pairis who put into writing the oral account of his abbot, Martin of Pairis.[31] Though all of these accounts are of prime importance for the history of the crusade and

30 Nikolaos G. Chrissis and Mike Carr, eds., *Contact and Conflict in Frankish Greece and the Aegean, 1204–1453: Crusade, Religion and Trade between Latins, Greeks and Turks* (Farnham, 2014).

31 Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Edmond Faral, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1961); for an English translation see, M.R.B. Shaw, *Joinville & Villehardouin: Chronicles of the Crusades* (Baltimore, 1963; repr. 1969); Henri de Valenciennes, *Histoire de l'empereur Henri de Constantinople*, ed. Jean Longnon (Paris, 1948); Robert de Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Philippe Lauer (Paris, 1924); for an English translation see idem, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, trans. Edgar Holmes McNeal (New York, 1936; repr. 2005); Gunther von Pairis, *Hystoria Constantinopolitana*, ed. Peter Orth (Hildesheim, 1994), translated in Alfred J. Andrea, *The Capture of Constantinople: the Hystoria Constantinopolitana of Gunther of Pairis* (Philadelphia, 1997).

its immediate aftermath, they all end their narratives in the first decade of the 13th century. More information can be gleaned from some of the major Latin chronicles of non-local origins, such as the continuators of William of Tyre[32] and the chronicles of Matthew Paris,[33] Ralph of Coggeshall[34] and Alberic of Trois-Fontaines;[35] again, however, their information is mostly focused on the conquest, on Constantinopolitan affairs and on the first decades of Latin rule.

The single most important narrative source of local origin regarding Frankish Greece is the *Chronicle of the Morea* (which is dealt with in detail in Gill Page's chapter); in its various surviving forms it covers the period up to 1377. The fact that it is primarily concerned, as is evident from its title, with the history of Frankish Peloponnese and the fact that similar sources are lacking for many of the other territories, has meant that much of the historiography of medieval Greece revolves around the Principality of Achaea. The only other major narrative source of local origin is the *Chronicle of the Tocco*, written in Greek, but possibly emanating from the circles of the counts of Cephalonia.[36] The chronicle covers the last quarter of the 14th century and the first quarter of the 15th and is an important source for the history of the Ionian Islands, Epirus and the Peloponnese. To these sources one should add the various Venetian chronicles of the 14th and 15th centuries, such as the works of Marino Sanudo Torsello[37] and Andrea Dandolo's and Laurentius de Monacis's chronicles on

32 Louis De Mas Latrie, ed., *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier* (Paris, 1871).

33 Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. Henry Luard, 7 vols., Rolls Series, 57 (London, 1872–1883).

34 Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicum Anglicanum*, ed. Joseph Stevenson, Rolls Series, 66 (London, 1875); the sections relevant to the Fourth Crusade can be found in translation in Alfred J. Andrea, ed., *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade* (Leiden, 2000), pp. 277–90.

35 Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, "Chronica," ed. P. Scheffer-Boichorst, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores* 23 (Hannover, 1874), pp. 631–950; the sections concerning the Fourth Crusade can be found in translation in Andrea, ed., *Contemporary Sources*, pp. 291–309.

36 Giuseppe Schirò, ed., *Cronaca dei Tocco di Cefalonia: prolegomena, testo critico e traduzione*, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, 10 (Rome, 1975).

37 Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis*, in *Gesta Dei per Francos*, ed. Jacques Brongars, 2 vols. (Hannover, 1611; repr. Jerusalem, 1972), 2:1–288; for an English translation, see *The Book of the Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross*, trans. Peter Lock (Farnham, 2011). For Sanudo's *Istoria del regno di Romania*, see Hopf, *Chroniques Greco-Romanes*, pp. 99–170; no English translation of this work exists, but it has been translated into modern Greek, under the title *Ιστορία της Ρωμανίας: Istoria di Romania*, ed. and trans. Eutychia Papadopoulou (Athens, 2000). See also, "The Correspondence of Marino Sanudo Torsello," ed. Sherman Rody (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1971).

Venetian history;[38] though these sources are not of local origin and adopt a strong Venetian perspective, they are informed by detailed knowledge of local affairs or by insider knowledge of Venetian politics. Laurentius de Monacis in particular, served as chancellor of Crete in the 14th century and has left us with the most detailed account of Cretan affairs of that period.

Venetian Crete has been the other major focus of historical interest, not only because it proved to be one of the most enduring of the Latin dominions, but also because this is the one territory which has bequeathed us with substantial diplomatic material of local origin. The treaty which surrendered Candia to the Turks in 1669 allowed the Venetians to transport their extensive Cretan archive to Venice, where it still resides, as part of the *Archivio di Stato di Venezia*. Though no comparable collection has survived from the other Venetian colonies of Greece, Venice's own archival series have thankfully preserved a wealth of material relating to the Republic's involvement in the Levant. Since the 19th century, the Venetian archives have been mined for the material relating to the Greek colonies, much of which has been published in dedicated publications, such as Sathas's *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce*,[39] Noiret's *Documents inédits pour servir a l'histoire de la domination vénitienne en Crète*,[40] Tafel's and Thomas's *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum*[41] and Thiriet's *Délibérations*.[42] The specifically Cretan material from the Venetian archives continues to be published ever since Gerland's publication of *Das Archiv des Herzogs von Kandia* in 1899.[43] Despite the concerted efforts that have been made, only a fraction of this archive has been published and new documents of immense interest continue to come to light. Recent years, for example, have seen the publication of Sally McKee's collection of wills and Charalambos Gasparis's edition of land registers, both of

38 Andrea Dandolo, *Chronica per extensum descripta*, ed. Ester Pastorello, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores 12 (Bologna, 1938–58); Laurentius de Monacis, *Chronicon de rebus Venetis* (Venice, 1758).

39 Konstantinos N. Sathas, ed., *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au Moyen Âge*, (Μνημεία Ελληνικής Ιστορίας) 9 vols. (Paris, 1880–90).

40 Hippolyte Noiret, ed., *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire de la domination vénitienne en Crète de 1380 à 1485* (Paris, 1892).

41 G.L.F. Tafel and G.M. Thomas, ed., *Urkunden zur älteren Handelsund Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, 3 vols. (Vienna, 1856–57; repr. Amsterdam, 1964), and especially: G.M. Thomas, ed., *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum, sive acta et diplomata res Venetas Graecas atque Levantis illustrantia*, 2 vols. (Venice, 1880–99; repr. 1966).

42 Thiriet, ed., *Régestes des deliberations*; idem, ed., *Délibérations des assemblées*.

43 Ernst Gerland, ed., *Das Archiv des Herzogs von Kandia im königl: Staatsarchiv zu Venedig* (Strassburg, 1899).

which are invaluable tools for research into the administration and social history of the colony.[44] Other archival collections in western Europe, such as the archives of the Order of St John and the archives of Florence, certainly contain much that is of interest to the historian of medieval Greece, but they have not been as systematically studied or published as the collections of Venice. The one exception is the papal correspondence contained in the papal registers at the Vatican, much of which has of course been published (though sometimes only in summary). One important archival collection has, unfortunately, been lost, with the destruction of the Angevin archive of Naples during the Second World War, but an attempt to reconstruct its contents is being made, with impressive results.[45] Of the diplomatic sources emanating from Greece, particular mention should be made to the *Assizes of Romania* (the law code of Frankish Greece) which were codified in the mid-14th century, and must serve as a starting point for any investigation of the social structure and legal procedures of the Frankish territories. The text of the *Assizes* was published by Georges Recoura, translated into English by Peter Topping and studied at much more depth by David Jacoby.[46]

Of more limited scope, but nonetheless containing very interesting information are the writings of pilgrims and other travellers passing through Greece, usually on their way to the Holy Land. Pilgrimage itineraries were a well-established and apparently widely-read genre of literature, throughout the Middle Ages. From the 14th century onwards, there is an observable tendency for these accounts to become much more personalised and also to describe not just the final destination (i.e. the Holy Land) but also the journey. Though these accounts are of limited use for the political history of the Latin states, they are extremely interesting in that they provide us with snapshots of everyday life in these territories from the perspectives of outsiders, thus preserving information that local or official sources often overlook. These accounts tend to get longer and more detailed as the Middle Ages draw to a close, turning

44 Sally McKee, ed., *Wills from Late Medieval Venetian Crete, 1312–1420*, 3 vols. (Washington DC, 1998); Gasparis, ed., *Catastici Feudorum Crete*. Particular credit should also be given to institutions such as the Comitato per le pubblicazione delle fonti relative alla storia di Venezia, Dumbarton Oaks, the Istituto Ellenico of Venice and the Εθνικό Ἵδρυμα Ερευνών of Athens for their efforts in publishing this archive.

45 Riccardo Filangieri et al., eds., *I registri della cancelleria Angioina*, 49 vols. (Naples, 1950–) [in progress].

46 Georges Recoura, ed., *Les Assises de Romanie* (Paris, 1930); Peter Topping, ed., *Feudal Institutions as Revealed in the Assizes of Romania, the Law Code of Frankish Greece: Translation of the Text of the Assizes with a Commentary on Feudal Institutions in Greece and in Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia, 1949); David Jacoby, *La féodalité*.

into thick volumes, or even multi-volume works towards the end of the 15th century.[47] Some include particularly useful information on the topography of medieval Greece, tastes and fashions and local customs as well as on the conditions of travel through the Aegean.

Byzantine sources also give us important insights into the history of Latin Greece, again though with a Constantinopolitan bias. For the conquest and its immediate aftermath, the history of Niketas Choniates provides the Greek perspective in vivid detail.[48] The history of Georgios Akropolites gives us an insider's view of events from the perspective of the Nicaean court, where he was an official before taking up an administrative position in Constantinople, once it had been re-conquered by the Greeks.[49] The following period, and up to the mid-14th century, is covered by the writings of Georgios Pachymeres and of Nikephoros Gregoras, who were also members of the Byzantine court.[50] This information can sometimes be supplemented by the correspondence of certain high-ranking provincial Byzantine church officials, namely Michael Choniates, metropolitan of Athens, Demetrios Chomatianos, archbishop of Ochrid and John Apokaukos, metropolitan of Naupaktos.[51]

## The Present Volume

Given the complexity of the history of medieval Greece and the abundance of specialised studies on the topic, writing the political history of the Latin states

47 See for example Felix Fabri, *Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti peregrinationem*, ed. C.D. Hassler, 3 vols. (Stuttgart, 1843); translated as *The Wanderings of Felix Fabri*, 2 vols. in 4, The Library of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 7–10 (London, 1892–93); Pietro Casola, *Viaggio di Pietro Casola di Gerusalemme, tratto dall' autografo esistente nella Biblioteca Trivulzio*, ed. Giulio Porro (Milan, 1855); translated as *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the Year 1494*, trans. Margaret Newett (Manchester, 1907).

48 Niketas Choniates, *Nicetae Choniatae historia*, ed. Jan-Louis van Dieten (Berlin, 1975); translated as *O, City of Byzantium*, trans. Harry Magoulias (Detroit, 1984).

49 Georgios Akropolites, *Opera*, ed. August Heisenberg, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1903); translated in English as *The History*, trans. Ruth Macrides (Oxford, 2007).

50 Georgios Pachymeres, *Relations Historiques*, ed. Albert Failler, 5 vols. Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, 24 (Paris, 1984–2000); Nikephoros Gregoras, *Byzantinae historiae libri XXXVII*, in PL, 148–49.

51 Michael Choniates, *Μιχαήλ Ακομινάτου του Χωνιάτου τα σωζόμενα*, [*Michael Choniates's Surviving Works*] ed. Spyridon Lambros, 2 vols. (Athens, 1879–1880) and *Michaelis Choniatae Epistulae*, ed. Foteini Kolovou (Berlin, 2001); Demetrios Chomatianos, *Demetrii Chomateni Ponemata Diaphora*, ed. Günter Prinzing, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, 38 (Berlin, 2002); John Apokaukos, *Άπαντα Ιωάννου Απόκαυκου*, [*Complete works of John Apokaukos*] ed. Ieronymos Delemares (Naupactus, 2000).

of Greece was always far beyond the ambitions of this volume. Rather, this book was conceived as an introduction to the field of study of Latin Greece and an overview of the essential aspects of the societies that emerged in the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade with an emphasis on their social, religious and political institutions. It aims to provide the reader with a sampler of the directions in which the study of the Latin states of Romania has been moving in the last, say, 30 years. It has to be remembered that the polities in question were neither cohesive nor static; conditions, therefore, that obtained in one did not always occur in others and even within each political entity things changed dramatically during the centuries of Latin rule. Moreover, as has already been mentioned, certain periods and regions are much better studied than others. The chapters that follow adopt varying approaches, both to the subject matter and to the scope, some opting for a narrower geographical and temporal focus, and some providing broader overviews of the regions and period in question, thus reflecting partly the preferences and field of expertise of each author and partly the editors' ambition to cover as wide a geographical area as possible within the confines of the volume. In their diversity the chapters also reflect some of the peculiarities of the field itself: thus, certain regions and polities (namely Venetian Crete and Frankish Morea) feature in its pages much more prominently than others. The book sets out to achieve two goals: taken as a whole we hope that this collection of studies will provide the newcomer to Latin Greece with a concise, accessible and up-to-date introduction to the subject and to the current state of research. At the same time, individually, each study should serve even more specialised historians as a useful reference tool on each specific topic. To this end, an extensive and fairly specialised bibliography is appended to the end of this volume.

Given the manner in which the Latin states of Greece were born, it is only fitting to begin this volume with a chapter on Crusades and Crusaders in Medieval Greece. The creation of a Latin Empire on the lands of Byzantium along with the later expansion of the Turks, had the side-effect of turning Greece and the Aegean into a legitimate target for crusading—a new development in the 13th century. Nikos Chrissis's chapter examines these crusading efforts undertaken by the West in support of the Latin regimes of Greece and traces the effects of these efforts in crusading ideology and practice from the 13th to the 15th centuries. Though these crusades were more often than not abject failures in military terms, they were instrumental in shaping the relations between Latins and Greeks in the political field and became an omnipresent feature of the political and diplomatic landscape of medieval Greece.

The two chapters that follow turn their attention from the international to the domestic, to examine how the polities that were created in the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade were structured socially and politically. Charalambos

Gasparis's chapter deals with one of the key factors affecting the administration and social organisation of any medieval state, that is, the distribution of landed estates. The various Latin regimes of Greece adopted different principles in their approaches to land tenure and administration, influenced partly by the socio-political traditions of their founders' homelands and partly by the exigencies of the realities on the ground in their newly-conquered domains. One of the main issues that all conquerors had to contend with, was how to deal with the pre-existing landowners and to what extent they should be embedded into the newly emerging social hierarchy. The chapter focuses primarily on the land regime of Venetian Crete, for which an abundance of diplomatic evidence has been preserved, but also surveys the Frankish territories, including the Kingdom of Cyprus, which in some ways served as a model for the Frankish territories of mainland Greece, having come under Latin control earlier, during the Third Crusade. Anastasia Papadia-Lala's contribution deals with a different aspect of social organisation, by examining the socio-administrative structures of the Latin states. After reviewing briefly the administrative structures of the Frankish lordships, Papadia-Lala turns her attention to the Venetian *Stato da Mar* and examines in particular the social stratification of the ethnically mixed urban populations and the evolution of the civic communities and councils which became a dominant feature of Venetian rule and whose development marked the passage into the early modern period.

One of the greatest issues that the unplanned and unsanctioned (by the papacy) conquest of Byzantium raised was that of the relationship of the Roman Church to its Greek Orthodox counterpart. After the conquest, and despite his earlier protestations, Innocent III famously envisioned that the political subjugation of the Greeks would entail the return of the Greek Church to Roman obedience—a hope that was frustrated almost immediately. Accordingly, the religious colonisation of Byzantium by Latin clergy, was one of the most tangible, influential and controversial effects of the conquest. Of course, this was not the first time that the Latin Church found itself ruling over a Greek flock and its clergy: this had happened already in southern Italy, in the Holy Land and most pertinently (and recently) in Cyprus. Nicholas Coureas's essay on the two Churches synthesises the material relating to the installation of the Latin Church in Greece, with particular reference to the diocesan restructuring that took place, the questions of jurisdiction that arose as a consequence of the conquest and the migration of the regular and military orders to the Greek lands.

The following contribution by David Jacoby on the economy of Latin Greece deals with an essential but often overlooked aspect of life in medieval Greece.

Professor Jacoby argues that the installation of Latin rulers and the resultant fragmentation of the Byzantine world caused a realignment towards western demand, modifying the more introvert tendencies of the Byzantine economy. At the same time, the influx of entrepreneurs (especially from Italy) and the concomitant engagement with new types of financial activity provided a beneficial stimulus to the economy. This, however, has to be balanced against the lowering of the social and legal position of the Greek peasantry and the growing instability caused by the mounting Turkish advance.

The physical evidence of the increased monetisation detected by David Jacoby is examined in Julian Baker's study of the coinage of medieval Greece. The study reviews the current state of research into the numismatics of Romania and examines the typology, archaeology and use of coinage in the area, before placing the numismatic evidence within its historical context. In doing so, it shows that this type of evidence is not only essential in supplementing the written sources of the period but can sometimes directly challenge the received wisdom which is based mainly on narrative and literary material.

In one way or another, implicitly or explicitly, most of the chapters in this volume deal with the interaction of Latins and Greeks in the territories in question. As was the case with most of Europe, however, the Byzantine lands were also home to a third ethno-religious group, namely the Jews. Professor Jacoby's second essay for this volume traces the history of the Jewish communities of Greece, following the conquest. After surveying the information on the existence of Jewish communities in the various towns and territories of Romania, the essay examines the socio-legal status of the Jews under Latin rule and attempts to assess the effects of the Latin conquest on the Jewry of Greece.

The remaining three chapters deal with various aspects of the arts and culture of medieval Greece. Gill Page writes on the literature of the Frankish domains. Her examination begins with the *Chansonnier du Roi*, an intriguing and rare survivor of the courtly culture that the Franks transplanted into the Peloponnese. She then moves on to examine the most famous of the literary products of medieval Greece, the *Chronicle of the Morea*. Reference has already been made to the *Chronicle*, as an invaluable narrative source for the history of Frankish Greece. The *Chronicle*, however, is first and foremost a piece of literature, apparently created for the edification of an audience or a readership. Its peculiar survival in four languages (Greek, French, Italian and Aragonese) and the apparent loss of the original text has engendered much debate as to the work's original function and perspective. Moreover, the existence of a Greek version of this pro-Frankish text raises intriguing questions about the position of the Greeks, or *some* Greeks within the principality. Page examines the

questions that these texts, as well as the Greek Romances of possible Moreot origin raise, while placing them in their western European and Byzantine literary context.

The interaction between Latins and Greeks was also reflected in the built environment that the two groups shared in the Latin states. Maria Georgopoulou explores the ways in which the architecture and town-planning of the colonies created a symbolic space meant to reflect the power relationship between Latin conquerors and Greek subjects. Neither this relationship, however, nor its reflection in the architectural milieu of Latin Greece was static, with the Greeks being influenced but also influencing the construction techniques and architectural styles that emerged. As a result, Georgopoulou concludes, it is possible to observe the development of regional architectural idioms which on occasion blend western and Byzantine influences.

The conclusion accords well with Sophia Kalopissi-Verti's investigation of monumental art in central Greece. Professor Kalopissi-Verti examines the murals and other decorative features of churches in the Lordship of Athens and Thebes. Throughout the 13th century, she argues, most church frescoes display provincial craftsmanship, rather than "high-quality imported art" but tend to echo the art of the Komnenian age—an obvious result of the conquest. Nevertheless, the sheer number of 13th-century churches attests to a well-to-do and prosperous population, benefitting from the developments in trade and agriculture that David Jacoby has also noted. The same provincial style is also evident in the paintings of the Catalan era, though the number of monuments attributable to the 14th century plummets, indicating economic decline. Overall, though some direct exchanges between Latin and Greek motives and iconography are observable in the surviving monuments, the artistic production of the lordship is mostly characterised by the emergence of local, provincial traditions.

CHAPTER 2

# Crusades and Crusaders in Medieval Greece

*Nikolaos G. Chrissis*

## Introduction

Crusading became a defining feature of the history of the Eastern Mediterranean in the High and Late Middle Ages ever since Pope Urban II's call to arms at Clermont, in 1095, set the First Crusade in motion. That is not to say that religiously inspired warfare and hostility was the only (or even the dominant) form of interaction between westerners and the inhabitants of that part of the world. But the crusade was ubiquitous in the thoughts, writings, diplomacy, warfare, and generally in the presence of Latin Christians in the Levant. In Syria, Palestine, and Egypt trade flourished, for the most part led by the Italian city-states, while diplomatic relations with Muslim powers were at least as frequent as war against them. The shifting alliances in the area cut across the religious divide; Christians did not hesitate to ally with Muslims against other Christians and vice versa. But such activity was often reflected through the prism of the War for the Faith: actions had to be justified in its name or to be shown that they did not harm the cause. This was not limited to the Holy Land. The crusade permeated western involvement in all the "frontiers" of Latin Christendom. That was particularly the case when crusading practices were transplanted in various other fronts, such as the Baltic and the Iberian Peninsula, in the 12th and 13th centuries.[1]

This could not but apply to the Byzantine lands as well. Byzantium's close connection to the crusades goes back to the very beginning. Calls for western reinforcements by Emperor Alexios I Komnenos were among the triggers for the First Crusade, while Pope Urban II clearly envisioned help to the Christians in the East as one of the main aims of the expedition.[2] However, despite initial intentions and sporadic efforts for cooperation, the relations between the

1 An overview of the development of crusading in Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History*, 2nd ed. (London, 2005); a recent extensive synthesis by Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, Mass., 2008).

2 Peter Charanis, "Byzantium, the West and the Origin of the First Crusade," *Byzantion* 19 (1949), 17–36; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London, 2003), pp. 13–22.

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empire and the crusaders soon deteriorated. Many of the westerners felt that Byzantium failed to provide adequate assistance to the Christian cause and accused the emperors of treachery in their dealings with the "infidels". The Byzantines regarded with suspicion the armies marching through their territory, while the establishment of crusader states in the East was seen as an infringement of the empire's rights in the area. A particularly bitter point was the possession of Antioch, a city of great strategic importance for Byzantium, by the Normans, whose relations with the empire over the previous decades had been troubled to say the least. Nevertheless, the intimate connection of Byzantium with the crusades persisted throughout the 12th century. All the major campaigns for the Holy Land made contact with the empire one way or another. The armies of the First and the Second Crusade passed through Byzantine territory. In the Third Crusade, the same route was followed by the German contingent under Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa, while the English king, Richard I, who chose the sea-route to Palestine, captured Cyprus on his way to the East. The passage of the crusaders was negotiated and agreed upon with the Byzantine authorities but frictions and tensions invariably arose on the march. These large armies put a major stress on the resources of the areas they travelled through, while it was inevitable that there would be occasions of violence and looting, particularly by the less disciplined troops. The local inhabitants, in turn, were less than welcoming to the crusaders: there were complaints that they refused to offer markets or that they sold their goods at exorbitant prices; there were even rumours of intentional poisoning. Meanwhile, Byzantine forces monitored the progress of the western soldiers, harassing those who were perceived to cause trouble. During the Third Crusade the Byzantine army actively obstructed the crusaders' passage. Frederick I had to force his way through the Balkans and across the Bosporus. So, crusaders made their appearance repeatedly in Byzantine lands in the 12th century—but they were in transit. This was going to change with the Fourth Crusade, which was diverted from its aim of reclaiming Jerusalem and ended up seizing Constantinople in 1204. A number of Latin states were then set up in the formerly imperial territories. Soon, Holy War was deployed to help defend these states. Thus, Frankish Greece became another active crusade front.

The interaction between Byzantium and the crusades down to the conquest of Constantinople has been examined in some detail.[3] But it is the implementation of the crusade in the area after 1204 that will be the focus of the present essay. Approaching the area as a crusading front is profitable, or even neces-

3 Jonathan Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades* (London, 2003); Ralph-Johannes Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States, 1095–1204*, trans. J.C. Morris and Jean E. Ridings (Oxford, 1993); Charles M. Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West, 1180–1204* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968).

sary, for at least two reasons. The first one is that the crusade, as an analytical tool and as a narrative focus, provides unity to the examination of a world of extreme fragmentation. From the 13th to the 15th century, between the disintegration of the Byzantine Empire and the consolidation of Ottoman control over the Balkans, the area was a complicated patchwork of small states and lordships, Greek, Latin and Turkish. Following the vicissitudes of each one of them is not only a difficult task; it is also inadequate for a deeper understanding of wider developments in the area and further afield. Crusading activity provides a framework which encompasses such wider forces and trends, applicable to the whole of Romania, and which connects them to the situation in the rest of Europe.

The second reason is precisely this pan-European scope, which extends beyond Romania, and links its history with developments elsewhere in the centre and the peripheries of medieval Europe. In a recent thoughtful survey of the impact of crusading on Byzantium, Chris Wright has argued that the crusades over time brought about the marginalisation of the empire and its people from the mainstream of European history.[4] It can hardly be doubted that the crusades played a role in isolating the empire on the diplomatic level, and in 1204 they resulted in a direct military blow at the political order of Byzantium. It is equally true, as will also be shown later, that by aggravating the confrontation between the two sides, crusading contributed to a sharper perception of the Byzantines as "others", standing apart from the cultural community of the Christian West. And yet, a rather different argument can also be made: the transformation of Romania into a theatre of crusading activity integrated it more firmly into a wider system which involved the same patterns of activity, the same instruments, and the same symbolic language. As crusade fronts multiplied, the characteristics of crusading were streamlined and to a large extent institutionalised, particularly in the 13th century. The mechanisms of setting a crusade in motion were the same whether the destination was the frozen shores of the Baltic or the scorching coast of the southern Mediterranean.[5] The justificatory rhetoric made use of comparable notions regarding the defence or expansion of the Faith, the service to the Lord and the protection of His inheritance, and sometimes the relevant diplomatic language drew explicit connections or parallels between the various fronts of activity. For many of the combatants the destinations were interchangeable as long as the undertaking guaranteed spiritual and temporal benefits. Furthermore, on a more practical

4 Chris Wright, "On the Margins of Christendom: The Impact of the Crusades on Byzantium," in *The Crusades and the Near East: Cultural Histories*, ed. Conor Kostick (London, 2011), pp. 55–82.

5 See Section 2 "Characteristics of crusading" below, esp. pp. 51 and 56–60.

level, crusading action in Frankish Greece was dependent on circumstances in western Europe, where the recruits came from, while it was also influenced by changing practices across all fronts. In this way, Romania became an integral part of a European-wide historical phenomenon.

No history of medieval Greece under Frankish rule can be complete without reference to the crusades, the same way that it would hardly be conceivable to examine the Middle East or the Baltic in this period without taking into consideration the relevant crusading activity. At the same time, examining the developments in Romania provides a fuller understanding of the evolution of Holy War at large. It is fascinating how the crusade was used against other Christians in the area in the 13th century, before it was turned to their defence in the later period. Yet, there are few detailed discussions and even fewer syntheses of the crusading activities in that part of the world.[6]

The first part of the present examination will outline the factual framework and the major developments of crusading from the 13th to the 15th century. This will be followed by a thematic exploration of the expeditions and of the people who were involved in them. The chapter will then conclude with some observations on the impact of the crusades on the Greek lands.

With regard to the sources, the first port of call should be the papal registers, given the central role that the papacy had in the organisation and launching of a crusade, as well as the significant number of documents surviving from the papal chancery.[7] However, caution should be exercised: it is often easy to

6 The magisterial work by Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant, 1204–1572*, 4 vols. (Philadelphia, 1976–84), covers the entire period and is invaluable for the narrative framework with frequent references to crusading, but it does not offer a synoptic or thematic examination of the subject. The only available overviews of crusading activity in Romania in the later period are: Deno J. Geanakoplos, "Byzantium and the Crusades, 1261–1354 / 1354–1453," in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton, 6 vols. (Madison, Wisc., 1969–89), 3:27–68 and 69–103; and the relevant chapters in Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades: From Lyons to Alcazar, 1274–1580* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 49–117. Neither of them, however, covers the first half of the 13th century. The succinct survey by Wright, "On the Margins," encompasses the entire period from the late 11th to the 15th century. The major works dealing with specific periods or aspects of crusading in Romania will be listed at the corresponding sections below.

7 A large part of the 13th- and 14th-century papal registers has been published by the Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome (henceforth BEFAR); very useful is also the collection of papal letters dealing with the East, in the series Pontificia Commissio ad Redigendum Codicem Iuris Canonici Orientalis*:* Fontes, Series 3, ed. Theodosius T. Haluscynkyj, Aloysius L. Tautu, et al., 15 vols. (Rome, 1935–90) (henceforth PC/CICO), covering the period down to the mid-15th century. In citing these editions, volume numbers have been omitted, since the letters are numbered consecutively even across multiple volumes.

forget that the registers record only a fraction of the documents drawn up and issued by the papacy, because most of them were never entered there but also because some of the registers have not survived. Alongside the papal registers, there is a variety of documentary and literary sources which provide information on the context, impact and response to these crusades. These sources are dispersed in space and time, from Italy to England and from Spain to Hungary, for at some point or other most of Europe was involved: some European states had vested interests in Romania; some were the recipients of requests for men and funds; others were the original homelands of the settlers in the East. Most sources cover only part of the two-and-a-half centuries under examination. An exception is the archives of Venice, a state which was a major player in the affairs of Frankish Greece throughout this period.[8] The coverage offered by the Genoese archives and notarial documents is much more fragmented, but undoubtedly important for the history of the area.[9] Of interest are, naturally, the surviving local (Byzantine and Latin) documentary sources;[10] as well as the archives of those powers that at some point took a direct interest in the affairs of Romania with particular crusading connotations, such as the Angevins from the second half of the 13th century, or the Hospitallers, from their conquest of Rhodes in the 1300s until their expulsion by the Ottomans in 1522.[11] With

8 See e.g. Freddy Thiriet, ed., *Délibérations des assemblées Vénitiennes concernant la Romanie: 1160–1463*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1966–71); idem, *Régestes des délibérations du sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie: 1329–1463*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1958–61); Georg M. Thomas, ed., *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum, sive acta et Diplomata res Venetas Graecas atque Levantis Illustrantia*, 2 vols. (Venice, 1880–99; repr. 1966).

9 As regards Genoese presence in the East, indispensable are the numerous contributions of Michel Balard, where references can be found to the dispersed editions of Genoese archival materials. An authoritative overview in Michel Balard, *La Romanie génoise (XII^e–début du XV^e siècle)*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1978); see also the extensive list of sources and bibliography in idem, *Les Latins en Orient (X^e–XV^e siècle)* (Paris, 2006), pp. xi–lxxviii, esp. lxvi–lxx.

10 Byzantine imperial documents listed in Franz Dölger and Peter Wirth, eds., *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*, 5 vols. (Munich, 1924–95); a helpful catalogue of the acts of the Latin Emperors by Benjamin Hendrickx, "Régestes des empereurs Latins de Constantinople (1204–1261/1273)," *Byzantina* 14 (1988), 7–221.

11 The Angevin archive in Naples was sadly destroyed during the Second World War; however, there is a major ongoing effort to reconstruct its contents: Riccardo Filangieri et al., eds., *I registri della cancelleria Angioina*, 49 vols. (Naples, 1950–) [in progress]. The National Archives of Malta contain a wealth of information for the Hospitallers. See, for example, Zacharias Tsirpanlis, ed., *Ανέκδοτα έγγραφα για τη Ρόδο και τις Νότιες Σποράδες από το αρχείο των Ιωαννιτών Ιπποτών, 1 (1421–1453): εισαγωγή, διπλωματική έκδοση, σχόλια* [*Unpublished Documents Concerning Rhodes and the Southern Sporades from the Archive of the Knights Hospitaller, 1 (1421–1453): Introduction, Diplomatic Edition, Commentary*] (Rhodes, 1995);

regard to literary sources, the main accounts produced locally, either on the Byzantine or on the Latin side, are crucial for establishing the outline of events in Romania, even though they are not particularly detailed when it comes to crusading.[12] Of particular interest are also the works of crusade theorists and propagandists, like Marino Sanudo Torsello, Ramon Lull, William of Adam, and Philip de Mézières, who were particularly active in the late 13th and 14th centuries, and who often included Romania in their discussions even though their attention was usually fixed on Jerusalem and the Holy Land. Information about the response to crusade calls and the mobilisation of crusaders throughout Europe, or about the expeditions they participated in, is scattered through a wide variety of chronicles, troubadour songs, and treatises. The material is very uneven. For major campaigns, such as the crusades of Nicopolis and Varna, there are numerous sources, some of them extensive and originating from eye-witness accounts. For smaller expeditions, sometimes all we have is passing references in chronicles. The provenance of the sources depends to a large extent on the political realities of western involvement in Romania at the time. For example, a good source for 13th-century crusading efforts for the Latin Empire is the rhymed chronicle of Philippe Mouskes, originating from Flanders, the homeland of the Latin Emperors and of a large part of the reinforcements recruited on their behalf. In the late 14th and 15th centuries, on the other hand, Burgundy under Philip the Good became heavily involved in the war efforts against the Ottomans; so the Burgundian Jehan de Wavrin is one of our best sources for the crusade of Varna.[13]

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and Anthony Luttrell and Elizabeth Zachariadou, eds., *Sources for Turkish History in the Hospitallers' Rhodian Archive* (Athens, 2008), esp. pp. 13–18 and 25–29. A discussion of the Hospitaller archive in Malta as a source for the order's presence in the Aegean in: Zacharias Tsirpanlis, "Το αρχείο των Ιωαννιτών Ιπποτών και η σημασία του για τη μεσαιωνική ιστορία της Δωδεκανήσου" ["The Hospitaller Archive and its Importance for the Medieval History of the Dodecanese"], in idem, *Η Ρόδος και οι Νότιες Σποράδες στα χρόνια των Ιωαννιτών Ιπποτών* (*14ος–16ος αι.*) [*Rhodes and the Southern Sporades during the Hospitaller era* (*14th–16th c.*)] (Rhodes, 1991), pp. 11–21. For the Catalan presence in the Levant, see: Antonio Rubio y Lluch, ed., *Diplomatari de l'Orient català, 1301–1409* (Barcelona, 1947).

12 The Byzantine historians (Akropolites, Pachymeres, Gregoras, Kantakouzenos, Doukas, Sphrantzes, etc.) cover the greatest part of the period, although coverage of the late 14th to the early 15th century is rather patchy. On the Latin side, after the early years of the conquest (Villehardouin, Robert of Clari, Henry of Valenciennes), the most important continuous narrative is the *Chronicle of the Morea*, though it is not always dependable.

13 The major relevant sources are noted in the corresponding sections below and in the bibliography at the end of the volume.

## Historical Outline

Crusading in Frankish Greece can be divided into three major phases. Those phases are defined, first and foremost, by the objectives of these expeditions and the enemies they were turned against. The first one, from 1204 to the late 1320s, was characterised by efforts to prop up or restore the Latin states which were established in the area in the wake of the Fourth Crusade, and as a result crusading was directed mainly against the Byzantine Greeks. These efforts petered out by the early 14th century, and in its third decade a slow but significant change occurred. In this second phase, the Turks became the enemies against whom Holy War was waged, while the Byzantines were now seen as potential allies. The third phase of crusading also targeted the Turks, but there were some significant differences from the second one: whereas the previous efforts were directed at neutralising the threat of the maritime Turkish beyliks in the Aegean and consisted mostly of seaborne expeditions and naval leagues of Latin powers, the later campaigns aimed to break the power of the mostly land-based Ottomans and to halt their advance in the Balkans. This effort was punctuated by two famous albeit disastrous campaigns: Nicopolis (1396) and Varna (1444). The chronological limits between the second and the third phase can be somewhat hazy. Geanakoplos and Housley have both used 1396 to mark the beginning of the later stage.[14] However, in the context of crusading in Romania, the Nicopolis campaign was a manifestation of a trend that can be traced a few decades back, to the appearance of the Ottomans on the European side of the Dardanelles (1354) and to the 1360s, when the Byzantine government intensified its contacts with the West aiming at the organisation of a major crusade, a *passagium generale*, against the Ottomans. This is another difference between the second phase and the third. The stakes and the objectives were now larger and so was the campaign plan: no less than a total commitment of Christendom to stemming the Turkish tide. At the turn of the 15th century, this goal had replaced the recovery of Jerusalem in the forefront of crusade priorities. Our examination will end with the efforts, in the immediate aftermath of the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople, to organise a crusade for the recovery of the imperial city in the 1460s.

14 Geanakoplos, "Byzantium and the Crusades," pp. 31–32 (Geanakoplos divides crusading activity in Byzantine lands into three periods: 1261–1331, 1331–1396, and 1396–1453); Housley, *Later Crusades*, pp. 49–117, at 77–79 (Housely splits his examination of crusading in Romania in two parts: 1274–1396 and 1396–1502).

### *First Phase: Crusades Against Byzantium*

Any mention of crusading against the Byzantines is most likely to bring to mind a single event: the conquest of Constantinople by the army of the Fourth Crusade. The sack of the greatest Christian city of the time by warriors of the cross has made a powerful impression on subsequent historiography. The effort to explain this turn of events has a long history. Theories of plotting and conspiracies to divert the crusade towards Constantinople were once proposed by a number of scholars. These theories proved fanciful and ill-supported by evidence. They were followed by more sombre analyses of the circumstances surrounding the expedition and a series of more or less unanticipated difficulties that altered its course. The topic still fascinates to this day.[15] Given all this interest in this crusading attack on Christian Byzantium, it is rather ironical that the crusades which were proclaimed in the 13th century with the avowed intention of conquering or holding on to Byzantine territories have remained in relevant obscurity. These actual anti-Byzantine crusades have not drawn the same attention as the incidental one. Unlike the Fourth Crusade, the expeditions which followed were explicitly directed at Romania, sanctioning Holy War against the Orthodox Christians in the area. It is a fact that they lack the high drama of the events of 1204. However, they constitute an important aspect of the history of the area, as well as of the development of the crusading movement. The only alleged precedent of a crusade against the Byzantines was the campaign led by Bohemond in 1107–08; but it is questionable whether the attack on Byzantium was sanctioned by the pope, and in any case the expedition's character as a crusade was tied to its aim of reaching the Holy Land and not to the operations against the empire.[16]

The crusade was, however, put in the service of consolidating the conquest very soon after 1204. Tempted by the opportunities offered by the Latin control over the empire and the patriarchate of Constantinople, Pope Innocent III consented to the Latin Emperor's requests and issued calls for new recruits

15 There was a spate of publications dedicated to the Fourth Crusade on the occasion of the 800-year anniversary in 2004, for example: Michael Angold, *The Fourth Crusade: Event and Context* (Harlow, 2003); Jonathan Phillips, *The Fourth Crusade and the Sack of Constantinople* (London, 2005); Angeliki E. Laiou, ed., *Urbs Capta: The Fourth Crusade and its Consequences* (Paris, 2005); Pierantonio Piatti, ed., *The Fourth Crusade Revisited* (Vatican City, 2008). The most recent overview of relevant historiography is: Michel Balard, "L'historiographie occidentale de la quatrième croisade," in *Urbs Capta*, pp. 161–74.

16 A recent discussion, including an overview of earlier literature, in: Brett Edward Whalen, "God's Will or Not? Bohemond's Campaign against the Byzantine Empire (1105–1108)," in *Crusades: Medieval Worlds in Conflict*, ed. Thomas F. Madden et al. (Farnham, 2010), pp. 111–25.

already in the spring of 1205. A few months later he ordered the preaching of a new crusade in aid of the Latin Empire which had suffered its first major setback at Adrianople at the hands of the Bulgarian king, Kalojan. A crusade force was successfully raised, particularly from Flanders, the Latin Emperor's homeland. However, the army seems to have been defeated upon its arrival by the Greeks of Epirus. Nevertheless, a contingent from Flanders, under Peter of Douai, did reach Constantinople in late 1207 or early 1208.[17]

After Innocent had taken the crucial step of introducing the crusade for the defence of Frankish Greece, his successors were to go further down that road. Every time there was a crisis in Romania the papacy and the local Latin powers would resort to crusading. Honorius III (1216–27) first used the threat of a crusade against Theodore of Epirus, when the latter captured the newly-elected Latin Emperor, Peter de Courtenay, in 1217. Then, in 1222–25, a crusade under Marquis William VI of Montferrat was launched to assist the Latin Kingdom of Thessalonica against the mounting pressure of the Greeks of Epirus. Although it failed to prevent the fall of Thessalonica (December 1224) or to reclaim the city, as William and many of his soldiers died in an epidemic of dysentery, it was significant that an expedition of considerable size was successfully mobilised, adequately funded, and actually made its way to Greece.[18]

The most ambitious crusade, however, was the one organised by Pope Gregory IX (1227–41) to help defend Latin Constantinople against the attacks of Emperor John Vatatzes of Nicaea and his ally, John Asen of Bulgaria. As the combined pressure of Vatatzes and Asen seemed to spell the end of the Latin Empire, the papal curia sprang to action. From 1235 to 1240, a plethora of letters were sent out, summoning crusaders from France, England, and Hungary, while in equal measure enjoining and threatening sovereigns such as Béla IV of Hungary and Emperor Frederick II to offer their assistance. Gregory tenaciously pushed ahead with his plan, despite various obstacles and the unwillingness of some crusaders to set out for Romania. The pope involved the mendicant orders quite extensively in recruiting crusaders and raising funds for the planned campaign. One of the greatest lords of France, Peter of Dreux, count of Brittany, was expected to lead the expedition. However, circumstances in

17 Othmar Hageneder et al., eds., *Die Register Innocenz' III.*, 12 vols. (Graz, 1964–) [in progress], 7: no. 152; 8: nos. 70 (69), 131–33 (130–32); 9: no. 45. See Nikolaos G. Chrissis, *Crusading in Frankish Greece: A Study of Byzantine-Western Relations and Attitudes, 1204–1282* (Turnhout, 2012), pp. 1–56.

18 Petrus Pressutti, ed., *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1888–95), nos. 684–91, 859, 4059–60, 4353–55, 4360, 4753–54, 5189–5270; Chrissis, *Crusading*, pp. 57–82; Donald M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 57–64.

Europe were not propitious. England was embroiled in an uprising of the barons against Henry III, while King Béla's priority was to solidify his control over the Hungarian nobility rather than to undertake a risky venture in the Balkans. At the same time, a parallel crusade to the Holy Land (the "Barons' Crusade", 1234–41), was being prepared, and many nobles and knights were keener to join it rather than the Constantinopolitan campaign. Those who resisted papal pressure and opted for the former included even the projected leader, Peter of Dreux. The final blow seemed to be the irreversible deterioration of relations between Gregory and Frederick II and the outbreak of hostilities between the pope and the emperor in 1239, which became the papacy's main concern for more than a decade, overshadowing all other activities. Nevertheless, it is a testament to Gregory's tenacity that he managed to get a crusade off the ground, eventually under the leadership of the Latin Emperor, Baldwin II. The army made its way from the West to the Latin Empire, where it achieved modest success by recovering the strategically important town of Tzurulum in Thrace. While this achievement was hardly proportionate to the efforts expended in organising the crusade, it could serve as an example that, circumstances permitting, such undertakings could indeed bring about tangible results.[19]

As an indication of its growing status, crusading in Greece was now included among the priorities of the Church Universal. At the First Council of Lyon, in 1245, the defence of the Latin Empire was proclaimed as a duty for all the faithful, and a Europe-wide call for military and monetary assistance was launched, reaching as far as Portugal, Scotland and Poland.[20] However, Pope Innocent IV (1243–54) lacked his predecessor's persistence on the issue, while papal policy and resources were more and more forcefully drawn into the whirlpool of the struggle with Frederick II. This was compounded by the fact that Louis IX's planned expedition to the Holy Land (1248–50) topped the list of crusading priorities at the time, at least in France. The calls for Frankish Greece quickly fizzled out with little apparent response. After 1247, the papacy gave up on active efforts to prop up the Latin Empire through crusading action and turned

19 Chrissis, *Crusading*, pp. 83–133; Nikolaos G. Chrissis, "A Diversion that Never Was: Thibaut IV of Champagne, Richard of Cornwall and Pope Gregory IX's Crusading Plans for Constantinople, 1235–1239," *Crusades* 9 (2010), 123–45; Michael Lower, *The Barons' Crusade: A Call to Arms and its Consequences* (Philadelphia, 2005), esp. pp. 58–157; Richard T. Spence, "Gregory IX's Attempted Expeditions to the Latin Empire of Constantinople: The Crusade for the Union of the Latin and Greek Churches," *Journal of Medieval History* 5 (1979), 163–76.

20 *Relatio de concilio Lugdunensi*, in MGH Const., 2:513–16, at 514; Norman P. Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2 vols. (London, 1990), 1:295–96; Ferdinand M. Delorme, "Bulle d'Innocent IV en faveur de l'empire latin de Constantinople," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 8 (1915), 307–10; Chrissis, *Crusading*, pp. 146–59.

to direct negotiations with the Byzantine state of Nicaea, aimed at Church Union.[21] With the exception of a limited permission for crusade preaching in Venice in 1253,[22] the Latins in Greece seem to have been left to fend for themselves with little outside assistance.

The shock of the Byzantine recovery of Constantinople and the destruction of the Latin Empire in 1261, however, brought about the revival of crusading for Frankish Greece. The news moved the newly-elected pope, Urban IV (1261–64), to action. A crusade was proclaimed for the reconquest of Constantinople and the protection of the remaining Latin possessions in Greece. Particular emphasis was given to the Principality of Achaea which represented not only the most potent Latin state in Greece, but also a significant bridgehead for any crusade in the area. The crusade bull warned of the imminent danger that Achaea too might fall and called for quick action before Latin fortunes in the area declined beyond repair.[23] Urban's crusade call was at least as wide-reaching as those of Gregory IX and of the First Council of Lyon. However, it did not fare well. The requested subsidies were universally unpopular and, despite Urban's diplomacy and censures, reactions erupted on the part of the clergy in Castile-León, Aragon, England and France. The prelates complained that they were already overburdened with multiple papal demands for crusade taxation and other urgent subventions. The pope had to back down, annulling for the most part his earlier requests. The situation in Italy was, once more, another impediment to the crusade for Frankish Greece. Although Frederick was now dead, his illegitimate son Manfred was in control of Sicily and southern Italy and posed a great threat to papal interests. The papacy eventually opted to eliminate Manfred by supporting Charles of Anjou, the brother of King Louis IX of France, as claimant to the Sicilian crown. This was a major project which absorbed all the crusade resources at the papacy's disposal and consigned the plight of Romania to a much lower position among the curia's concerns.[24]

The dynamic appearance of Charles of Anjou in Mediterranean politics radically altered the course and shape of crusading in Frankish Greece. Having

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21 Antonino Franchi, *La svolta politico-ecclesiastica tra Roma e Bisanzio (1249–1254)* (Rome, 1981); Chrissis, *Crusading*, pp. 159–72.

22 Élie Berger, ed., *Les Registres d'Innocent IV*, BEFAR, 4 vols. (Paris, 1884–1911), nos. 6829, 6845.

23 Jean Guiraud, ed., *Les Registres d'Urbain IV*, BEFAR, 5 vols. (Paris, 1892–1958), no. 131 (*Registre Ordinaire*).

24 Chrissis, *Crusading*, pp. 179–249; Édouard Jordan, *Les origines de la domination angevine en Italie*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1909; repr. New York, 1960); Norman Housley, *The Italian Crusades: The Papal-Angevin Alliance and the Crusades against Christian Lay Powers, 1254–1343* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 17–19, passim.

swiftly defeated Manfred and assumed control of the Sicilian *Regno*, Charles soon turned his attention eastwards to Constantinople and the Morea. The turning point was the signing of the Viterbo Treaties, in May 1267. With these two documents, the first between Charles and Baldwin II, and the second between Charles and Prince William II of Achaea, Angevin overlordship or direct control over the greatest part of Latin Romania was recognised.[25] From this point on, Charles was effectively placed at the head of any crusading activity in Greece. In the treaties, he had committed himself to launching, at his own expense and with his own forces, a considerable expedition to reclaim Constantinople. Charles was a determined and exceptionally capable ruler and his ambitions might have even extended to the imperial throne of Byzantium. For a time he seemed unstoppable and the immense threat he posed became the main concern of Byzantine foreign policy. However, a number of factors frustrated his efforts, including Venice's aloofness towards Angevin involvement in its sphere of influence. Most importantly, the Byzantine emperor, Michael VIII Palaiologos, used all his diplomatic skill to undermine Charles by approaching the papacy and offering the prospect of Church Union as a way of de-legitimising a crusade attack on the empire. Pope Gregory X (1271–76) was particularly well-disposed to that prospect, and the contact between the two sides culminated in the proclamation of the Union of the Greek and Roman Churches at the Second Council of Lyon in 1274. This effectively cancelled out the possibility of a crusade against Byzantium and was a serious setback for Charles's plans, made worse by the defeat of his expeditionary force at Berat in spring 1281.[26] A new opportunity presented itself with the elevation of the pro-Angevin Martin IV on the papal throne, followed by the annulment of Church Union and the excommunication of Michael Palaiologos (November 1281).[27] But just as Charles of Anjou seemed ready to launch his long-awaited campaign in Greece, the major uprising of the Sicilian Vespers brought about the collapse of Angevin control over the island.[28] The Sicilian Vespers, which were caused by the harsh treatment of the native population, but which were also organised with the involvement of King Peter III of Aragon and of Michael

25 Hendrickx, "Régestes, " pp. 184–85, nos. 300–01; Setton, *Papacy*, 1:103–05.

26 Deno J. Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West, 1258–1282: A Study in Late Byzantine-Western Relations* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959); Joseph Gill, *Byzantium and the Papacy, 1198–1400* (New Brunswick, 1979), pp. 113–81; Burkhard Roberg, *Das zweite Konzil von Lyon* (*1274*) (Paderborn, 1990), pp. 59–87, 219–81.

27 Ferdinand M. Delorme and Aloysius L. Tautu, eds., *Acta Romanorum Pontificum ab Innocentio V ad Benedictum XI* (*1276–1304*), PC/CICO (Vatican, 1954), no. 53; Gill, *Papacy*, pp. 178–79.

28 Steven Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers: A History of the Mediterranean World in the Later Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1958).

VIII, effectively ended Charles' designs in the East and along with them any chance for a crusade aimed at buttressing or restoring Latin rule in Greece for a long time.

In the wake of the Sicilian Vespers the major Western Mediterranean powers were embroiled in a war that lasted twenty years, until the Peace of Caltabellotta in 1302. It was only after the end of the Angevin-Aragonese conflict that it was possible for the interested parties to reconsider crusading involvement in Greece. The idea of a re-conquest of Constantinople had not gone away. A number of crusade theorists in the late 13th and early 14th century, such as Ramon Lull, William of Adam and Peter Dubois, included it in their proposals for the recovery of the Holy Land.[29]

Some claimants to the Latin Empire appeared ready to give substance to their title. In 1301, Charles of Valois, the brother of King Philip IV of France, married the heiress of the Latin Empire, Catherine de Courtenay. In preparation for an expedition to pursue his claim on Constantinople, Charles gathered an impressive array of allies. Besides the support of France, Charles enjoyed the backing of the papacy. Benedict XI (1303–04) and Clement V (1305–14) put in his service crusade preaching and indulgences as well as funds, for a crusade that would bring the schismatic Greeks back to the Church and pre-empt the fall of the empire in the hands of "Turks and other Saracens and infidels".[30] Venice, the duke of Burgundy, and Charles II of Naples were numbered among Charles' allies, who also established contacts with the Serbian king, Stephen Uros II, with Latin lords in Greece, and even with discontented members of the Byzantine elite. Most dangerously for Byzantium, Charles also tried to make common cause with the Catalan Company, which would provide a body of experienced warriors already in Romania. This band of mercenaries, veterans of the war of the Sicilian Vespers and in search of a new employer after

29 Anthony Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land: The Crusade Proposals of the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Aldershot, 2000), pp. 32–33, 99–100, 138–44; Joseph Delaville Le Roulx, *La France en Orient au XIV^e siècle: expéditions du maréchal Boucicaut* (Paris, 1886), pp. 48–54, 62–63, 70–77, 90–98; Felicitas Schmieder, "Enemy, Obstacle, Ally? The Greek in Western Crusade Proposals (1274–1311)," in *The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways: Festschrift in Honour of Janos M. Bak*, ed. Balázs Nagy and Marcell Sebok (Budapest, 1999), pp. 357–71; William of Adam, *How to Defeat the Saracens*, ed. and trans. Giles Constable (Washington DC, 2012), pp. 9–10, 62–63, 70–73, 75–79.

30 Charles Grandjean, ed., *Le registre de Benoit XI*, BEFAR (Paris, 1903), nos. 1006–07 (however, Benedict cancelled his concessions to Charles of Valois, only one week after granting them, on account of the turbulent circumstances in the kingdom of France: no. 1008); *Regestum Clementis Papae V*, ed. monachi ordinis s. Benedicti, 10 vols. (Rome, 1885–92), nos. 243–48, 1755–59; Thomas, *Diplomatarium*, I: nos. 27–28.

the Peace of Caltabellotta, had been enlisted by Andronikos II in 1303 to fight against the Turks in Asia Minor; but relations with the Byzantines soon soured and the Catalans, ambitious and insubordinate, had slipped out of imperial control, devastating Thrace from their base at Gallipoli. The Catalans agreed to become the vassals of Charles of Valois in 1307 and assist him in his planned crusade, which represented a hazardous turn of events for the Byzantine government. But great as the threat might have appeared at that juncture, nothing tangible came out of Charles's plans which remained an exercise on paper, while the Catalans moved south and, instead of fighting "schismatics", took control of the French duchy of Athens and Thebes.

The crusading effort for the restoration of the Latin Empire was then taken up by Philip of Taranto, son of Charles II of Naples. Philip had already acquired the title of Prince of Achaea in 1307. So, through his marriage to Charles of Valois' daughter, Catherine of Valois (1313), the Angevins gathered again in their hands all the Latin claims in Romania. Popes Clement V and John XXII (1316–34) gave their backing through the grant of crusade indulgences and proceeds from ecclesiastical taxation, both for his earlier position in Achaea and for his plans for Constantinople.[31] But despite the nominal support of powerful sovereigns, including the king of France, Frederick III of Sicily, as well as Philip's nephew, Charles Robert, the Angevin king of Hungary, the operations of Philip of Taranto and his brother John of Gravina in Romania were of a rather limited scale and generally ended in failure. After Philip's death in 1331, there was no-one to take up actively the effort for a Latin recovery of Constantinople.[32]

### *Second Phase: Anti-Turkish Naval Leagues*

In that same period a radical shift occurred with regard to crusading in the area. The Turks slowly but steadily came to be seen as the main enemies in the Aegean, replacing the Byzantines who could now be considered potential allies. A number of factors contributed to this. Most prominently, the reali-

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31 *Regestum Clementis*, nos. 1604–05, 7759–65, 7893, 8863–68, 8913–16, 9260, 9620–21; Guillaume Mollat, ed., *Jean XXII: Lettres communes analysées d'après les registres dits d'Avignon et du Vatican*, BEFAR, 16 vols. (Paris, 1904–47), nos. 2128, 8241, 16672; Aloysius L. Tautu, ed., *Acta Ioannis XXII* (*1317–1334*), PC/CICO (Vatican, 1952), no. 22.

32 For the efforts of Charles of Valois and Philip of Taranto, see: Erwin Dade, *Versuche zur Wiedererrichtung der lateinischen Herrschaft in Konstantinopel im Rahmen der abendländischen Politik, 1261 bis etwa 1310* (Jena, 1938), pp. 72–157; Angeliki E. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins: The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II, 1282–1328* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), pp. 54, 200–42 (esp. 202–04, 237–42), 249–60, 318–19; Geanakoplos, "Byzantium and the Crusades," pp. 42–48; Peter Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean, 1204–1500* (London, 1995), pp. 66–67, 97–104, 128–29.

sation of the extent of the Turkish threat: the collapse of the Seljuk state in the late 13th century had encouraged the rise of independent Turkish beyliks, which by the early 14th century dominated the coast of Asia Minor. Motivated by a *ghazi* mentality of Holy War and deprived from a land frontier with the unbelievers where they could acquire glory and booty, the coastal beyliks soon took to the sea, devastating the islands of the Aegean and disrupting the trade routes.[33] If the growth of Turkish power was the one side of the coin, the enfeeblement of Byzantium was the other. After the loss of Asia Minor and especially after the empire descended into civil war in the 1320s, Byzantium hardly figured as a major threat to Latin interests in the Levant. Both sides had more to fear from the Turks, and this was clearly realised in the efforts of rapprochement with the West that characterised the last years of Andronikos II's reign and the entire foreign policy of Andronikos III (1328–41).[34] Finally, as it was becoming clearer that the loss of Outremer was not likely to be reversed, since plan after plan for a crusade foundered, the attention of the West slowly shifted from the Holy Land to the Aegean and Anatolia; the full development of this process, however, was still some time in the future.

The change of circumstances in the East led to a readjustment of attitudes and perceptions in the West regarding the shape and direction crusading action should take. The 1320s can rightly be identified as the decade of transition. It was at that period that the first tentative efforts were made for common action on the part of the Christian powers against the Turks. The presence of the latter was gradually realised by the Latin world in the early 14th century. The Turkish threat had been invoked as an additional justification for the plans of Charles of Valois, not only by the popes Benedict XI and Clement V, as noted earlier, but also by the Byzantine nobles who promised to assist Charles, precisely because the government of Constantinople was unable to defend the eastern provinces from the ravages of the "infidel barbarians".[35] The Turks also started to figure in the treatises for the recovery of the Holy Land, including

33 Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, "Holy War in the Aegean during the Fourteenth Century," in *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. Benjamin Arbel, Bernard Hamilton and David Jacoby (London, 1989) [= *Mediterranean Historical Review* 4:1 (1989)], pp. 212–25; Halil Inalcik, "The Rise of the Turkish Maritime Principalities in Anatolia, Byzantium and Crusades," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 9 (1985), 179–217, Housley, *Later Crusades*, pp. 55–57.

34 Laiou, *Constantinople*, esp. pp. 284–329; Ursula Bosch, *Kaiser Andronikos III. Palaiologos: Versuch einer Darstellung der byzantinischen Geschichte in den Jahren 1321–1341* (Amsterdam, 1965).

35 Grandjean, *Registre*, nos. 1006–07; *Regestum Clementis*, nos. 243–48; Laiou, *Constantinople*, pp. 212–20, 341–43.

the works of William of Adam and Ramon Lull. Most of these works did not assign great importance to them and used the Turkish threat as an additional argument for the need to capture Constantinople and then open the way to Jerusalem through Anatolia.[36] Nevertheless, the significance of the Turks had clearly started to impinge on the consciousness of these authors. The one who seems to have most clearly grasped the danger posed by the Turks in the Eastern Mediterranean was the Venetian Marino Sanudo, an enthusiastic and tireless advocate of the crusade, who had a good knowledge of circumstances in the Aegean as well as an extensive network of contacts throughout Europe. Although in his earlier work, the *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis*, Sanudo had spoken favourably of the conquest of Constantinople in the context of the recovery of the Holy Land, in a series of letters in the 1320s he tried to convince both the powers in the West and the Byzantine emperor about the need for cooperation and common action.[37]

The shift of crusade plans, from wresting Constantinople from the Byzantines to halting the Turkish advance, was gradual and not always straightforward. The pontificate of John XXII (1316–34) coincides with this era of change, and the ambivalent attitudes with regard to crusading aims in the Eastern Mediterranean are reflected in his policies. For the greatest part of his pontificate, John continued to grant indulgences and funding for the support of Latin Romania against the schismatic Greeks.[38] Probably the most characteristic example of this transitional period, however, is the letter of 29 November 1322, which granted an indulgence to the Latins of Achaea who would die fighting "the schismatic Greeks, and Bulgarians and Alans and Turks and other infidel

36 Leopold, *How to Recover*, pp. 90–91, 149–50; Schmieder, "Enemy, Obstacle, Ally?", pp. 363–64.

37 Peter Lock, "Sanudo, Turks, Greeks and Latins in the Early Fourteenth Century," in *Contact and Conflict in Frankish Greece and the Aegean, 1204–1453*, ed. Nikolaos G. Chrissis and Mike Carr (Farnham, 2014), pp. 135–49; Christopher Tyerman, "Marino Sanudo Torsello and the Lost Crusade: Lobbying in the Fourteenth Century," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 32 (1982), 57–73, esp. 69–72; Angeliki Laiou, "Marino Sanudo Torsello, Byzantium and the Turks: The Background to the Anti-Turkish League of 1332–1334," *Speculum* 45 (1970), 374–92; Friedrich Kunstmann, "Studien über Marino Sanudo Torsello den Älteren," *Abhandlungen der Historischen Klasse der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 7 (1855), 695–819, at 776–77, 798–804, 808. For the *Liber secretorum*, see Marino Sanudo Torsello, *The Book of the Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross*, trans. Peter Lock (Farnham, 2011).

38 Mollat, *Jean XXII*, nos. 2128, 8241; Tautu, *Acta Ioannis XXII*, no. 22.

nations".[39] This was actually the first time the Turks were mentioned as targets of a crusade indulgence, though in the context of a traditional defence of Latin Romania against the "schismatics". A few months later, however, the Turks were the only enemies named in the crusade indulgence for the defence of the domains of Martino Zaccaria, the Genoese lord of Chios.[40] At the end of his pontificate, John XXII would give his support to an anti-Turkish League which included Byzantium and would invoke the Turkish threat as an argument to convince the Byzantine emperor, Andronikos III, to work for Church Union.[41]

Venice led the way in this initiative. There were discussions for the formation of an anti-Turkish league (*societas contra Turchos*) already in 1325, and in 1327 the Senate commissioned the Venetian authorities in Romania to make contact with the Byzantine emperor, with the Hospitallers of Rhodes, and with Martino Zaccaria, all of whom had already come to blows with the Turks.[42] Venice intensified its diplomatic efforts in the early 1330s, and extended its calls also to the duke of the Archipelago, as well as to King Robert of Naples.[43] The Serenissima's efforts bore fruit and the first naval league was created on 6 September 1332.[44] The original signatories were Venice, the Hospitallers, and Andronikos III; in early 1334 they were joined by the pope and the kings of Cyprus and France. The final agreement stipulated a fleet of 40 galleys: 10 by the Hospitallers, 10 by Venice, 6 by the king of Cyprus, at least 6 by the Greek emperor, and the final 8 by the pope and the king of France, scheduled to meet in Negroponte in May 1334.[45]

The alliance with the Byzantines was not necessarily striking in itself. Religious differences were not an insurmountable obstacle to political understanding in the constantly shifting circumstances in Romania, even when that entailed alliances with the "enemies of the faith" against coreligionists. In

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39 Mollat, *Jean XXII*, no. 16672; full text in Michael Carr, "Motivations and Response to Crusades in the Aegean: c. 1300–1350" (unpublished doctoral thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2011), p. 274.

40 Mollat, *Jean XXII*, no. 16977 (and 22117); full text in Ludovico Gatto, "Per la storia di Martino Zaccaria, signore di Chio," *Bullettino dell' "Archivio Paleografico Italiano"*, n.s. 2–3, part 1 (1956–57), 325–45 at 344–45.

41 Tautu, *Acta Ioannis XXII*, nos. 134–36. See in general: Gottfried Dürrholder, *Die Kreuzzugspolitik unter Papst Johann XXII. (1316–1334)* (Strasbourg, 1913).

42 Roberto Cessi and Paolo Sambin, eds., *Le deliberazioni del Consiglio dei Rogati* (*Senato*), 2 vols. (Venice, 1960–61), 1:296, Book 8, no. 175; and 1:341, book 10, no. 194; Laiou, "Marino Sanudo Torsello," pp. 379–81.

43 Thomas, *Diplomatarium*, 1: no. 113; Thiriet, *Régestes*, nos. 13, 15, 20, 23.

44 Thomas, *Diplomatarium*, 1: no. 116.

45 Thomas, *Diplomatarium*, 1: nos. 126–27.

the 13th century, Michael of Epirus had made common cause with the prince of Achaea against Nicaea, while the Genoese had eagerly cooperated with the "schismatic" Michael VIII against their Venetian competitors; likewise, Byzantine contenders did not hesitate to use Turkish help against each other in the civil wars that rocked the empire in the 14th century. What was striking was that this operation took on the mantle of Holy War for the defence of the faith. The Greeks, erstwhile enemies of the Church, were now included among its defenders. The text of the treaty of September 1332, after deploring the evils inflicted by the Turks on Christians, both Greeks and Latins, goes on to state that the "exalted princes" (the Byzantine emperor, the doge of Venice and the Hospitaller Grand Master) have agreed to take common action "out of reverence to God, for the exaltation of the orthodox faith and for the consolation of the aforementioned Christians".[46] As noted, Pope John XXII gave his support to the league. Yet, only a few years earlier, in a letter to Robert of Naples in late 1328, he had described in very similar terms the sufferings of the faithful in Romania but had, on that occasion, included the Greeks among the "enemies of the cross" who were responsible for the situation and against whom the Christian (i.e. Catholic) powers should ally.[47]

In September 1334, the forces of the League achieved a notable success by destroying the fleet of the emir of Karasi at Adramyttion. A number of attacks were also made on Turkish coasts and ships, including a raid against Smyrna, held by the emir of Aydin.[48] The success proved short-lived, however, as

46 Thomas, *Diplomatarium*, 1: no. 116.

47 Walter Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz* (Berlin, 1903), p. 702; Norman Housley, "Angevin Naples and the Defence of the Latin East: Robert the Wise and the Naval League of 1334," *Byzantion* 51 (1981), 548–56, at 551.

48 For the League of 1332–34, see in general: Vladislav Ivanov, "*Sancta Unio* or the Holy League 1332–36/7 as a Political Factor in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Aegean," *Études Balkaniques* 48 (2012), 142–76 (and notes 3–7 for references to earlier literature); Spyridon Theotokes, "Η πρώτη συμμαχία των κυρίαρχων κρατών του Αιγαίου κατά της καθόδου των Τούρκων αρχομένου του ΙΔ΄ αιώνος" ["The First Alliance of the Sovereign States of the Aegean against the Expansion of the Turks in the Early 14th Century"], *Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών* 7 (1930), 283–98; Paul Lemerle, *L'émirat d'Aydin, Byzance et l'occident: Recherches sur "La geste d'Umur pacha"* (Paris, 1957), pp. 92–98; Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade: Venetian Crete and the Emirates of Menteshe and Aydin: 1300–1415* (Venice, 1983), pp. 21–40. For a Byzantine source celebrating the victory at Adramyttion, see: Vitalien Laurent, "Action de grâces pour la victoire navale remportée sur les Turcs à Atramyttion au cours de l'automne 1334," in *Εις Μνήμην Κ. Αμάντου 1874–1960* [*In Memory of K. Amantos 1874–1960*] (Athens, 1960), pp. 25–41.

after the fleet departed from the Aegean the Turkish raids resumed with ever increasing intensity.

The revival of Turkish naval power led to another significant expedition by the allied Christian powers in the Aegean: the Crusade of Smyrna. The first calls for this campaign were made by King Hugh IV of Cyprus and the Hospitallers in 1341. Venice agreed to join a new league since the peace concluded in 1337 with the beyliks of Aydin and Menteshe had failed to provide security for Venetian trade in the area. Pope Clement VI (1342–52) eagerly backed the coalition, and made contacts with Latin powers in Italy and Romania as well as with the Greeks (even though Byzantine participation proved impossible as the empire was in a civil war). According to the final agreements, in 1343, the four main participants were to prepare a fleet of 20 galleys: 4 from Cyprus, 6 from Venice, 6 from the Hospitallers, and 4 from the papacy.[49] Clement VI ordered for the crusade to be preached throughout Christendom, and for funds to be raised through taxation of ecclesiastical revenues and donations of the faithful. The crusading force attacked Smyrna in October 1344 and succeeded in capturing the port and its castle as well as the lower quarter of the city, but it failed to wrest control of the upper city and Smyrna's citadel from the Turks. The crusade stalled there as neither side was able to make decisive gains against the other. Humbert II, dauphin of Vienne, led a second wave from the West in 1346. However, little was achieved under his rather ineffectual command. Although operations went on for a while, the stalemate persisted and Smyrna remained split between Latins and Turks for over half a century, until its conquest by Tamerlane in 1402. Despite the lack of any further progress, by seizing Smyrna's port the crusade succeeded in neutralising the naval power of Aydin. The emir of Smyrna opened negotiations for a truce with the Latins but eventually it was not possible to reach an agreement. Plans for a new alliance against the Turks in 1350–51 came to nothing as Cyprus was hesitant and Venice was embroiled in a new war with Genoa.[50] The ravages of the Black Death throughout Europe at the same time caused widespread disruption and hampered further crusading

49 Augustin Theiner, ed., *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1859–60), 2:658–62, nos. 985–86 [= Norman Housley, ed. and trans., *Documents on the Later Crusades, 1274–1580* (London, 1996), no. 22, pp. 78–80]; Thiriet, *Régestes*, 1: nos. 142, 149, 155, 158, 160.

50 For the Crusade of Smyrna in general, see: Lemerle, *L'émirat d'Aydin*, pp. 180–203; Norman Housley, *The Avignon Papacy and the Crusades, 1305–1378* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 32–39, 120–22; Setton, *Papacy*, 1:182–223; Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade*, pp. 41–62; Jules Gay, *Le Pape Clément VI et les affaires d'Orient (1342–1352)* (Paris, 1904), pp. 32–80; Alain Demurger, "Le pape Clément VI et l'Orient: ligue ou croisade?," in *Guerre, pouvoir et noblesse au Moyen Âge*, ed. Jacques Paviot and Jacques Verger (Paris, 2000), pp. 207–14; see also Jürgen Sarnowsky,

activity. Nevertheless, the commitment of considerable crusade resources for the Smyrna campaign and Clement VI's active involvement confirmed the important shift: the Turks were now the great enemy in the East; the Mamluks and the recovery of Jerusalem started to fade in the background.

### *Third Phase: Crusades Against the Ottomans*

From the middle of the 14th century the nature of the Turkish threat changed, and with it also the orientation of crusading. As the power of the naval beyliks was curbed, Ottoman expansion on land grew at a fast pace, prompting efforts for closer Byzantine-Latin cooperation. A characteristic of the period is the growing involvement of Byzantine emperors in advocating crusading action. Most of the Palaiologoi would turn to the West, but John V (1341/54–91) and, later, Manuel II (1391–1425) were the most active in this respect.[51] The price for western help was the promise of Church Union, or more accurately of the submission of the Greek Church to papal authority.[52]

In the late 14th and early 15th century, crusade organisation had to face a set of new problems and challenges. Further Turkish encroachment in the Balkans made the defence of Hungary, Catholic Christendom's own frontier, a central concern of crusading activity, alongside the defence of Byzantium and the Latin outposts in the Aegean. Conflicts in the West, as always, hindered concerted action. The Hundred Years War between England and France (1337–1453) deprived the crusades of an essential source of manpower. It is not without significance that the campaign of Nicopolis could only take place when there was a lull in the fighting and a climate of cooperation had been restored between the two sides. Burgundy rose in the international stage, as France descended into anarchy ravaged by the long war. As a result, Hungary and Burgundy surfaced as the leading crusade powers in the period: the former out of the defensive necessity to protect its territory; the latter out of a desire to enhance its status, embracing a chivalric court culture that promoted heroic deeds in defence of the faith.

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"Die Johanniter und Smyrna 1344–1402," *Römische Quartalschrift* 86 (1991), 215–51, and 87 (1992), 47–98.

51 For John V, see: Vasiliki Nerantzi-Varmazi, *Το Βυζάντιο και η Δύση (1354–1369)* [*Byzantium and the West (1354–1369)*] (Thessalonica, 1993); Oskar Halecki, *Un empereur de Byzance à Rome: vingt ans de travail pour l'union des églises et pour la défense de l'Empire d'Orient, 1355–1375* (Warsaw, 1930); Gill, *Papacy*, pp. 208–29. For Manuel II: John W. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391–1425): A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship* (New Brunswick, 1969), esp. pp. 123–385; Jonathan Harris, *The End of Byzantium* (New Haven, 2010), pp. 46–102.

52 See Gill, *Papacy*, esp. pp. 200–32.

The forces for any expedition against the Turks would have to be provided by the lay rulers, but its character as a crusade required papal endorsement. However, the papal schism (1378–1417) limited the papacy's control and universal reach and therefore undermined the potential for a common effort in the East. The problem of authority for the papacy persisted in the following decades, as papal leadership of the Church was then challenged by the conciliar movement. In this context, the unionist negotiations with the Greek Church were to play a crucial role, as they could boost the prestige of rival popes or, later, of the conciliarists vis-à-vis the papacy. This added impetus to the Byzantine initiatives for anti-Ottoman action. The Byzantine emperors were aware of the ecclesiastical turmoil in the West and decided to hedge their bets by seeking the support of all sides: contacts were made not only with Rome and Avignon, but also with the short-lived papal line of Pisa.[53] When eventually the Council of Constance resolved, for the most part, the division with the election of Martin V (1417–1431), Manuel II lost no time in requesting his help too. Then, in the early 1430s, the Byzantines approached both Pope Eugenius IV and the Council of Basel, trying to secure better terms by bargaining with both sides.[54] This culminated in the Council of Ferrara/Florence (1438/9) as John VIII eventually opted for the papal offer.

The Ottomans had made their presence felt in the early decades of the 14th century, seizing control of most of Asia Minor. The civil war between Anna of Savoy and Kantakouzenos provided the opportunity for the Ottomans to cross over to Thrace as allies of the latter. In 1354, they took possession of Gallipoli after an earthquake had ruined the city's walls. Their expansion continued on the European side of the Straits: in the 1360s they conquered Didymoteichon, Philippopolis and Adrianople, which became Sultan Murad I's base of operations in the Balkans.

From the mid-1350s, Emperor John V took unprecedented steps, such as pledging his conversion to "the faith of the Roman Church" and visiting the Hungarian court in person in 1365–66, in order to stir the West to action against the Turks. Innocent VI, indeed, revived the League of Smyrna, in 1357. The flotilla led by the papal legate Peter Thomas attained a victory over the Turks at Lampsacus (1359). But most plans for a crusade in Romania over the following twenty years were abortive, including an expedition to be led by King Louis of Hungary (1366), and Gregory XI's ambitious plans to organise a congress of

53 Oskar Halecki, "Rome et Byzance au temps du grand schisme d'Occident," *Collectanea Theologica* 18 (1937), 477–532.

54 Geanakoplos, "Byzantium and the Crusades," pp. 91–92; Harris, *End of Byzantium*, pp. 130–33.

all the Christian powers of the area at Thebes (1373). Crusading in the Eastern Mediterranean was also deflected southwards on account of the ambitions of the Cypriot monarchy. King Peter I of Cyprus led a crusade which resulted in the sack of Alexandria (1365), an impressive but ephemeral feat. Despite some suggestions by John V and the pope, the campaign had no bearing on the circumstances in the Aegean.[55]

Arguably the most efficient western effort to assist Byzantium in the 14th century was the crusade of Amadeo VI of Savoy, cousin of Emperor John V, in 1366–67. Amadeo arrived in Romania at the head of a flotilla of 15–20 ships and around 4000 men. The expedition's most important achievement was the recovery of Gallipoli, in August 1366, which allowed Byzantium to protect its coastal possessions as well as to obstruct further Turkish reinforcements from Asia Minor.[56] Amadeo's crusade can be seen as the transition from the second to the third phase of crusading in the Balkans and the Aegean. In form it resembled the naval leagues, as it was a small seaborne campaign, relying on an allied Christian fleet. But it was targeted against the Ottomans and the main operations were land-based. Furthermore, starting with the crusade efforts in the mid-1360s and owing to a large part to the personal involvement of Emperor John V, the defence of Byzantium was now the explicitly stated aim of crusading. However, there could be little hope of coordinated action in the following years, as the ferocious War of Chioggia broke out between Venice and

55 For John V's efforts and crusading in the period, see: Aloysius L. Tautu, ed., *Acta Innocentii PP. VI* (*1352–1362*), PC/CICO (Vatican, 1961), nos. 84, 122–25; idem, *Acta Urbani PP. V* (*1362–1370*), PC/CICO (Vatican, 1964), nos. 74, 90, 169–70, 181–85; idem, *Acta Gregorii PP. XI* (*1370–1378*), PC/CICO (Vatican, 1966), nos. 48–48a–48b, 66, 77–78, 137, 173; Philippe de Mézières, *The Life of Saint Peter Thomas*, ed. Joachim Smet (Rome, 1954), pp. 74–89, 102–24, 206–12; Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta*, 2: nos 142–46; Gill, *Papacy*, pp. 208–10, 213–21; Nerantzi-Varmazi, *Βυζάντιο και Δύση*, pp. 48–51, 67–107, 130–43; Halecki, *Un empereur*; Setton, *Papacy*, 1:224–84; Frederick J. Boehlke, *Pierre de Thomas: Scholar, Diplomat and Crusader* (Philadelphia, 1966), esp. pp. 129–80 and 204–94; Freddy Thiriet, "Una proposta di lega antiturca tra Venezia, Genova e Bisanzio nel 1362," *Archivio Storico Italiano* 113 (1955), 321–34; Nicholas Coureas, "Cyprus and the Naval Leagues, 1333–1358," in *Cyprus and the Crusades*, ed. Jonathan Riley-Smith and Nicholas Coureas (Nicosia, 1995), 107–24; Housley, *Avignon Papacy*, pp. 40–44; Anthony Luttrell, "Gregory XI and the Turks, 1370–1378," *Orientalia christiana periodica* 46 (1980), 391–417.

56 For Amadeo's crusade, see: Eugene Cox, *The Green Count of Savoy: Amadeus VI and Transalpine Savoy in the Fourteenth Century* (Princeton, 1967), pp. 204–39; Nerantzi-Varmazi, *Βυζάντιο και Δύση*, pp. 109–43; Setton, *Papacy*, 1:291–309. The main source is the chronicle of Jehan Servion, *Gestez et chroniques de la mayson de Savoye*, ed. Federigo E. Bollati (Turin, 1879); see also Federigo E. Bollati, ed., *Illustrazioni della spedizione in oriente di Amadeo VI* (Turin, 1900).

Genoa, while the disputed papal election in 1378 initiated the Great Schism of the western Church.

In the meantime, Turkish advance in the Balkans seemed unstoppable: the Byzantine emperor, disillusioned about the prospects of western help, acknowledged the Ottoman sultan's suzerainty in 1373; Bulgaria was overrun, while Serbian resistance was crushed at Kosovo in 1389.[57] The great siege of Constantinople (1394–1402) by Bayezid I began just as the Ottomans reached the Hungarian frontier in the Danube. It was clear that naval leagues were no longer adequate: a large overland campaign was needed to halt the Turkish advance. The following years saw two major expeditions resembling in many respects the traditional campaigns of the early period of crusading, with multinational armies and nobles signed with the cross taking the field against the "enemies of the faith". Both campaigns were to end in spectacular defeats, however, at Nicopolis (1396) and Varna (1444).

King Sigismund of Hungary (1387–1437), who would become a central figure of the crusade over his fifty-year long reign, took the initiative in summoning a coalition of western forces. The campaign was set for 1395, and both popes in Rome and Avignon supported it with preaching and indulgences. Venice agreed to provide galleys to patrol the straits and impose a blockade against any Ottoman reinforcements. A great number of French nobles took the cross. John of Nevers, the son of Duke Philip the Bold, was to lead the Burgundian contingent. Burgundian preparations were ostentatious, with immense expenditure for the tents, banners and all kinds of luxurious fittings of the army; nothing was spared, as Setton commented, "except perhaps the exercise of common sense, for such preparations were better adapted to a coronation or a royal wedding than a campaign against the Turks".[58] King Sigismund's Hungarian army was also joined by the lords of Transylvania and Wallachia. The various contingents met in Buda in July 1396 and then marched into Bulgaria, forcing Bayezid to loosen the siege of Constantinople and rush to meet them. The decisive battle took place at the plain of Nicopolis, in September 1396. It ended in a total rout of the Christian army, as the impetuous French knights were cut off from the main body of the Hungarian infantry during the charge. Sigismund barely escaped on a ship. The majority of the other leading participants were either slain or taken prisoners.[59]

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57 John V.A. Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans* (Ann Arbor, 1994), pp. 379–424.

58 Setton, *Papacy*, 1:345–46.

59 See in general: Aziz Suryal Atiya, *The Crusade of Nicopolis* (London, 1934); idem, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1938), pp. 435–62; Setton, *Papacy*, 1:341–69; Housley, *Later Crusades*, pp. 73–79; Jacques Paviot and Martine Chauney-Bouillot, eds,

The demoralisation following the debacle of Nicopolis hampered further efforts to raise an army in the West against the Ottomans. Hardly any power was in a position to undertake a similar task. Hostilities soon resumed between France and England. The expenses of the campaign, along with the enormous sums that had to be raised for ransoming John of Nevers and the other captives, put a severe strain on the finances of Burgundy. Nevertheless, Byzantium did its best to stoke up the crusade flames. Embassies and letters were sent all over Europe, including Basil I of Muscovy and King Jagiello of Poland. The contacts paid off, as the French king sent a small force to Constantinople under Marshal Boucicaut, a veteran of many campaigns, which was joined by Venetian, Hospitaller and Genoese ships (1399). The operations conducted in the Bosporus and the Black Sea were of limited scale, but they offered some relief to the Byzantine capital. More importantly, while the army's small size highlighted the need for more substantial assistance, its presence gave hope that such a development might be possible.[60]

So, Manuel followed in the steps of his father, John V, and travelled abroad to seek help in person. In his famous trip to the West (1400–03) he visited Italy as well as the French and English courts, while he made contact with the Christian kingdoms of Iberia and Scandinavia.[61] Manuel received plentiful promises for help. Both the Roman pope, Boniface IX, and the Avignonese one, Benedict XIII, called the faithful to assist the emperor and granted indulgences to those who would go to the help of Byzantium.[62] In 1401, Manuel optimistically referred to his return to Constantinople in the near future at the head of "an army [...] composed of all sorts of troops, specially chosen and assembled from all over", which was "prepared for us by many sovereigns".[63] But disillusionment followed soon afterwards as domestic troubles in the West took precedence over the situation in the East. The crusade for Byzantium was stillborn.

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*Nicopolis, 1396–1996: Actes du colloque international, Dijon, 18 octobre 1996* (Dijon, 1997) [= *Annales de Bourgogne* 68.3 (1996)].

60 For Boucicaut's expedition, see: Delaville Le Roulx, *La France en Orient*, pp. 359–83; Barker, *Manuel II*, pp. 160–65; Denis Lalande, *Jean II le Meingre, dit Boucicaut (1366–1421): étude d'une biographie héroïque* (Geneva, 1988), pp. 82–93.

61 Barker, *Manuel II*, pp. 165–99 (and note 75 for an overview of earlier literature).

62 Aloysius L. Tautu, ed., *Acta Urbani PP. VI (1378–1389), Bonifacii PP. IX (1389–1404), Innocentii PP. VII (1404–1406), Gregorii PP. XII (1406–1415)*, PC/CICO (Vatican, 1970), nos. 85 and 90; Gill, *Papacy*, pp. 231–32; Barker, *Manuel II*, pp. 172, 183.

63 Manuel II Palaiologos, *Letters*, ed. and trans. George T. Dennis (Washington DC, 1977), nos. 38, 39, 41; Barker, *Manuel II*, pp. 184–87.

Byzantium, however, was given a new and unexpected lease of life. In July 1402, the Ottoman army was crushed at Ankara and Sultan Bayezid himself was captured by the great Mongol conqueror Timur. This represented a rare opportunity, and efforts to raise an anti-Ottoman crusade were continued with Manuel's active participation.[64] Sigismund, who had not given up on the idea of organising another expedition, seemed to offer the best prospect for leadership. In 1420, Pope Martin V issued a crusade bull in support of Sigismund's planned campaign against the Turks in the Balkans. The pope similarly granted indulgences to any westerners who would participate in the defence of the Peloponnese or who would go to the aid of Constantinople.[65] Like in the past, however, no expedition took place.

The failure of crusading action to materialise might have appeared of little consequence while the succession crisis kept the Ottomans busy. But as order was restored under Murad II, Turkish control of the Balkans was again consolidated and started expanding at a fast pace. The unsuccessful siege of Constantinople, in 1422, was followed by the capture of Thessalonica (1430) and devastating raids into the Morea. The two most important Hungarian allies and buffer states came next: Serbia came under sustained attack and the Despot George Branković fled to Hungary, while Vlad Dracul of Wallachia submitted to Murad.[66] In order to open the way for urgently needed western help, the Byzantine emperor, John VIII, led a numerous Greek delegation consisting of some 700 ecclesiastics and laymen to a unionist council, first in Ferrara and then in Florence. The Union of the Churches was proclaimed on 6 July 1439.[67]

A few months later, Pope Eugenius IV called all the Christian faithful to a crusade against the Ottomans. As in Nicopolis, Hungary was expected to shoulder the main burden of the land campaign, offering the bulk of the troops. Despite some delays, as the kingdom was embroiled in a civil war over the royal succession, Hunyadi's victories against the Turks in 1441–42 created a climate of excitement, and Eugenius IV renewed his calls in early 1443.[68] In October of that year an army of 20,000–25,000 men crossed the Danube. It was composed mainly by Hungarians, Poles, and Serbs, and was led by King Ladislas of

64 Barker, *Manuel II*, pp. 215, 255–71, 320–85.

65 Aloysius L. Tautu, ed., *Acta Martini PP. V* (*1417–1431*), PC/CICO, 2 vols. (Vatican, 1980), nos. 63, 155, 155a, 229a.

66 Fine, *Late Medieval Balkans*, pp. 500–46; Harris, *End of Byzantium*, pp. 90–96, 106–28.

67 Joseph Gill, *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge, 1959); Harris, *End of Byzantium*, pp. 127–54.

68 Georg Hofmann, ed., *Epistolae pontificiae ad Concilium Florentinum spectantes*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1940–46), 2: nos. 127, 220; 3: nos. 261, 263, 266.

Poland and Hungary, John Hunyadi, and George Branković. Despite early successes, the campaign was bogged down by the bitter winter and the Ottoman scorched-earth tactics. A truce was made in February 1444, but the young king was prevailed upon by the papal legate to restart the campaign. In the meantime, the allied fleet, consisting of papal, Venetian, Burgundian, Ragusan and Byzantine galleys, had taken its position at the Straits. The Hungarian army crossed the Danube again in September and started making its way towards the Ottoman capital at Adrianople, while local Christian rulers led revolts and attacks against the Turks. Success seemed to be within the crusaders' grasp. However, cooperation between land and sea forces proved less effective than planned, as the fleet failed to stop the crossing of Murad's army from Anatolia. The latter met the crusader land forces at Varna, on 10 November 1444. The fierce fighting ended in an Ottoman triumph. The losses on both sides were staggering; King Ladislas was among the dead. Like at Nicopolis, a major crusading effort had come to an end having achieved next to nothing and leaving Byzantium and south-eastern Europe even more exposed to Ottoman might.[69]

The new sultan, Mehmed II, soon turned his attention to Constantinople. Besides being a possible bridgehead for enemy action, wedged between the Turkish domains in the Balkans and in Asia Minor, the great Christian city also constituted a great prize for the ambitious young sultan. In 1452, the fortress of Rumeli Hisar was built, strengthening Turkish control of the Bosporus, while a large fleet was prepared at Gallipoli. Emperor Constantine XI (1449–53), made desperate and urgent contacts with the papacy, Venice and most crowned heads of Europe.[70] At the eleventh hour, some efforts were made to save Constantinople. In January 1453, Hunyadi and King Ladislas the Posthumous of Hungary informed the pope that they were ready to participate in a new crusade against the Ottomans. Frederick III of Germany sent an ultimatum to the sultan not to attack Constantinople; otherwise he would move "with the help of all the Christians kings and princes" to the defence of Byzantium.

69 Translations of major contemporary sources collected in Colin Imber, ed. and trans., *The Crusade of Varna 1443–45* (Aldershot, 2006); see ibid., pp. 36–37 and 209–11, for an overview of other sources for the campaign and relevant bibliography. See also: Oskar Halecki, *The Crusade of Varna* (New York, 1943); Domenico Caccamo, "Eugenio IV e la crociata di Varna," *Archivio della società Romana di storia patria* 79 (1956), 35–87; Setton, *Papacy*, 2:66–94; Housley, *Later Crusades*, pp. 84–89.

70 Rodolphe Guilland, "Les appels de Constantin XI Paléologue à Rome et à Venise pour sauver Constantinople (1452–1453)," *Byzantinoslavica* 14 (1953), 226–44; idem, "Αι προς την Δύσιν εκκλήσεις Κωνσταντίνου ΙΑ′ του Δραγάτση προς σωτηρίαν της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως" ["The Calls of Constantine XI Dragatses to the West for the Salvation of Constantinople"], *Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών* 22 (1952), 60–74.

Genoa called its citizens in the Levant, the Black Sea, and Syria to provide help to Emperor Constantine and to the Despot Demetrios. For the most part, however, words remained words. The only exceptions were the 200 archers who had come with Cardinal Isidore in May 1452 and the Genoese Giovanni Giustiniani who arrived at Constantinople at the head of 700 men, recruited in Genoa, Chios and Rhodes. The Venetian Senate on its part, after a good deal of prevarication, voted in February 1453 to send fifteen galleys. The Venetian fleet was still on its way, however, when news of the fall of the imperial city reached it.[71] After months of preparations, the Ottoman army marched out of Adrianople in late March, and in the early days of April 1453 the siege of Constantinople began. After weeks of ferocious fighting and desperate resistance, the imperial city succumbed on 29 May 1453.[72]

The news of the fall of Constantinople were received as a shock in the West and brought about a renewal of crusade calls for Romania.[73] The first call for the recovery of the Byzantine capital was issued by Pope Nicholas V already on 30 September 1453. Philip the Good of Burgundy raised funds for an expedition against the Turks, after proclaiming his willingness to take up the Holy War among much pageantry at the Feast of the Pheasant (February 1454). Alfonso V of Aragon and Frederick III took the cross in late 1455. However, no such campaign followed. The last and greatest crusading effort for the restoration of Byzantium came under Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, a prominent scholar and a leading humanist who was raised to the papal throne as Pius II (1458–64). Pius made the war against the Turks the priority of his pontificate. Response to his early efforts was disappointing, but in 1463 he renewed his crusade call with the unprecedented step of taking the cross and promising to lead the campaign in person, although seriously ill. The pope's example, self-sacrifice and tireless activity bore fruit. Venice, Hungary and Burgundy agreed to participate in the expedition set to meet in Ancona in the summer of 1464. Venetian and

71 Nicolae Iorga, *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des croisades au XV^e siècle*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1899–1902), 2:481–82, 3:281, 283; Donald M. Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice: A Study in Diplomatic and Cultural Relations* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 393–401; M.-M. Alexandru-Dersca Bulgaru, "L'action diplomatique et militaire de Venise pour la défense de Constantinople," *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* 12 (1974), 247–67.

72 The literature on the fall of Constantinople is very extensive; for a classic lively description, see Steven Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople, 1453* (Cambridge, 1965); the most recent and exhaustive work: Marios Philippides and Walter K. Hanak, *The Siege and Fall of Constantinople in 1453: Historiography, Topography and Military Studies* (Burlington, 2011); a good overview also in Setton, *Papacy*, 2:112–37.

73 For the reactions see e.g. Agostino Pertusi, ed., *La Caduta di Costantinopoli*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1976), esp. vol. 2: *L'eco nel mondo*.

papal galleys, as well as Milanese and Burgundian contingents indeed showed up at the rendezvous. However, Pius died soon after arriving in Ancona, and the expedition fell apart.[74]

This marked the end of an era for crusades in the Greek lands. The irreversible consolidation of Ottoman power in south-eastern Europe and their seemingly unstoppable expansion moved the line of Christian defence and crusading action further to the north and west. There was panic when the Turks made a successful attack in Italy, by temporarily capturing Otranto in 1480–81. The sympathy for the fate of the Byzantines and the sense of urgency generated by the fall of Constantinople in the West soon expired as the years dragged on and the war was brought closer to home for the European powers. By the beginning of the 16th century, nearly all the Christian states and outposts in the Balkans and the Aegean were annexed by the Ottoman Empire. Then, Hungary was broken too with the defeat at Mohács (1526). Calls for crusading action against the "infidel Turks" continued long after that. However, the war against the Ottomans was soon relegated to little more than obligatory lip-service for Christian rulers who were more preoccupied with fighting each other. From the 16th century, the Ottoman Empire was gradually integrated into the diplomatic system of European powers. The last major "crusading" success against the Ottomans was the victory of the Holy League, with the participation of mostly Venetian and Spanish ships, at Lepanto in 1571.[75] By that time, the issue of the recovery of Constantinople or other formerly Byzantine lands had faded from sight, despite the occasional grandiloquent rhetoric which still reached as far as Jerusalem.

## Characteristics of Crusading in Frankish Greece

A precise definition of crusading is notoriously elusive. Scholars have long disagreed over which criteria qualify a specific expedition as a crusade.[76] This

74 Setton, *Papacy*, 2:138–270; Nancy Bisaha, "Pope Pius II and the Crusade," in *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century: Message and Impact*, ed. Norman Housley (Houndmills, 2004), pp. 39–52; Silvia Ronchey, "Orthodoxy on Sale: The Last Byzantine and the Lost Crusade," in *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies* (*London, 21–26 August 2006*), ed. Elizabeth Jeffreys, 3 vols. (Aldershot, 2006), 1:313–42; Norman Housley, "Pope Pius II and Crusading," *Crusades* 11 (2012), 209–47.

75 For the crusade against the Turks in the 16th and 17th centuries, see: Géraud Pumarede, *Pour en finir avec la croisade: mythes et réalités de la lutte contre les Turcs aux XVI^e^ et XVII^e^ siècles* (Paris, 2004); Housley, *Later Crusades*, pp. 118–50; Setton, *Papacy*, vols. 3–4.

76 See Norman Housley, *Contesting the Crusades* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 1–23.

ambiguity goes back to the contemporaries' own views of crusading, or rather the absence of any systematic effort on their part to define it. In the early days, there was no dedicated terminology and old terms were used to describe this new activity. An expedition was simply called a *passagium, iter*, and other such non-specific terms, while the participants were referred to as pilgrims or 'soldiers of Christ'. The term *crucesignati* was not used before the late 12th century and even after that point it did not really replace the other appellations.[77] This terminological vagueness highlights the ill-defined status of crusading in the early period, which has led one scholar to question whether we can even speak of an identifiable type of crusade expeditions in the 12th century.[78]

However, by the time the crusade was introduced in Romania, after 1204, it had acquired a more or less stable institutional framework. It was crucial that the crusades in Frankish Greece were first launched under Pope Innocent III, the man who did the most to regularise the wars of the cross, as exemplified in the Fourth Lateran Council (1215). In the 13th century, therefore, any crusade could be expected to exhibit a number of common traits, such as the initial proclamation by the papacy; the preaching of the cross in various areas; the grant of indulgences (remission of sins), as well as a number of other privileges to those who would fight or contribute financially to the crusade; the act of taking the cross and the crusade vow by the various participants; and the raising of funds through ecclesiastical taxation, donations and redemption of crusade vows (i.e. the payment of an appropriate sum in place of personal participation in the campaign).[79]

All the above characteristics can indeed be found in most of the crusades in Frankish Greece. However, some ambiguities or marginal cases remain. Charles of Anjou's projected campaign to restore the Latin Empire, in 1267–82, is a frequently cited example of "crusading" against the Byzantines. However, this expedition was hardly a crusade: despite support from the papacy, no crusade indulgences were granted to the participants, no orders for preaching were issued, and no crusade funds were raised for it. Nevertheless, Angevin propaganda made conscious and extensive use of earlier crusade rhetoric and presented the campaign in that framework; so this incident forms part

77 Michael Markowski, "Crucesignatus: Its Origins and Early Usage," *Journal of Medieval History* 10 (1984), 157–65; Christopher Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades* (Basingstoke, 1998), pp. 49–55.

78 Christopher Tyerman, "Were there any Crusades in the Twelfth Century?", *English Historical Review* 110 (1995), 553–77.

79 For the characteristics of crusading see e.g. Housley, *Contesting*, pp. 48–74; Maureen Purcell, *Papal Crusading Policy* (Leiden, 1975).

of the story, if only to indicate the importance of the crusade in the diplomatic language of the time.[80] Another question is whether the 14th-century naval leagues against the Turks were indeed crusades. For the most part, those leagues were alliances of secular powers with vested interests in the Aegean, such as Venice, the Hospitallers of Rhodes, and other Latin lords of the islands, and it was they who took the initiative and shouldered the burden of the operations. With the exception of the Crusade of Smyrna there was practically no effort to raise recruits through preaching in the West.[81] However, to the extent that those campaigns were sanctioned by the papacy with the grant of indulgences to their participants, it is appropriate to consider them as a particular manifestation of crusading activity in the region.

### *Rhetoric and Legitimisation*

In order to turn Romania into a crusading front after 1204, the papacy and the Latin Emperors seeking reinforcements from the West resorted to two main arguments: first, that Latin control of the area would be helpful to the affair of the Holy Land, as it would offer a convenient link to Outremer and it would also add the resources of the empire to the effort; secondly, that the control over the patriarchate of Constantinople (and the consequent replacement of the Greek hierarchy with a Latin one) brought the Greek Schism to an end. These arguments were invoked already in the early days of the conquest, both by the first Latin Emperor, Baldwin I, and by Pope Innocent III; they were then repeated in nearly all 13th-century crusade calls.[82] The former of these two arguments originated from crusader complaints against the Byzantine Empire in the 12th century that it had been unhelpful towards the crusade movement. The latter became prominent mostly in the context of the Fourth Crusade, in an effort to justify the expedition's diversion. Such legitimisation was essential: the use of the crusade against fellow Christians was open to accusations of perverting a sacred cause, as the pope himself had noted.[83] The aforementioned arguments served to counter these accusations, by stressing both the commendable objectives of these expeditions and the schismatic status of their opponents.

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80 Chrissis, *Crusading*, pp. 201–49.

81 See Demurger, "Le pape Clément VI et l'Orient"; Housley, *Avignon Papacy*, pp. 32–36, 117–22.

82 *Die Register Innocenz' III*, 7: nos. 152–53; Nikolaos G. Chrissis, "The City and the Cross: The Image of Constantinople and the Latin Empire in Thirteenth-Century Papal Crusading Rhetoric," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 36 (2012), 20–37, at 22–25.

83 *Die Register Innocenz' III*, 8: no. 134 (135).

The two main arguments displayed notable longevity as far as crusading against the Byzantines was concerned, and they persisted into the early 14th century. Both arguments were used by Benedict XI and Clement V to support the plans of Charles of Valois and Philip of Taranto.[84] In crusade treatises and actual plans alike, the conquest of Constantinople was often seen as a necessary, or at any rate helpful, preliminary for a *passagium generale* to the Holy Land.[85] The connection was only made stronger by the fact that the titular Latin Emperor, Charles of Valois, was the brother of Philip IV of France, and thus the former's claims were tied into the latter's grand, but ultimately unfulfilled, crusade designs for Outremer.

Argumentation had to be adapted, of course, as the circumstances and the orientation of crusading changed after the first quarter of the 14th century and the Turks became the main opponent in the Aegean. As discussed earlier, the change in both rhetoric and practice took place mostly in the 1320s, but the seeds were sown earlier. In the papal call of 1304 for a crusade to recover Constantinople a new argument was added alongside the traditional points, namely that the empire, and therefore a large and ancient part of Christendom, was at risk of falling to the hands of the Turks and other infidels unless the Latins intervened and took control of it.[86] These early signs of alarm eventually morphed into the main concern of crusading in the area as the new threat grew. Crusade rhetoric was loath to acknowledge that, in fact, dealing with the Turkish expansion had overtaken even the reclamation of Jerusalem as a crusade priority. But there were occasions when it very nearly did so. In the 1370s, Pope Gregory XI, while repeating that Jerusalem remained Christendom's ultimate aim, admitted that the defence of the Principality of Achaea and the Kingdom of Naples from the Turks was the most pressing "work of faith", stating that "it is easier and more important to help those in danger, lest they perish, than to attempt, at present, the recovery of the Holy Land, which has been occupied for so long".[87] As the Ottomans swept through the Balkans and started to threaten Catholic Hungary, the emphasis on the Turkish threat grew and crusade proclamations started to present the war as a battle for Christendom's own survival.[88]

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84 Grandjean, *Registre*, nos. 1006–07; *Regestum Clementis*, nos. 243–44, 248, 7893; Laiou, *Constantinople*, pp. 202–05.

85 See notes 29 and 36, above.

86 Grandjean, *Registre*, no. 1006; cf. *Regestum Clementis*, nos. 243–44.

87 Housley, *Avignon Papacy*, p. 117.

88 See for example: Odoricus Raynaldus, ed., *Annales ecclesiastici ab anno 1198 usque ad annum 1565*, 7 vols. (Lucca, 1738–59), ad ann. 1394, nos. 23–24.

It is worth pointing out that by the turn of the 15th century, the axis of crusade rhetoric in Romania remained the same, i.e. the importance of holding on to Constantinople as a service to the faith; but it revolved 180 degrees, from keeping the city *from* Byzantine hands to keeping it *in* them. The crusade bulls issued in 1398–1400 were explicitly for the help of Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos and the city and people of Constantinople.[89] The Venetian Senate, as well as King Sigismund similarly stressed their interest in the protection of the Byzantine capital.[90] The same concerns were expressed in the mid-15th century by Emperor Frederick III and other western powers.[91] This remarkable development demonstrates the flexibility of crusading in adapting to the changing circumstances.

The issue of the schism also carried considerable weight throughout this period, as is evident by the recurring question of Church Union.[92] Unionist negotiations were seen by the Byzantines as a possible foil for crusade expeditions against them in the early period, and, later, as a means of securing western assistance against the Turks. The papacy was often drawn to these negotiations as a way of achieving one of its main objectives in the East, the recognition of papal primacy by the Orthodox Church. In the 13th century, John Vatatzes and especially Michael VIII made negotiations for Union a central element of their western policy. Vatatzes came very near a far-reaching agreement with the papacy in 1249–54, which even allowed for the Byzantine recovery of Constantinople, while Michael's efforts resulted in the short-lived Union of the Churches at the Second Council of Lyon, in 1274.[93] From the 1330s, the issue of Union was closely linked to the help that the West could offer to Byzantium against the Turks. The papacy commonly demanded evidence of the submission of the Greek Church first, with help to follow afterwards, while the Byzantine side insisted that help should be offered first and then Union would follow. Barlaam of Calabria, envoy of Andronikos III to the papal court in 1339, had made the point that the Byzantines would need some token of goodwill, in the form of a common expedition against the Turks in Asia Minor, to be convinced of the westerners' intentions; then, it would be

89 Tautu, *Acta Urbani VI*, nos. 55, 85, 90; Gill, *Papacy*, pp. 229–31; Barker, *Manuel II*, pp. 158–59.

90 Barker, *Manuel II*, pp. 142–43, 146–49, 482–85.

91 Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, 2:481–82, 3:281.

92 A recent historiographical overview in: Marie-Hélène Blanchet, "La question de l'Union des Églises (13e–15e siècle): historiographie et perspectives," *Revue des études byzantines* 61 (2003), 6–48.

93 Franchi, *Svolta*; Gill, *Papacy*, pp. 88–100, 120–41; Geanakoplos, *Michael Palaeologus*, passim.

easier to acquiesce to Union. However, on the Latin side there was mistrust of the Greek commitment to the unionist cause. Benedict XII stated that "if the Greeks are strengthened [ . . . ] by ourselves and other faithful before the said Union [is achieved], they will afterwards turn their backs on us and the Church".[94] The disagreement on this point persisted down to the very end: on the eve the Ottoman conquest, Pope Nicholas V insisted on the implementation of the Union that had been agreed at the Council of Florence, before any military assistance to the Byzantine capital.

Aside from the central themes, of course, crusade rhetoric and imagery was adapted to conform to the sensitivities of the time, the recipients and audience of each crusade call, and the particular inclinations of the pope who made the relevant proclamation. Crusade calls to the French king and nobility, for example, emphasised the special role of France as a devoted daughter of the Roman Church and as an exemplar among kingdoms in fighting for the faith; the links of kinship and race between the intended recruits and the Franks settled in Greece were also invoked.[95] In the 15th century, and in keeping with the rise of humanism, the theme of the defence of civilisation and the fountain of classical wisdom from Turkish barbarity was added. This was adeptly exploited by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini in his crusade rhetoric, famously calling the capture of Constantinople and the consequent destruction of its libraries "a second death of Homer and Plato"; although, after his elevation to the papal throne as Pius II, he toned down the humanist elements and stressed the more traditional themes of the defence of the faith, the desecration of holy places, the suffering of Christians, and the eventual goal of the Holy Sepulchre.[96]

Finally, as Turkish power grew further, the theme of the imminent threat to the Christian heartlands, as far as Germany and Italy made its appearance. In his instructions to crusade preachers in 1463, alongside traditional themes such as avenging Christ and helping the Christian brothers in the East, Cardinal Bessarion advised that the audience should be told that:

> . . . the Turk, not content [with what he has], is making eager preparations to subjugate the entire world, starting with Italy. All delay is disastrous, because he acquires a new kingdom every day and gets stronger, while we lose a kingdom and get weaker. So, if we are unmoved by love for religion

94 Aloysius L. Tautu, ed., *Acta Benedicti XII* (*1334–1342*), PC/CICO, 2 vols. (Vatican, 1958), nos. 42–43; Housley, *Later Crusades*, p. 63.

95 For example, Pressutti, *Regesta Honorii*, nos. 859, 5006.

96 Bisaha, "Pope Pius II", esp. pp. 40–44 (quotation at 40).

> and calamity [in the East], let us be moved by our country, our homes, our children, our family, and our wives.[97]

The fight was about self-preservation, not vaguely championing the faith in some faraway lands.

Nevertheless, the core of the main arguments remained remarkably stable to the end. Although it might have been very far from reach on practical terms, the recovery of Jerusalem still formed an important part of the crusade rhetoric and proclamations against the Ottomans in the 15th and even the 16th centuries. In 1451, Jean Germain, the envoy of the duke of Burgundy to Charles VII of France, gave a central place to strengthening the Byzantine Empire in his plan for a greater campaign which would first fight the Turks, and then reclaim the Holy Land.[98]

### *Crusade Mechanisms*

The series of organisational characteristics which are particular to the crusade, and which we can call "crusade mechanisms", include crusade preaching, indulgences, funding, crusader privileges, and the commutation and redemption of vows (respectively the permission to fulfil one's crusade vow in a different campaign than the one initially undertaken, or to substitute an appropriate monetary sum for personal service). Tracking when and how extensively those were put in use at different times and places is a useful indication of the scope and the importance given to various crusade ventures. They can provide insights to the priorities of the papacy and other participating powers, as well as to the response to the relevant calls.

Most of those mechanisms were introduced in Frankish Greece in the early years after the conquest. The plenary crusade indulgence was granted by Innocent III already in 1205 for those who would come to assist the Latin Empire.[99] It is useful to contrast this to the fact that Innocent held back throughout his pontificate from granting the full remission of sins for the similar expeditions that were carried out in the Baltic.[100] In the case of Romania, the link with the purported help to the Holy Land seems to have facilitated the grant of the plenary indulgence, even though this help remained unfulfilled and this argument quickly became little more than a justificatory *topos* of papal

97 Housley, *Documents*, no. 48, p. 149; see also idem, *Later Crusades*, p. 99.

98 See Housley, *Documents*, no. 46, pp. 141–42.

99 *Die Register Innocenz' III*, 8: nos. 70 (69), 131 (130).

100 Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt, *The Popes and the Baltic Crusades, 1147–1254* (Leiden, 2007), p. 97.

proclamations. Furthermore, extensive fund-raising on behalf of Frankish Greece was initiated in the West in the 1230s.[101] With regard to crusading privileges, such as papal protection for the crusaders, their families and their possessions, the first references can be found under Honorius III but they were generalised by Gregory IX.[102] The same pope was the one who, in his effort to raise an adequate number of recruits for the Latin Empire, not only allowed the commutation of crusade vows but effectively ordered many crusaders from Hungary and France to change their destination from the Holy Land to Constantinople.[103] Therefore, the whole arsenal of crusade mechanisms had been rolled out in Romania by the middle of the 13th century, and was at the disposal of Pope Innocent IV when he launched a Europe-wide call for the Latin Empire at the First Council of Lyon in 1245, and of Urban IV when he urged for another campaign following the Byzantine recovery of Constantinople in 1261.

As the 13th century progressed, in Romania, as in other fronts, crusade indulgences were extended also to those who made financial contributions, besides those who physically took part in the campaigns; larger numbers of non-combatants were given the opportunity to share in the remission of sins (and a considerable source of revenue was created for the expeditions) through the practice of allowing even those who were unable to fight, to take the cross and then redeem it for a sum corresponding to their means. Limited indulgences were also given to the audience of crusade sermons more and more frequently, to boost participation.[104]

It is noteworthy that the indulgences granted against the Turks in the 1320s and the 1330s were limited; for example, the participants in the defence of the Zaccaria domain of Chios would receive the remission of sins only in case of death in combat.[105] By contrast, the plenary indulgence to all participants had routinely been granted to crusades against the Byzantines throughout the 13th and into the 14th century,[106] or even for Gauthier of Brienne's campaign against the Catalans only a few years earlier.[107] It would appear that, at this

101 Lucien Auvray, ed., *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, BEFAR, 4 vols. (Paris, 1896–1955), nos. 657, 1957, 3395, 4605–06; see below for a more extensive discussion of funding.

102 Pressutti, *Regesta Honorii*, no. 4704; Auvray, *Registres*, nos. 3395–96.

103 See Chrissis, "Diversion".

104 Christoph T. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1994), esp. pp. 135–60.

105 Mollat, *Jean XXII*, nos. 16977, 22117; Gatto, "Per la storia di Martino Zaccaria," 344–45; Carr, "Motivations and Response," pp. 274–75.

106 For example, for the expeditions of Charles of Valois and Philip of Taranto: Grandjean, *Registre*, no. 1007; *Regestum Clementis*, nos. 247, 7893.

107 Rubio y Lluch, *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, no. 150 (14 June 1330).

stage, the Turkish threat did not rate high enough to be promoted to the front-line of Christendom's concerns. The first time that the full crusade indulgence "as for the Holy Land" was granted against the Turks was for the Crusade of Smyrna;[108] this confirmed the growing importance of the Turkish threat in the eyes of the papacy and of western Christendom in general, while it was also an indication that the naval leagues were becoming an established and recognisable form of crusading by the mid-14th century.[109]

A crucial aspect of crusading, which could often make or break a campaign, was funding. Warfare has always been an expensive affair, but the crusades in particular posed extraordinary financial and logistical challenges in the Middle Ages. This was especially the case for the major expeditions. Large armies were expected to travel long distances and stay for protracted periods away from their place of origin. Individual crusaders could be expected to raise their own funds, often by taking out loans and mortgaging their properties, but this was hardly adequate: some were unable to come up with the needed money, while many participants in these expeditions were salaried soldiers or mercenaries anyway; and that was aside from the additional costs of organising and conducting the campaign. The cost of equipment and transportation alone could ruin a great noble or deplete a state's resources. Launching the crusade which Louis IX of France led to Egypt in 1248 had cost the equivalent of approximately six years of the Crown's revenue.[110] After the sack of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade, in 1204, the share allotted to the Venetians to pay off the debt of the army's transportation amounted to half of the total booty.[111]

The Church, therefore, played an essential role in financing the crusades and, in the period under examination, most expeditions expected to receive support from that direction. The most important weapon in the papacy's fiscal arsenal came in the form of taxation of ecclesiastical revenues, a practice which was standardised in the 13th century and was widely used for the Holy Land.[112] However, in the case of Romania the papacy proved rather reticent in

108 Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta*, nos. 985–86; Eugène Déprez, Jean Glenisson and Guillaume Mollat, eds., *Clément VI: Lettres closes, patentes et curiales se rapportant à la France*, 4 vols. (Paris 1901–61), nos. 1855–56.

109 See Housley, *Avignon Papacy*, pp. 120–22.

110 Housley, *Avignon Papacy*, p. 163.

111 See Phillips, *Fourth Crusade*, pp. 239, 269.

112 For crusade funding and the financial organisation of the papal *camera* in general, see William E. Lunt, *Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (New York, 1934); Adolf Gottlob, *Die päpstlichen Kreuzzugssteuern im XIII Jahrhundert: Ihre rechtliche Grundlage, politische Geschichte und technische Verwaltung* (Heiligenstadt, 1892); Housley, *Avignon Papacy*, pp. 159–98; idem, *Italian Crusades*, pp. 173–206.

imposing any such taxation on the clergy in the West until the 14th century. Prior to that, requests for tithes were limited to the local clergy in Romania.[113] This changed after the turn of the century. In the 1300s and 1310s, Charles of Valois and Philip of Taranto were granted crusade tithes in France, Naples and Sicily for their planned expeditions to defend Achaea and to restore the Latin Empire.[114] Tithes were also used against the Turks. The naval league of 1333–34 enjoyed no such grants, but for the Crusade of Smyrna a three-year tenth in over 60 provinces was decreed in 1343, extended for two more years in 1345.[115] In 1443, Eugenius IV proclaimed a universal tithe for the Crusade of Varna.[116] After the fall of Constantinople, Nicholas V called for a European-wide tenth to support his planned crusade to reclaim the imperial city.[117]

Tithes were not the only measures to which the papacy resorted for fundraising. From the 13th century, crusade calls regularly stipulated the grant of indulgences not only for the warriors themselves, but also for those who would fund others to fight in their place or who would provide monetary support corresponding to their means and equal to the expenditure they would incur if they went on crusade in person.[118] Furthermore, the redemption of crusade vows became a major aspect of crusade funding by the mid-13th century. In Romania, it was particularly promoted by Gregory IX who used it extensively to finance the defence of Latin Constantinople. Vow redemption allowed for wider participation of non-combatants in crusading.[119] However, the practice was also open to abuse, and it earned the papacy a—not always deserved—reputation for greed and for prioritising worldly benefits over spiritual aims. The papacy also tried to fund the crusades in Greece by encouraging voluntary contributions, in the form of donations or bequests, or by allocating funds from various other clerical resources, such the proceeds of vacant benefices or those of absentee canons. Such provisions were included in the decree *Arduis mens* of the First Council of Lyon (1245) for the support of the

113 Pressutti, *Regesta Honorii*, nos. 5186, 5189, 5202, 5270, 5277, 5279; Auvray, *Registres*, nos. 3408–09, 4035–36, 4711, 6035; Berger, *Registres*, nos. 22, 33.

114 *Regestum Clementis*, nos. 243–44, 1755–58, 7759–65; 8863–68, 8913–16; Mollat, *Jean XXII*, nos. 2128 and 8241.

115 Déprez, Glenisson and Mollat, *Clément VI*, 1: nos. 433, 559, 2203–06; Thomas, *Diplomatarium*, 1: no. 140; Housley, *Documents*, no. 22, pp. 79–80.

116 Hofmann, *Epistolae pontificiae*, 3:69–75, no. 261; Setton, *Papacy*, 2:75, 88.

117 Jacques Paviot, "Burgundy and the Crusades," in *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century*, pp. 70–80, at 78.

118 See e.g. Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta*, 1: nos. 171, 212; Auvray, *Registres*, nos. 3395–96.

119 E.g. Auvray, *Registres*, nos. 2200–10; see Lower, *Barons' Crusade*, pp. 13–36, esp. 18–19, 23.

Latin Empire.[120] At the other end of our period, in 1399–1400, the Roman pope, Boniface IX, called the faithful to make donations in churches across Europe to help the defence of Byzantine Constantinople against the Ottomans;[121] a similar call was issued by Eugenius IV in 1439, after the Council of Florence.[122] The papacy also paid lump sums from its own treasury or gave a part of its annual revenues to finance certain campaigns. William VI of Montferrat was given 15,000 marks from the papal treasury for his campaign to Thessalonica, in the 1220s.[123] In 1245, Innocent IV pledged one tenth of papal income to the defence of Constantinople.[124] Similarly, in 1443, Eugenius IV promised that the papacy would give one fifth of its revenues to finance the army and fleet for the Crusade of Varna.[125]

The costs of a crusade were not only covered by the Roman Church. The great nobles who were to lead the contingents could also make significant contributions. In the anti-Turkish naval leagues, especially that of the 1330s, the Church was not expected to pay for the expenses of the other participants; each had to pull their own weight, as both John XXII and Clement VI made clear.[126] Humbert of Vienne, the leader of the second wave of the Crusade of Smyrna, in 1345, agreed to undertake the campaign for the most part at his own expense.[127] Venice often had to shoulder at least part of the expenditure associated with the naval campaigns. The Dukes of Burgundy also spent extravagantly large sums to fund their participation in the crusades of Nicopolis and Varna.[128] With regard to Varna, King Ladislas had to raise a special tax on the towns and villages of his realm to pay for his expedition.[129] At any rate, the combination of the various methods of funding continued until the end. After the fall of Constantinople, Calixtus III successfully raised funds for a crusade of recovery through crusade taxation, redemption of vows and selling some of the papacy's own possessions.[130]

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120 Tanner, *Decrees*, 1:295–96; William E. Lunt, *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England to 1327* (Cambridge, Mass., 1939), pp. 250–55.

121 Barker, *Manuel II*, pp. 158–59; Tautu, *Acta Urbani VI*, nos. 85, 90; cf. idem, *Acta pseudopontificum*, nos. 82–85, 91–98, for the Avignonese pope Benedict XIII.

122 Hofmann, *Epistolae pontificiae*, 2: nos. 220–21.

123 Pressutti, *Regesta Honorii*, no. 4754.

124 Tanner, *Decrees*, 1:295–96.

125 Hofmann, *Epistolae pontificiae*, 3: no. 261.

126 Housley, *Avignon Papacy*, p. 168.

127 Setton, *Papacy*, 1:195–97.

128 Setton, *Papacy*, 1:345–46.

129 Imber, *Varna*, p. 20.

130 Housley, *Later Crusades*, pp. 102–03.

## Who were the Crusaders in Medieval Greece?

But what about the people who made up these crusade armies? Who were they, where did they come from, what was their background? Trying to identify those who took the cross unavoidably brings up the question of motivation. This has been one of the most contested topics in crusade historiography. Older views that emphasised material factors, like the pursuit of wealth and land for the younger sons of the nobility, have for the most part been superseded by a more nuanced appreciation of the religious and socio-psychological sensitivities of the contemporaries. The consensus among a large number of scholars now is that the primary incentive for setting out on crusade was the promised remission of sins, along with the great pull of Jerusalem and the land where the Saviour had trodden. Crusading was first and foremost an act of penance, a special kind of armed pilgrimage. It appealed particularly to the arms-bearing elites of the West, as it offered the opportunity to release their souls from the mortal burden of sin without having to renounce their way of life and the martial skills that defined them as a class, but rather by embracing them and putting them in the service of the Church. But that is not to deny that a nexus of other material and social motivations came into play: ambition, political allegiance, kinship and other personal ties, family traditions of crusading, expectations of status, chivalry and adventurism; as we will see, all those factors played a role for crusaders to sign up for an expedition in Romania. The interplay between ideological and material factors for crusading was dynamic, and it is important to understand that they were not mutually exclusive.[131]

Another group of factors which affected the shape and composition of crusade armies had to do with the development of warfare in general and of crusading warfare in particular, as well as with the geopolitical realities of the time. In the 13th century, crusades for Frankish Greece were conceived as land-based campaigns organised around the crusading nobility, their retinues and feudal armies, strengthened with numbers of volunteer crusaders. In the early 14th-century, the emphasis shifted to naval warfare: the anti-Turkish leagues were aimed at curbing the power and the raids of Turkish emirs in the Aegean. The engagements depended, naturally, on the organised fleets of the Christian maritime powers, primarily Venice, along with specially commissioned vessels for those participants who did not have a standing fleet, such as the papacy.

131 Jonathan Riley-Smith, "Crusading as an Act of Love," *History* 65 (1980), 177–92; idem, *What Were the Crusades?*, 3rd ed. (Basingstoke, 2002), pp. 53–73; Norman Housley, "Frontier Societies and Crusading in the Late Middle Ages," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 10 (1995), 104–19; idem, *Contesting*, pp. 75–98.

It was trained and specialised crews which were essential rather than crusade volunteers. Indulgences were meant mostly as a boost to the morale for those who were already set to participate and as a means of procuring funds from the non-combatants, rather than as a means of raising new recruits. Nevertheless, the presence of the latter was not necessarily discouraged: the Crusade of Smyrna seems to have generated some enthusiasm and elicited adequate response to preaching. The late 14th and 15th centuries saw a return to major land-based campaigns in the area in order to halt the Ottoman expansion in the Balkans. The king of Hungary, whose realm was now threatened, led the crusading host in both Nicopolis and Varna, and the bulk of the forces were made up from the levies and standing army of his domains. Nevertheless, crusade recruits from the West were numerous, with Franco-Burgundian participation quite prominent in both campaigns, along with crusaders also from Germany, England, Italy, Poland and Bohemia.

This brings us to the next point. Crusade armies, particularly in the earlier days, could include people from all parts of the social spectrum, from crowned heads and leading nobles, to middling knights, humbler footmen and even, occasionally, poor and ill-equipped enthusiasts. However, examining the non-elite groups is generally an elusive and difficult task, on account of lack of evidence originating from that milieu, even for the major campaigns to the Holy Land which are well-documented and extensively researched. In the case of Romania the task is nearly impossible. Furthermore, with regard to motivation, it is not only easier to examine the nobility, but to an extent also more appropriate: a large part of any crusade army was made up by the retinue of the noblemen, and by people who were more or less expected to follow their lord on account of personal ties or contractual obligations. Also, as time went on, in the 14th century, warfare became a more specialised occupation and, in combination with the strengthening of state authority, armies were turning professional; the role of individually recruited crusaders diminished, especially as crusade strategy and planning started to focus on small-scale targeted operations (the *passagium particulare*) as more efficient, and as a necessary prerequisite before a *passagium generale* was launched.

The papal instructions indicating the provinces where crusade preaching was authorised, combined with prosopographical data on individuals known to have taken the cross for Romania, provide us with a good overview of the areas of potential recruitment. In the 13th century, preaching was most commonly authorised in France and Hungary, and less extensively also in England, northern Italy, Spain, and even Poland. Hungary was the nearest Catholic power and had its own interests in the Balkans, though its crusading record was far from convincing until the late 14th century when it came under threat

itself. The French territories, on the other hand, were the traditional heartlands of crusade recruitment; furthermore, the great majority of the Latin settlers in Greece originated from those territories, to the extent that the former was sometimes called *nova Francia*. The papacy often invoked these links and generally French pride in order to motivate response from a French audience.[132] The Latin Emperors turned repeatedly to the French crown for assistance, more often and more extensively than to any other secular power, indicating that they perceived a significant bond between them.

Such local and family links were undoubtedly important in determining where crusade reinforcements came from. Flanders, where the Latin Emperors hailed from, and Champagne, the homeland of the Villehardouins and several other Frankish lords, featured prominently. A Flemish contingent under Peter of Douai, sent by Marquis Philip of Namur, Emperor Henry's brother, seems to have been the first crusading army to reach the Latin Empire, in late 1207 or early 1208.[133] The Champenois lord Erard of Chacenay and other kinsmen of John of Brienne were urged to take the cross and assist Baldwin II in the 1230s.[134] It was not only French lords: the crusade for the relief of Thessalonica in the 1220s was led by Marquis William VI of Montferrat, the half-brother of King Demetrios of Thessalonica, and the preaching and recruitment were organised largely around his lands in northern Italy.[135]

Other participants had vested interests in the area. Venice, besides being essentially a major "stakeholder" in the Latin Empire in the 13th century, also played a crucial role in the naval leagues in the 14th-century, both in initiating them and in providing a significant number of vessels to the allied fleets. Venice was also one of the main western powers expected to be involved in the anti-Ottoman crusades: Emperors John V, Manuel II and John VIII all visited the city of St Mark in their search for western aid. Venice's involvement in such ventures was unavoidable on account of its commercial interests in the Eastern Mediterranean and the presence of several outposts under its control in the area, most importantly Crete, Negroponte, Modon and Coron. The Serenissima needed to keep the maritime routes safe. At the same time, the

132 See e.g. Pressutti, *Regesta Honorii*, no. 5006; César Auguste Horoy, ed., *Honorii III Romani Pontificis Opera Omnia*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1879–82), 2:528–30, no. 52; Malcolm Barber, "Western Attitudes to Frankish Greece in the Thirteenth Century," in *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, pp. 111–28, at 114.

133 Chrissis, *Crusading*, pp. 29–30.

134 Auvray, *Registres*, no. 2877; Chrissis, "Diversion," p. 130.

135 Chrissis, *Crusading*, pp. 68–78.

risk posed to its trade or its possessions in the East often made the republic dilatory or non-committal when it came to military action against the Ottomans.[136]

One should not also forget the members of the military orders who were, in a sense, "professional" crusaders. All three international orders, the Templars, the Hospitallers and the Teutonic Order, had a presence in Frankish Greece from the beginning, though their role in the defence of the land seems to have been quite limited. A new military order, that of the Hospital of St Sampson, was actually founded specifically in Romania in the 13th century, although it too failed to make an impact. More important was the role of the Hospitallers once they established their headquarters in Rhodes, in 1307–09. In the years to come, and down to the fall of Rhodes in 1522, the Order of St John would become one of the main participants in crusades against the Turks, on account both of the geographical position of its domains and of its perceived mission to defend the faith. The order contributed to the naval leagues in roughly equal measure with Venice, took part in the Crusade of Nicopolis under its Grand Master-elect, Philibert de Naillac, and remained a bulwark against Ottoman naval expansion in the Aegean until the 16th century—although fighting alternated with periods of peace and commercial relations with Muslim powers.[137]

Some of the leading participants in the crusades could have even closer personal interests for their involvement. One such case is Martino Zaccaria, who was appointed commander of the papal fleet for the Crusade of Smyrna. The Zaccaria family had been involved in alum trade in the Eastern Mediterranean since the late 13th century, and Martino had been the lord of Chios and Phocaea, initially at the toleration of the Byzantine government; but he had been ousted from his domains and taken prisoner to Constantinople by Andronikos III in 1329. It was only in 1337 that he had been released, six years before his appointment at the crusade. The choice of Martino as the commander of the papal galleys was made presumably on the grounds of his extensive local knowledge. That was not Martino's first connection to crusading either: in 1323, he had successfully petitioned the pope for a crusade indulgence to be granted to those

136 See in general: Freddy Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne au moyen âge: le développement et l'exploitation du domaine colonial vénitien, XII^e–XV^e siècles* (Paris, 1959); Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice*, esp. p. 148.

137 See in general: Lock, *Franks*, pp. 233–39; Peter Lock, "The Military Orders in Mainland Greece," in *The Military Orders, vol. 1: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. Malcolm Barber (Aldershot, 1994), pp. 333–39; Dionysios Stathakopoulos, "Discovering a Military Order of the Crusades: The Hospital of St. Sampson of Constantinople," *Viator* 37 (2006), 255–73; Anthony Luttrell, "The Hospitallers of Rhodes Confront the Turks: 1306–1421," in *Christians, Jews and Other Worlds: Patterns of Conflict and Accommodation*, ed. Philip F. Gallagher (Lanham, 1988), pp. 80–116; Nicolas Vatin, "The Hospitallers at Rhodes and the Ottoman Turks, 1480–1522," in *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century*, pp. 148–62.

who defended Chios against the Turks.[138] Reasonable though his appointment in 1343 may appear based on these credentials, it was also a rather unfortunate and tactless choice. His presence has been seen as one of the reasons for Byzantium's reluctance to participate in the crusade, even if a more important factor was the Byzantine civil war at the time. The Byzantines had cause to be suspicious. Martino seemed intent on using the opportunity to reclaim Chios and Phocaea, and the pope felt compelled to issue prohibitions against any such action. Clement VI clearly started to mistrust his appointee as he twice instructed Henry of Asti, the papal legate with the crusade, to replace the captain if he was deemed unsuitable. Martino was killed during the operations in Smyrna, in January 1345, before he had the chance to make any attempts to gain control over his old domains; but Chios and Phocaea were captured by another Genoese, Simone Vignoso, in the following year.[139] Martino Zaccaria, therefore, stands as an example of a crusader whose participation stemmed from direct involvement in the area, and was most likely motivated by his own territorial and commercial ambitions.

A very different group of crusaders were those who travelled to the East looking for a chance to fight the infidels, to perform chivalrous deeds, or merely for the sake of adventure, without any specific interest in the area of engagement. A good example is Humbert II of Vienne, the captain-general of the second wave of the Crusade of Smyrna in 1345–47. Humbert undertook this expedition for the most part at his own expense, both for the fleet and for the soldiers he would take with him. The dauphin was a rich noble, and he seems to have been motivated by a sincere desire to serve the Church while at the same time boosting his prestige. In Setton's words, "Humbert saw himself as a paladin".[140] Humbert appears to have been enthusiastic for the Holy War, but not a particularly competent commander. He achieved little in his time in the Aegean, which was marked by indecisiveness and inefficiency, before heading back to the West after less than two years, heavily in debt from his adventure.[141]

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138 Mollat, *Jean XXII*, nos. 16977, 22117. See Mike Carr, "Trade or Crusade? The Zaccaria of Chios and Crusades against the Turks," in *Contact and Conflict in Frankish Greece and the Aegean*, pp. 115–34.

139 Gatto, "Per la storia di Martino Zaccaria"; William Miller, "The Zaccaria of Phocaea and Chios, 1275–1329," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 31 (1911), 44–55; Housley, *Avignon Papacy*, pp. 252–53.

140 Setton, *Papacy*, 1:195.

141 Claude Faure, "Le dauphin Humbert II à Venise et en Orient (1345–1347)," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 27 (1907), 509–62; Setton, *Papacy*, 1:195–212 (quotation at 195); Housley, *Avignon Papacy*, pp. 253–57. A more positive assessment of Humbert by Mike Carr, "Humbert of Viennois and the Crusade of Smyrna: A Reconsideration," *Crusades* 13 (2014), 239–53.

Unlike Humbert of Vienne, a number of those drawn to fight in Greece and the Aegean by the allure of glorious feats were actually seasoned crusade veterans, who offered their services on various different fronts. Humbert V of Beaujeu, who was enlisted for the relief of Constantinople in the mid-1230s, had earlier distinguished himself in the Albigensian Crusade where he had gained the nickname "the hammer of Languedoc".[142] Most strikingly, Marshal Boucicaut had fought in a number of crusades, including the Baltic, northern Africa and Nicopolis, before coming to the help of Byzantium in 1399. Boucicaut's enthusiasm for fighting cannot be doubted, and hardly his involvement in one campaign had finished before he started to look for another: although he had been captured at Nicopolis, very soon after being ransomed he set out to fight the Ottomans again and to assist Emperor Manuel Palaiologos. However, his main motivation seems to have been honour rather than a religious imperative, as is evident from his anonymous contemporary biography.[143] The attraction of participating in a crusade, regardless of the specifics of each conflict, remained strong for many members of the nobility in the 14th and 15th centuries: at least 35 of the nobles who escorted John of Nevers at Nicopolis had previously taken part in one or more crusade campaigns in Prussia and the Mediterranean;[144] John of Vienne took part both in the crusade of Amadeo of Savoy in 1366 and in the crusade of Nicopolis, 30 years later; John of Châteaumorand, Boucicaut's lieutenant in 1399, had likewise taken part in the Barbary Crusade in 1390; the Burgundian Geoffrey of Thoisy led fleets to assist the defence of Rhodes against the Mamluks in 1441 and 1444, before joining the Crusade of Varna.[145]

But the most striking case of a power involved in the crusades in Romania without a direct interest in the area was Burgundy. Crusading was an important part of the ideology of the Burgundian court, especially under Philip the Good (1419–67). Burgundy was thus taking up the role held by France in the

142 See e.g. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History*, pp. 168–69, 187.

143 *Le Livre des fais du bon messire Jehan Le Maingre, dit Bouciquaut, mareschal de France et gouverneur de Jennes*, ed. Denis Lalande (Geneva, 1985); Jaques Paviot, "Boucicaut et la croisade ( fin XIVe–début XVe siècle)," in *La noblesse et la croisade à la fin du Moyen Âge: France, Bourgogne, Bohême*, ed. Martin Nejedlý and Jaroslav Svátek (Toulouse, 2009), pp. 69–83; Norman Housley, "Le Maréchal Boucicaut à Nicopolis," in Paviot and Chauney-Bouillot, *Nicopolis, 1396–1996*, pp. 85–99.

144 Bertrand Schnerb, "Le contingent franco-bourguignon à la croisade de Nicopolis," in Paviot and Chauney-Bouillot, *Nicopolis, 1396–1996*, pp. 59–74, at 65, 72–74.

145 See e.g. Setton, *Papacy*, 1:355, 360; Gustave Schlumberger, "Jean de Châteaumorand, un des principaux héros français des arrière-croisades en Orient à la fin du XIVe siècle et à l'aurore du XVe," in idem, *Byzance et croisades: pages médièvales* (Paris, 1927), pp. 282–336; Housley, *Avignon Papacy*, p. 100; Paviot, "Burgundy and the crusades," p. 77.

past. The duchy's effort to shine on the international stage through service to the cross was backed up by its great wealth which made it possible to meet the immense costs of crusading. Philip's father, John the Fearless had led the Burgundian contingent at Nicopolis in his youth, and had been captured there. The Burgundians had then been involved in crusade plans for the Holy Land as well as against the Hussites in Bohemia. Burgundian ships also took part in the unsuccessful blockade of the Straits during the Crusade of Varna and then carried out operations in the Black Sea and along the Danube. One gets the impression, as Housley has commented, that the Burgundians were just looking for a Holy War to fight, without much thought given to strategic considerations or to who the adversary would be. Indeed, the chronicler Jehan de Wavrin reports that his nephew, Waleran, the commander of the Burgundian fleet at the Varna crusade, even split his fleet into two smaller squadrons, because it was too strong and hence it made engagement with the enemy less likely![146] In the years before the fall of Constantinople there was contact between the Byzantine and the Burgundian court, and in 1451 Philip the Good undertook to lead a crusade against the Ottomans. This expedition did not materialise before Byzantium fell but that did not spell the end of Burgundian plans. In February 1454, at Lille, Philip and many of his nobles took the cross in order to participate in the crusade proclaimed by Pope Nicholas V to recover the Byzantine capital. The duke's proclamation seems to have been in earnest: preparations were carried out from late 1454 to early 1456. The campaign was, however, postponed on account of the pope's death and of problems on the home front for the duke. Nevertheless, Burgundy remained involved in the crusading plans of Pius II and in 1463 Philip promised to participate in a coalition with Venice and Matthias Corvinus of Hungary. Eventually, he sent his son at the head of the Burgundian contingent for Pius's aborted crusade.[147] Although in practical terms Philip the Good's policy achieved very little in the East, it was indicative of the prestige associated with crusading which could be an incentive for ambitious rulers.

146 See Imber, *Varna*, pp. 135–37; Housley, *Later Crusades*, p. 93.

147 For the Burgundian involvement in crusading, see: Housley, *Later Crusades*, pp. 75–79, 91–94; Jaques Paviot, *Les ducs de Bourgogne, la croisade et l'Orient (fin XIV^e s.–XV^e s.)* (Paris, 2003); idem, "Burgundy and the Crusades"; Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good* (Woodbridge, 2002), esp. pp. 143–45, 268–74, 296–99, 358–72; Heribert Müller, *Kreuzzugspläne und Kreuzzugspolitik des Herzogs Philipp des Guten von Burgund* (Göttingen, 1993); Marie-Thérèse Caron and Denis Clauzel, eds., *Le Banquet de Faisan, 1454: l'Occident face au défi de l'Empire ottoman* (Arras, 1997).

For the Hungarian leaders, Sigismund, Ladislas III, and John Hunyadi, their participation in the crusades against the Ottomans was coterminous with the defence of their own land. King Sigismund was the leading force behind the Crusade of Nicopolis and the resistance to the Turks in the northern Balkans throughout his long reign. He founded the Order of the Dragon whose main mission was the defence of Christendom (1408), particularly against the Turks. John Hunyadi, on the other hand, became the standard-bearer of the anti-Ottoman struggle in the middle of the 15th century. He made his reputation through his successful defence of Transylvania and Wallachia in 1441–42. He was also one of the protagonists of the Crusade of Varna. Following the death of Ladislas III, he became the regent of the kingdom of Hungary. He led a number of campaigns against the Ottomans, most importantly the one which ended in disaster at the second battle of Kosovo (1448), but also the victorious relief of Belgrade in 1456. The gains for Hunyadi and his family from the wars with the Ottomans did not stop at the reputation and the regency: in 1458, his son, Matthias Corvinus would actually become king of Hungary (1458–90).[148] Practical needs, idealism and personal ambitions could all be combined when it came to involvement in crusading.

## Conclusions: Impact and Legacy of the Crusades in Romania

From the 13th to the 15th century, the crusade was an ever-present factor in the history of the area. However, its form and objectives varied greatly during this period and so did its impact. First, on the political and military level, it can be said that these crusades were rather unsuccessful. They failed to defend Frankish Greece in the 13th century, although they played a role in prolonging the Latin Empire's survival. The naval leagues in the early 14th century were more efficient in curbing the power of the Turkish maritime principalities. However, the weakening of these beyliks contributed to opening the way for the Ottomans' expansion. The campaigns to hold back the latter ended in devastating failures. The lofty and ambitious plans to reclaim Constantinople after 1453 never materialised.

Regardless of the often lacklustre performance on the field, however, crusading in Romania became an integral part of the diplomatic language of the time. Like the protection of the Holy Land, the defence of Latin presence in Greece and the Aegean came to be understood as the collective responsibility

148 János M. Bak, "Hungary and Crusading in the Fifteenth Century," in *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century*, pp. 116–27; Imber, *Varna*, pp. 13–14, 16–17, 28–31, 32–36.

of western Christendom. Rulers took up the cause, at least nominally, as a way to enhance their status. In the 13th century, James I of Aragon and Alfonso X of Castile, both aspiring at international renown and prestige, announced their intentions to assist the Latin Empire. Emperor Frederick II and his illegitimate son, Manfred of Sicily, both used a crusade promise for Frankish Greece as a bargaining chip to mend their relations with the papacy.[149] After the Holy Land was lost, and as its recovery started to look less and less likely, the fight against the Turks took the place of Christendom's main concern in the East, and was invested with all the relevant rhetoric and expectations. Over more than 200 years, sovereigns who had an eye on the international stage were conscious of the potential benefits of invoking the crusade in Greece and the Aegean or the risks of entirely ignoring it. Philip the Good of Burgundy saw the war against the Turks as a way of promoting the duchy's standing in the 15th century. Alfonso V of Aragon, in the process of building a Mediterranean empire, kept promising action against the Ottomans, even though his deeds belied his proclamations.[150]

But arguably the most important impact of crusading in Greece is the way it affected Greco-Latin relations and attitudes; this was a legacy of mistrust and uneasy cooperation. When the full force of the crusade was deployed against the Byzantines in the 13th century, it resulted in an important change in the way Latins viewed the Orthodox. The "schismatic Greeks" were listed alongside Muslims, pagans, heretics and other such "enemies of the faith" as Holy War was proclaimed against all these groups and similar arguments and language were employed in promoting the expeditions against them.[151] In one example from the early 14th century, the crusade propagandist William of Adam expressed the opinion that the Greeks should be brought back to Church unity by force if necessary and noted that they should be treated as heretics since they are behaving as such. He then went on to say that he made no distinction between them and the Saracens, and that the Greeks should actually be attacked more urgently than the Saracens on account of their errors.[152] The religious "otherness" of the Byzantines was emphasised in the 13th and early 14th century in a way that it had not been in the past;[153] this development was

149 Chrissis, *Crusading*, pp. 156, 161–62, 183, 194, 263.

150 Alan Ryder, "The Eastern Policy of Alfonso the Magnanimous," *Atti della Accademia Pontaniana* 28 (1979), 7–25, esp. 19–24.

151 Chrissis, *Crusading*, pp. 32–44, 74–75, 255–59, 264–73, passim.

152 William of Adam, *How to Defeat the Saracens*, pp. 62–63, 84–97.

153 Two recent examinations of western views of Byzantium have independently confirmed that the emphasis on the schismatic status of the Byzantines became prominent only

not unrelated to the crusade calls in support of Frankish Greece against the "schismatics" emanating from the papal curia. On the Byzantine side, the use or threat of crusade force against them after 1204 hardened attitudes towards the West even more. It confirmed Byzantine suspicions as to western motives, expressed since the early days of crusading. The enmity between the two sides was painted in religious terms. The crusade made the schism concrete: no longer only an issue of theological disputation, it took on, quite literally, flesh and blood.

On the other hand, crusading in Greece and the Aegean could perform a different function, particularly after the possibility of cooperation against the Turks arose. It could be a means to bring Greeks and Latins together. Barlaam of Calabria, Andronikos III's envoy to the pope in 1339, advocated common Greco-Latin action against the Turks prior to any effort to enforce Church Union. At the very least, he suggested, the pope could grant indulgences to those Latins who would help the Greeks fight the Turks. Such gestures of goodwill, the Calabrian monk argued, would predispose the Byzantines positively to the prospect of Church Union.[154] Similarly, Demetrios Cydones, in the 1360s, tried to convince his compatriots to accept western help against the Ottomans. In order to make his point, he referred to the bravery and effectiveness that the Latins had displayed in fighting for the faith during the crusades.[155] Latin action in the Aegean against the Turks, particularly when successful, could indeed open a window for contacts with the Byzantines. Shortly after the Crusade of Smyrna, envoys from the Greek city of Philadelphia in Asia Minor, by that time an enclave entirely surrounded by Turkish territories, came to Avignon and asked for papal protection against the Turks.[156] This embassy led to nothing as the pope insisted that they should first abandon their schism, but the incident is indicative of the potential for the crusade to become a channel for communication between Greeks and Latins in the mid-14th century.

At the same time, that incident is also indicative of the limitations of this potential. Mistrust hampered efforts of cooperation. In 1327, Andronikos II wrote to the king of France that though he was predisposed to work for

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after 1204: Marc Carrier, *L'autre chrétien pendant les croisades: Les Byzantins vus par les chroniqueurs du monde latin* (*1096–1261*) (Saarbrücken, 2012); and Savvas Neocleous, "Imaging the Byzantines: Latin Perceptions, Representations and Memory, *c.* 1095–*c.* 1230" (unpublished doctoral thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 2009).

154 Tautu, *Acta Benedicti XII*, no. 43.

155 Judith Ryder, "Demetrius Kydones' 'History of the Crusades': Reality or Rhetoric?" in *Contact and Conflict in Frankish Greece and the Aegean*, pp. 97–112.

156 Setton, *Papacy*, 1:224–25.

ecclesiastical peace with the West, he found it impossible to do so at the time, because of the suspicions of the Byzantine people.[157] In 1364, John V offered Byzantine participation to the Holy Land crusade proclaimed by Urban V in hope that this could also provide relief to Byzantium against the Turks. The emperor said, however, that this participation would be under the condition that the crusading army would not harm the Greeks.[158] Such were the residual fears instilled by the earlier use of the crusades against the Byzantines. Neither were such fears entirely unjustified. The "schismatic Greeks" could still be seen as a legitimate target for Latin crusading activity. A few months earlier, in fact, the Venetians had tried to persuade the pope to grant indulgences against the Greek schismatics on Crete, as their rebellion hindered the crusade under preparation.[159]

Suspicion lingered. Even in the setting days of the empire, sympathy for the Byzantines was not guaranteed. In late 1452 the issue of whether assistance should be offered to the "schismatic and heretical Greeks" against the Turks was hotly debated in the papal curia, and there were clearly those who believed that no help whatsoever should be given to the Byzantines on account of their transgressions.[160] The position adopted by many westerners, in the late 14th and 15th centuries, was a grudging acceptance that help should be provided to the Greeks, because they were Christians, although schismatics.[161] It was a question of the duty of Latin Christendom to the Faith more than a feeling of fraternity with the Christians of the East. This mood is encapsulated perfectly by Ciriaco of Ancona. Being informed of the victories of Murad II and his recent invasion of the Morea in 1446, Ciriaco wrote to a friend of his:

> For I believe that such a lamentable blow to Christendom—this miserable slaughter which the Turks have perpetrated upon this people, even though they are Greeks and deserving of some measure of punishment—

157 Laiou, *Constantinople*, pp. 325–28.

158 Paul Lecacheux and Guillaume Mollat, eds., *Lettres secrètes et curiales du pape Urbain V (1362–1370) se rapportant à la France*, BEFAR (Paris, 1902), no. 1305.

159 Thiriet, *Délibérations des assemblées*, 2:273 (no. 743); Housley, *Avignon Papacy*, pp. 213–22.

160 James Hankins, "Renaissance Crusaders: Humanist Crusade Literature in the Age of Mehmed II," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 (1995), 111–207, at 148–68 (e.g. p. 149: "Hereticis et scismaticis et excomunicatis non est comunicandum et multo minus auxilium prestandum").

161 Michael Angold, "The Decline of Byzantium seen through the Eyes of Western Travellers," in *Travel in the Byzantine World*, ed. Ruth Macrides (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 213–32, at 217–20.

> cannot be thought of except as a grievous loss to our own religion and as a vast dishonour to the Latin name.[162]

Crusading had a protean nature and it adapted to the changing circumstances: in Romania, Holy War was pursued first against the Byzantines, then in alliance with them, and eventually, in theory at least, for their protection. But the deeper shifts in perception were not as quick to follow these changes. By the 15th century, the past of the crusade in Greece haunted its present.

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162 Setton, *Papacy*, 2:96.

CHAPTER 3

# Land and Landowners in the Greek Territories under Latin Dominion, 13th–14th Centuries

*Charalambos Gasparis*

## The Arrival of the Latins and the New *Status Quo*

Land and its administration is an important chapter of medieval history. Throughout the long period of the Middle Ages, land was not just a source of wealth, but also, a means of social enforcement, a source of power and a point of access to political authority. In return for the exploitation of land and the collection of revenues, landowners would help conquer new territories and support the regime (either by offering personal military service or by funding the army) whilst simultaneously assisting in the administration and the dispensation of justice. Consequently the authorities of each state (or the dominant power in the case of colonies or subjugated states), though they often reserved the direct ownership (*dominium directum*) of the land, depended on the support of the landowners. Therefore, the regulation of land-tenure and the formulation of a landownership regime were prerequisites for the organisation of any hegemony or colony. Otherwise, sovereignty would remain tenuous.

The question that Venetians and Franks had to deal with, when they began to conquer segments of the Byzantine Empire following the Fourth Crusade, was twofold: on the one hand, who would own the land in each new hegemony and how would the new owners administer it, and on the other, what was to be done with lands formerly belonging to the lay and ecclesiastical authorities. As far as the first question is concerned, in all the Latin states, land remained under the control of centralised authority, which in turn selected who to grant its use to. As far as the second question is concerned, the issue of the lands belonging to the local Orthodox Churches (bishoprics and archbishoprics) seems to have been easier to resolve than that of lay land, at least in theory, since in most cases the high ranking Greek clergy was replaced by Latin ecclesiastics. According to the agreement between Venetians and crusaders (*Pactum Comune*), the property of the Greek Church was to be confiscated; part of it would then be granted to the Latin churches to ensure their viability,

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while the rest would devolve to the Venetian and Frankish overlords.[1] The fate of monastic property was similar, though here the status formerly enjoyed by the monasteries was crucial in deciding who would now control them: imperial monasteries came under the control of the state, patriarchal ones came under the control of the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople and the monasteries belonging to the jurisdiction of local archbishops or bishops passed into the jurisdiction of the newly created Latin archbishopric and bishoprics. The daughter-houses (*metochia*) of the two important monasteries of St Catherine of Sinai and St John of Patmos were treated as exceptions and retained their former status, following special agreements with the new lords.

Contrary to what was the case with ecclesiastical and monastic property, Byzantine landowners (*archons* or *archontes*)[2] had a decisive role to play in the crystallisation of the new land regime, as they formed a powerful political, social and economic force that the new conquerors could not ignore. All of the conquerors were faced with the following dilemma: either to confiscate and redistribute the land, excluding the old owners, or to recognise ownership as it stood until the time of the conquest. Despite some initial proposals to marginalise and neutralise the Byzantine landowners, the new Latin lords were able, occasionally under duress, to incorporate the old Byzantine landowners into the new landowning system of each state, and thus ensure their support for the new regime. The manner of incorporation as well as the landowning system varied in its details in each area, as in fact did the conquerors and the manner of conquest.

Broadly speaking, all conquered territories of the Byzantine Empire witnessed a compromise between Latins and Byzantine landowners, though the terms of the compromise and the methods by which it was achieved varied. One of the areas where change is observable relates to the political power that derived from landownership and this in fact is what distinguished Greek from Latin landowners. Once the political and social situation had been stabilised, the landowning class in the Frankish territories remained relatively closed and comprised a small number of people who supported the ruler and participated in the administration. In the Venetian colonies, by contrast, and especially in

1 "Clerici vero utriusque partis illas ecclesias ordinare debent, que sue parti contigerint. De possessionibus vero ecclesiarum tot et tantum clericis et ecclesiis debent provideri, quod honorifice possint vivere et sustentari. Relique vero possessiones ecclesiarum dividi et partiri debent secundum ordinem presignatum." See Walter Prevenier, *De Oorkonden der graven van Vlaanderen* (*1011–1206*), 3 vols. (Brussels, 1964), 2: no. 267.

2 The Greek term *archons* or *archontes*, found in Latin documents, has been adopted by modern scholars to describe the byzantine landowners in general (but sometimes only the upper tier of them), as well as high Byzantine officials in the territories conquered by the Latins.

Crete, landowners formed a much more open class, which, moreover, gradually broadened. As a result, only the top tier of the landowning class had access to political authority and was able to participate in local administration.

The broad principles of the landowning regime which the Latin overlords adopted in Greece (with some variation) and which was based on western European feudal practices, were made evident immediately after the conquest of Constantinople in 1204, when the Latin Emperor granted Venice and the crusaders lands yet to be conquered. One observes here not only a feudal-type ritual of land distribution, but also the adoption of feudal terminology, both by the Franks, who were already familiar with this system, and by the Venetians, who until this point had little experience in the administration and exploitation of land. In June 1205 the Venetian podestà in Constantinople, Marino Geno, ratified all the grants of land that he had made, using the term fief (*feudum*) and forbade the sale of this land to non-Venetians.[3] A few months later, in October 1205, the Latin Emperor Henry of Flanders along with the podestà, ratified the distribution of territories in Romania, whilst making reference to knights (*milites*), both Frankish and Venetian, who owned fiefs within the Byzantine Empire.[4]

The distribution of land in return for military service (in accordance with western feudal practices) can also be observed in the subsequent pacts between Venice and groups of citizens who were sent to conquer territories in return for land grants in those areas. These same deals also attempted to determine the ownership of the entirety of land in each of the conquered territories and to settle the matter of the previous Byzantine landowners. Even though in most cases there are discrepancies between the terms of these initial pacts and the situation that eventually materialised, the basic principles outlined in these pacts formed the spine of the landowning regime that was eventually imposed.

The first such surviving pact concerns the cession of Corfu and its surrounding islets, in July 1207, to ten Venetian nobles, in order that they might conquer and exploit it. This first document does not dwell on the matters of landownership and the Byzantine owners. Without relinquishing direct ownership, Venice granted useful ownership (*dominium utile*) of the island's land as a fief in perpetuity, in return for conquest and the maintenance of control in the name of the motherland. According to the same document, within six months

3 "de aliis gentibus, quod nos dedimus de nostris bonis in feodo . . . de hiis quod datum habemus vel darentur, nullus homo audeat alienandum, nisi Venetico." See Gottlieb L.F. Tafel and Georg M. Thomas, eds., *Urkunden zur älteren Handelsund Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, 3 vols. (Vienna, 1856), 1:559, no. 154.

4 "omnes milites, qui possessionem et feudum habent in imperio, tam de Francigenis, quam de Venetis . . ." Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, 1:572, no. 160.

of the death of the land's user, his heir ought to renew his vows of fidelity and agree to the terms of the grant. Venice reserved the right to refuse the renewal of the grant under specific circumstances. The heir was required to travel to Venice in order to take the oath and renew the grant. Should that prove impossible, the procedure could be performed on the island by an agent of the doge. It is worth noting that the document refers to the process as investiture (*investitura*), a singularly feudal term, with the doge taking on the role of the king.

According to the terms of the document, the inhabitants of Corfu would swear fidelity to the ten Venetian citizen-conquerors, thus indirectly swearing fealty to the doge. The new conquerors in turn, under the direction of Venice, were bound to maintain the inhabitants' *status quo* and not to demand any further dues from them, other than what they were accustomed to pay under Byzantine rule. At this point the document refers to "the people of this land" (*homines ipsius loci*), but it is unclear who the Venetian authorities were talking about: is it the entire population of the island, including the landowners, or just the peasants and burghers, who would continue to be treated as before? If we accept that the landowners were included, then in theory they could continue to exploit their own land and render to the Venetian nobles the same taxation that they used to render to the Byzantine state. Equally vague is the term concerning the status of the local churches, which again was to remain the same as before the arrival of the Venetians.[5] Of course there is no mention of the issue of church property and one may surmise that this also remained unchanged, with the exception that dues would now have to be paid to the new owners of the island.

For Corfu, as indeed for the rest of the conquered Byzantine territories, the pertinent question is this: under what terms did the Byzantine landowners own their land? What exactly did they pay and to whom, before the arrival of the Latin conquerors? In other words, was it land held in full ownership or was it land belonging to the fisc (*pronoies*) which had been granted to them and what percentage of each did they own? As our knowledge concerning the land-regime in Corfu before the arrival of the Venetians is very limited, the only safe conclusion is that, since all the land of the island was granted to the new lords, all the landowners, regardless of the previous state of affairs, were now answerable to the new Venetian lords. It remains open to debate, however, whether they all retained their land or whether some of them lost it. Unfortunately, as evidence is lacking and as the Venetians only retained the island for eight

5 "Ecclesias in pertinentiis nobis concessis positas habere debemus eo modo, quo habebantur temporibus Grecorum Imperatorum". See Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, 2:56, no. 182.

years, we must sidestep the issue, content with the simple statement that this document illustrates for the first time some of the basic principles concerning land-tenure that Venice instituted as she started to conquer the lands she had won through the Fourth Crusade.

Around two years after the conquest of Corfu, in March 1209, one of the Italian triarchs of Euboea, Ravano dalle Carceri, swore allegiance to Venice. The document that accompanies this act states that the Greeks of the island would remain under the same regime under which they existed during the reign of Emperor Manuel Komnenos. This expression, reminiscent of the one referring to the inhabitants of Corfu, does not clarify the situation. Further on, however, the same document becomes more specific, stating that all of Ravano's men as well as all the Latins and the Greek magnates (*magnates Greci*) ought to swear fidelity first to Venice and then to Ravano himself. This clarification, contrary to the document of Corfu, makes a distinction between the general Greek population of the island and the Greek landowners, who were treated in the same manner as the newly installed Latins. What is indirectly implied is that the important position of the Greek landowners amongst the native population had been recognised (hence their oath of fidelity was required) and furthermore that in all probability they had retained their lands.[6] The issue of the local church is nowhere mentioned in this document.

A few months later, in June 1209, Venice took control of the two Peloponnesian ports of Modon and Coron by ceding the rest of the Peloponnese to Geoffrey de Villehardouin. The agreement signed between the two parties on the little island of Sapienza is not particularly enlightening in matters concerning land tenure. It only makes reference to the Latin bishoprics of Modon and Coron, whose status and property would remain the same as under the Franks.[7] The two bishoprics had supplanted the pre-existing Greek ones and had received their properties, some of which were located within the borders of the Principality of Achaea. The treaty makes no mention of Greek landowners, possibly because Venice was not troubled by this matter, since the larger estates were located outside the jurisdiction of the two port cities.[8] The issue of landownership in these two towns does, however, presents certain

6 Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, 2:92, no. 204 and 95, no. 205.

7 Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, 2:96–100, no. 207. Jacoby, *La féodalité en Grèce médiévale: Les "Assises de Romanie": sources, application et diffusion* (Paris, 1971), 223–35. Andrea Nanetti, ed., *Il patto con Geoffroy de Villehardouin per il Peloponneso. 1209*, Pacta Veneta 13 (Rome, 2009), pp. 46–47.

8 Jacoby, *La féodalité*, pp. 224–26; Christine Hodgetts, "Land Problems in Coron, 1298–1347: A Contribution on Venetian Colonial Rule," *Βυζαντινά* 12 (1983), 141.

peculiarities because during the short Frankish reign that preceded the Venetian one some lands had been given to Frankish knights. Moreover, some of the possessions of Venetian inhabitants of Modon and Coron were now situated within the borders of the Principality of Achaea. These issues were settled by the two sides, allowing mobility between the two dominions.[9] This did not, however, prevent occasional serious problems.

In September 1211, shortly after the acquisition of Modon and Coron, Venice sent a first group of settlers to Crete, as part of an organised expedition, to conquer the entire island. Most of the terms of the document that accompanied the expedition, known as the *Concessio Crete*, concern the distribution and administration of the island's land.[10] The content of the document might not reflect the reality that emerged during the following decades, but nevertheless Venice appears perfectly aware not only of the importance of the landownership question, but also of the prevalent conditions on the island. Quite probably she was aware of the large number of powerful landowners on the island and of the threat they presented to her rule. It is precisely for this reason that the ambitious and, ultimately, unachievable plan contained in this document was to marginalise those men. In theory, the entirety of the island's land devolved to the Venetian state, which would then grant it to Venetian settlers; moreover, the document stipulated that, should any of this land be sold, it could only be passed on to Venetians. A relatively small zone surrounding the capital of Candia would remain under the direct control of the state. Two short paragraphs make reference to the issue of churches and native inhabitants: all the churches and their priests would maintain their *status quo*, but their property would be made available to the local government to administer as it saw fit. The natives, both in person and in terms of their property, were also at the disposal of the local authorities. These references hardly resolve the issue; essentially, all we learn is that the duke and his councillors had the power to interfere with the property of the natives, to confiscate it, or even to grant it back to them. In any case, however, these actions would have to be undertaken

9 See David Jacoby, "Peasant Mobility across the Venetian, Frankish and Byzantine Borders in Latin Romania: Thirteenth–Fifteenth Centuries," in *I Greci durante la venetocrazia: uomini, spazio, idee (XIII–XVIII sec.): atti del convegno internazionale di studi, 3–7 Dicembre 2007*, ed. Chryssa A. Maltezou, Angeliki Tzavara and Despina Vlassi (Venice, 2009), pp. 525–39. For the borders between the Principality of Achaea and the Venetian cities of Modon and Coron and the disputes over them, see Christine Hodgetts and Peter Lock, "Some further Fortifications in the Peloponnese," in *The Archaeology of Medieval Greece*, ed. Peter Lock and Guy D.R. Sanders (Oxford, 1996), pp. 77–85.

10 Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, 2:129–42, nos. 229 and 230.

officially, with the intervention of the authorities, since the land had formally devolved to the Venetian fisc, and would henceforth be administered for its own benefit.

The initial treatment of the issue of landownership by the Franks in the territories that they occupied is even less clear, for here we lack the documentation that the Venetians left us with. Judging from the regime that eventually prevailed in the two main Frankish dominions, Cyprus and Achaea, the Franks did not have a unified attitude towards the Byzantine landowners. In comparison to Cyprus and Venetian Crete, the Franks in the Peloponnese appeared much more tolerant and thus Greek landowners were integrated much more easily into the landowning regime. This was partly because the Franks were not accompanied by many individuals intent on acquiring land, nor did they promote settling in the manner that Venice did. Consequently, the new lords were forced to rely firstly on their few compatriots who had accompanied them and subsequently on the native landowners. This is also reflected in the much later *Chronicle of the Morea* (14th century), at the point where the conquest of the Peloponnese is described: it is noted that the Byzantine landowners would retain their own land; the fisc's land would devolve to the conquerors and the peasants would continue to live just like they did before.[11] This same tactic was followed by the conquerors of the Peloponnese each time they conquered a new castle and its territory: Greek property was recognised and the local landowners were integrated into the landowning system.[12]

Upon the conquest of Cyprus, in 1191, Richard the Lionheart attempted to negotiate with the local landowners, and offered to forego his right of conquest over the entirety of their estates, if they agreed to cede half of their property

11 "Οτι ὅλα τὰ ἀρχοντόπουλα, ὅπου εἴχασιν προνοῖες,/ νὰ ἔχουσιν ὁ κατὰ εἷς, πρὸς τὴν οὐσίαν ὅπου εἶχεν,/ τὴν ἀνθρωπέαν καὶ τὴν στρατείαν, τόσον νὰ τοῦ ἐνεμείνῃ,/ καὶ τ' ἄλλο τὸ περσότερον νὰ μερίζουν οἱ Φράγκοι·/ καὶ οἱ χωριάτες τῶν χωριῶν νὰ στέκουν ὡσάν τοὺς ηὗραν." *Το Χρονικόν του Μορέως* [*The Chronicle of Morea*], ed. Petros Kalonaros (Athens, 1940), vv. 1644–48. The passage is translated in *Crusaders as Conquerors: The Chronicle of Morea*, trans. Harold E. Lurier (New York, 1964), pp. 116–17: "... that all the lesser archons who had fiefs would retain, each one of them, the homage and military service consonant with his rank, so much would remain to him, and the rest, the greater part, the Franks would divide among themselves and the peasants of the villages would remain as they had found them."

12 See for example: "ὅτι ποθέν οὐκ ἠμποροῦν νὰ ἔχουσι βοήθειαν,/ ἔπεσαν εἰς συμβίβασιν κ' ἐδώκασιν τὸ κάστρον,/ μεθ' ὅρκου γὰρ καὶ συμφωνίες, νὰ ἔχουν τὲς προνοῖες τους,/ καθώς κ' οἱ ἕτεροι Ρωμαῖοι τοῦ πριγκιπάτου ὅλου." *Το Χρονικόν του Μορέως*, vv. 2820–2823. Translation in *Crusaders as Conquerors*, p. 154: "But, when those who were within saw that they could not have help [...] they capitulated and gave up the castle, but on oath and treaties that they were to retain their fiefs, even as the rest of the Romans of the whole principality."

to him. The archons rebelled, but the situation soon changed with the arrival first of the Knights Templar and then of Guy de Lusignan, in mid-1192. The new king, already aware of the landowners' reaction to Richard's plans, acted more forcefully and seized most of their land, starting with the public imperial land under their control and moving on to the sequestration of part of their private lands, as well as of ecclesiastical property. In any case, he needed to distribute this land to the Frankish knights that followed him and to those who would later come to the island, on whom he would depend for the defence and administration of the island. As we shall see, those Byzantine landowners who remained on the island eventually settled for a marginal position and acceded to the new political and social conditions.[13]

From the above, one may deduce that one of the main issues that the Latin conquerors (Franks as well as Venetians) in Greece had to contend with was that of the land and its local owners. They were well aware of the dangers of both recognising the ownership and power of the landowners and of confiscating the land in an attempt to weaken them. As the Venetian documents relating to Corfu and Euboea show, in their initial attempt to resolve the issue the new lords tried to appear conciliatory, declaring that the pre-existing status quo would be respected, without however explaining what that meant in practical terms. Soon afterwards, however, Venice would adopt a much more uncompromising position in Crete and attempt to marginalise the Byzantine landlords. In practice, the status of the local landowners (private, ecclesiastical or monastic) suffered minor or major changes, depending on the new ruler, the territory, the manner of conquest and the pre-existing forms of landownership.

The rich archival material pertaining to Crete, along with the growing scholarship of recent years, allows us to focus our attention now on this Venetian colony and to describe in depth the formulation and evolution of the landownership regime on the island, from the beginning of the 13th century to the first decades of the 15th century. Among the rest of the Latin domains, which are not as well served by the surviving primary sources for this period, we have opted to look at the examples of Cyprus, the Peloponnese and Corfu, whose land regimes will be examined more briefly, with recourse to the secondary literature on the subject. Our purpose is to place the example of Crete within a wider geographical and historical context and to attempt, wherever possible, a comparison between the landowning practices of the Venetians

13 Angel Nikolaou-Konnari, "Greeks," in *Cyprus: Society and Culture, 1191–1374*, ed. Angel Nikolaou-Konnari and Christopher Schabel (Leiden, 2005), p. 27; Peter W. Edbury, "Franks," in *Cyprus: Society and Culture, 1191–1374*, ed. Angel Nikolaou-Konnari and Christopher Schabel (Leiden, 2005), pp. 77–78.

and the Franks. In doing so, occasional references will be made to other Latin domains in Greece, such as Venetian Euboea, the Venetian ports of Modon and Coron, the Cyclades, Genoese Chios and Hospitaller Rhodes, whose landowning regimes remain even more obscure.

## Venetian Crete

### *Colonisation and the Process of Land Distribution*

In 1211, with the document of the first colonisation, the *Concessio Crete*, Venice set the foundations of the landowing system, defining her own relations with the land of Crete as well as the relations of the colonists with their land and with the State.[14] Through this act, the Venetian authorities granted to the present and future colonists—henceforth feudatories (*milites*)—all the land of the island, although much of the island was yet to be conquered. In actuality, Venice was not yet distributing all of the land of Crete in 1211; she was however recognising that all of the land of Crete, with the exception of a small part that would remain under the direct control of the state (*Comune*) and an equally small part which was reserved for the Church and the monasteries, was destined to be distributed to fief-holders. Accordingly, Venice determined both the number of fiefs that the island would be divided into, as well as the number of fief-holders that would receive them. The latter were divided into two categories, knights (*milites*) and footsoldiers or sergeants (*pedites*). Thus Crete was to be divided into 200 fiefs which would be distributed to 132 knights and 408 footsoldiers.

It is doubtful that the offer of land and high social status in the new colony was motive enough to attract substantial numbers of aspiring feudatories from Venice in that particular period. Only 120 people answered the first call of the Venetian authorities in 1211, 94 of whom were designated as knights, with the remaining 26 being designated footsoldiers. These people had been divided into six groups according to the Venetian administrative department (*sexterium*) from which they originated. Each group was then divided into knights and footsoldiers. Though we know the names of the feudatories who participated in this first mission, we do not know the number of the fiefs ceded to them. We also do not know whether the number of participants had been decided by the Venetian authorities, or whether it was simply defined by the number of people who answered the motherland's call. Though the number of participants was much smaller than the positions on offer (120 instead of

14 Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, 2:129–42, nos. 229 and 230.

540), Venice went ahead with the plan, aiming perhaps to send more colonists at a later date, although this cannot be discerned in the 1211 document. The document did, however, grant power to the local authorities (i.e. the duke and his councillors) to give land to other individuals of their own choosing. These people, who would in essence complete the ranks of the feudatories, would be treated in exactly the same way as the colonists who set off from Venice in this first organised mission. It is implied, though not explicitly stated, that these other individuals would be Venetian citizens who were either already on the island, or who would arrive separately.

The document of the first colonisation does not specify which area of Crete would be distributed to the fief-holders but based on later notices it is evident that they were installed in, and received, the eastern part of the island (the modern-day prefectures of Herakleion and Lasithi) which had already been conquered. The exact process of land distribution remains unknown. The document does, however, specify precisely the area of land around Candia which remained under the direct control and usufruct of the state. According to later notices, this area, which included fertile lands and many villages, was named *Paracandia* (or *Paracandida*).

In 1222, eleven years after the first mission, Venice attempted a second organised colonisation, this time at the request of the Venetian feudatories already on the island, who wanted to strengthen Venetian authority in Crete and safeguard the colony.[15] Citing the original division of Crete into 200 fiefs, the Venetian authorities increased the number of feudatories, sending over 39 knights and 28 sergeants, who shared 60 fiefs in the territory of Rethymnon. This second colonisation, as a continuation of the first one, took place under the exact same terms, but the new document contains a further important element: it lists the feudatories along with the precise number of fiefs that each would receive. In 1233, as part of the previous two missions, a small complementary expedition of nine feudatories received 11 fiefs, whose location, however, remains unknown.[16]

It took another 30 years for a third full-blown expedition to be decided. Though by this time conditions were completely different from those of 1211, the colonisation of the territory of Canea in 1252 was based on the same principles as the original colonisation of Candia.[17] In this case, however, the surviving

15 Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, 2:236, no. 263.

16 Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, 2:314, no. 284.

17 Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, 2:470–80, no. 322. Compare Georgios A. Sefakas, *Παραχώρησις υπό της ενετικής Συγκλήτου του διαμερίσματος των Χανίων ως φεούδου εις Ενετούς ευγενείς εν έτει 1252* [*Cession of the Department of Canea as a Fief to Venetian Nobles by the Venetian Senate*

information about the course of the mission and the distribution of land following the conquest presents a number of interesting points. This information derives from two documents (1255–56) which formed part of the first Register of the fiefs of western Crete (*Catasticus vocatus Albus*).[18] These excerpts, though sometimes obscure, are invaluable, for they elucidate the course of the expedition, from its planning stages in Venice to the actual distribution of land in Crete. We do not know what course the previous two expeditions in the territories of Candia and Rethymnon followed. There can be no doubt, however, that the manner and the timing of the last colonising expedition had a significant bearing on the final stages of the installation of feudatories on their lands.

The territory of Canea, as defined by the 1252 document, coincides with the modern-day prefecture of Canea, including its two islands, Gavdos and Gavdopoula. It was divided into 90 fiefs, 75 of which were earmarked for the feudatories. The remaining 15 were set aside for the Venetian state. The *capitaneus* (who was the leader of the expedition) and his councillors were entrusted with the task of rebuilding the pre-existing settlement of Canea, or founding a new city within the territory (with the assistance of the colonists) which would serve as the base of the local authorities and the residence of the fief-holders. The town would develop within a radius of three *miliaria* of the existing settlement or the newly selected spot. As had already happened in Candia, the land within the city would be divided into two equal parts, one for the state and one for the feudatories. The state's land would be used for the construction of public buildings and houses that would be rented out; the private land, as urban fiefs (*burgesie*) formed part of the feudatories' property and was intended for the construction of residences, either for private use or for renting. According to the 1252 document, the expedition was comprised of 47 knights and six sergeants who would receive in total 75 fiefs.

Around three years later a document dated August 1255 set the boundaries of the three-*mile*-wide area that would enclose the city. Eight months later (four years since the colonisation document was composed) a document of

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*in 1252*] (Athens, 1940). Concerning the conquest and organisation of the territory of Canea, see Charalambos Gasparis, *Catastici Feudorum Crete: Catasticum Chanee, 1314–1396* (Athens, 2008), pp. 27–88.

18 These documents were first published in Guido Scaffini, *Notizie intorno ai primi cento anni della dominazione veneta in Creta* (Alexandria, 1907), appendix, pp. 26–31. They were republished with corrections and emendations in Chryssa A. Maltezou, "Concessio Crete: Παρατηρήσεις στα έγγραφα διανομής φεούδων στους πρώτους Βενετούς αποίκους της Κρήτης" ["Concessio Crete: Observations on the Documents Distributing Fiefs to the First Venetian Colonists of Crete"], in *Λοιβή: Εις μνήμην Ανδρέα Γ. Καλοκαιρινού* [*Loibe: In Memory of Andreas Kalokairinos*] (Herakleion, 1994), pp. 126–31.

April 1256 recorded the area of Canea which was set aside for the feudatories, the names of the feudatories and the number of fiefs that each would receive. According to this, 38 feudatories would share 56 fiefs in Canea.

Thanks to the detailed listing of the names of the feudatories and the number of their fiefs, we can attempt a comparison between the evidence offered by this latest document (1256) and the one of the colonisation (1252). Within four years, the feudatories who would share the land had been reduced from 53 to 38 and the fiefs from 75 to 56. Though the original plan had made provision for two categories of feudatories, knights, who would each receive one or two *cavallarie*, and sergeants, who would receive half a *cavallaria* (three *serventarie*), in the end only the category of knight materialised. Thus, several changes had occurred in the period between the two documents, concerning the number of feudatories, the ratio of knights to sergeants and the ratio of knights enfeoffed with two fiefs to those enfeoffed with one. However, the number of fiefs corresponding to each of the feudatories remained the same. It is impossible to tell whether the number of the colonists decreased at the time of their departure in Venice, or whether some of them departed during the four years that intervened.

At this point it is important to note the existence of Greek feudatories in Canea. Both the 1255 and the 1256 documents expressly state that the distribution and recording of fiefs and feudatories in western Crete included Latins as well as Greeks (*tam inter Latinos quam inter Grecos*). It is possible then, that the decrease in the number of Latin feudatories and fiefs was due to the fact that an unknown number of Greeks retained their landed property in the area. These Greeks are not recorded in the list of Latin feudatories of 1256.

During the first colonisation in 1211 the land that was set aside for the feudatories appears to have already been under the control of Venice and thus to have been immediately available to them upon their arrival. The feudatories simply had to defend the land against all enemies, internal or external. The only dispensation afforded to them was their exemption from all dues to the Venetian state for a period of four years after their arrival at Candia. The feudatories who participated in the second colonisation, in the territory of Rethymnon in 1222, seem to have enjoyed similar treatment. Once again, the land appears to have been conquered already, though the document implies that potential violence was not out of the question. The participants therefore were subsidised in order to better equip themselves for the defence of their land, until the situation in the area was stabilised. It was no coincidence that the feudatories were required to remain in place for at least two years after their arrival. At the end of that period, they were free to leave the island, provided that they left someone in their place and that the authorities had granted their permission.

The situation was altogether different in the case of the colonisation of Canea in 1252. Here, the relevant document makes explicit reference to conquest (*acquisitio*) and counts the participating feudatories as part of an invading army. It is telling that the 15 *cavallarie* that had been set aside for the *capitaneus* and his councillors to give to persons of their choosing, had to be distributed before the conquest, to ensure that these persons would take part in the fighting. As has already been mentioned, the *capitaneus* (along with his two councillors) had been sent as head of the expedition and was responsible for the conquest and subsequent organisation of the territory of Canea. Venice had envisioned that the whole expedition would be completed within two years. As is proven, however, by the document of 1256, the conquest and the distribution of land took four years to complete. There can be no doubt that the conquest of the western part of Crete was the final and toughest of the challenges that Venice faced, but one nonetheless that she concluded successfully.

At the end of the colonisation, 234 feudatories had arrived on the island and had shared 1139 *serventarie* or 190 *cavallarie*. The number of *cavallarie* (190) may resemble that of the original plan (200), but the number of fief-holders fell far short of the 540 that Venice originally envisioned. Of course one should take into account the number of colonists that had received fiefs separately, not as part of an organised expedition. But in the 45 years between 1211 and 1256 much had changed; landownership in Crete was no longer regulated through an organised plan. From now on state intervention focused on controlling who acquired land and on ensuring that the responsibilities of the landowners were fulfilled.

By the mid-13th century the organised colonisation of Crete had stopped, as the land necessary to ensure political and social domination had been occupied. In the following years, readjustments within the class of feudal landowners in Crete took place due to different reasons.

### *Official Terminology vs. Reality*

The terminology of the documents that accompanied colonisation and of other documents, particularly the ones relating to deals made with various rebels, is interesting in its own right. In the document of the first colonisation, the Venetians who participated in the expedition (*dilecti fideles nostri, viri Veneti*) are referred to as *milites* and *pedites* and their assigned land as *militia*. The *militia* of the former was to consist of six units (*sex partes*) and of the latter of one (*una pars*). The terms *milites* (which is used generally to describe Venetian feudatories) and *militia* (which is used to describe their land) emphasise the military character of the expedition. The document of the second colonisation (1222) expands this military terminology. The term *pedites* is replaced by the

term *sergentes* or *servientes* (sergeants) and we have the first appearance of the terms *cavallaria* and *serventaria* or *sergentaria*.[19] The term *serventaria* denotes the land assigned to the *serventem* and the term *cavallaria* (which appears only once in the document) denotes landed property in general, just like *militia*, which continues to be used in reference to the land given to the *milites*. The term *pheudum* also appears in this document for the first time, as a synonym of *militia* or *cavallaria*, the land that is, that the feudatories would receive upon arrival to Crete.

The expedition of 1222 was joined, for the first time, by two non-Venetians: Ardizonus Zonus from Padua (*de civitate Padue*) and Thomas de Tumba from Caorle (*de Caproli*).[20] Though the document of the first colonisation makes reference only to "faithful Venetian subjects" installing themselves in Crete, all the subsequent documents (be they colonisation documents or treaties) feature the terms *milites Latini*, which of course included both Venetians and other Italians. The term may also be taken to refer to all those who adhered to the Catholic faith, since it is often juxtaposed with the Greeks (*Greci*).[21]

The feudatories of Crete, regardless of whether they were Venetian or other Latins, are also described by the term *milites Cretenses*, which first appears in 1231 in a decree by the Doge of Venice Jacobo Tiepolo.[22] The *Treaty of the Two Sybritoi*, concluded in 1234 between the Duke of Crete Angelo Gradonico and the inhabitants of the territory of Rethymnon is signed not just by the authorities, but also by 40 *milites feudati de Creta*.[23] Thus we see that alongside the term *fief* we also have the first appearance of the term *feudatory* (*feudatus*) in an official document. The term would gain wider currency during the 14th century.

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19 The term *sergentes* had already made its appearance in 1213, in the treaty between the Duke of Crete Jacobo Tiepolo and Marco Sanudo: "In primis enim omnes milites et sergentes de parte domini Ducis . . ." See, Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, 2:159, no. 235.

20 Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, 2:240, no. 263.

21 The treaty between the Venetians and Marco Sanudo in 1213 mentions: "et de omnibus aliis animalibus potestatem habere debeant vendere ad Grecos, et non ad Latinos; et suas causas recommendare debent, quibus voluerint, tam Latinis, quam Grecis." See, Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, 2:163, no. 235. The treaty between the Duke of Crete Domenico Delphino, Constantinos Sevastos and Theodoros Melissenos in 1219 says: "prenominati lo Sevasto et Mellisino com suis guarnire de militibus et sergentibus ad servandum eos, sicut milites Latini . . ." See, Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, 2:211, no. 255.

22 Ernst Gerland, ed., *Das Archiv des Herzogs von Kandia im königl: Staatsarchiv zu Venedig* (Strasburg, 1899), p. 77.

23 Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, 2:322–26, no. 290.

The final settlement of the feudatories on their land was followed, as we shall see, by the compilation of the official land registers, the *Catastici Feudorum*, and the cataloguing of the land that had been granted to the colonists. In these registers (which began to be compiled in their present form between 1234 and 1236) we encounter all of the above-mentioned terms, now clearly defined. Some of the terms are used interchangeably, with no alteration to their meaning whilst others acquire a more precise sense after a certain period. Thus, a feudatory (*miles, feudatarius*) is anyone, Latin (*Latinus*) or Greek (*Grecus*) who owns land which has been granted to him by the Venetian state (*Comune*) in perpetuity (*imperpetuum*) and a fief (*feudum*) is the property for which he owes military service (*varnitio*). The value of the fief is estimated according to the units of *cavallaria* and *serventaria* as well as the *caratum* from the 14th century onwards.

### *The Main Principles of the Landowning System*

The foundations of the landowning regime in Crete were set in 1211, through the document that accompanied the first Venetian colonists. These foundations remained stable throughout the period of Venetian rule in Crete, despite occasional adjustments.

The landowning regime hinged on two basic principles: a) the island of Crete and its land belongs to the Venetian state which remains at all times the direct owner, and b) the land is granted in perpetuity (*imperpetuum*) to Venetian citizens, who have full rights to exploit it and bequeath it, in return for military service (*varnitio*) for the defence of the colony.

The parcels of land had three main recipients. The Venetian state reserved for itself an area of land which included many villages around Candia, known as *Paracandia*. The Latin Church of Crete supplanted the Greek one but only inherited a fraction of its property. In this portion we may include the relatively small property of the churches as well as the monasteries of the island (both Greek and Latin). The remainder of the land was set aside for the Venetian citizens who agreed to depart from their homeland for the faraway island of Crete. The largest of these three portions was without a doubt that of the Venetian feudatories.

The direct ownership of the land by the Venetian state was demonstrated in practice by the following: a) the right to cede land remained at all times in the hands of the government; b) even though land was granted in perpetuity, the authorities reserved the right to rescind the grant at any time, under certain conditions; c) both the heirs of feudatories and the buyers of fiefs had to be approved by the state and had to swear the customary oath. In actual fact, for

every change of ownership (whether by inheritance or sale) a new grant was made by the duke and his councillors.

The portion of land that the Venetian state reserved for its own use was offered to private tenants at public auction in return for an annual rent for a period of 29 years, with the possibility of renewal for a further 29 years. The tenants of public land could then make whatever use of their rented property they considered most lucrative, just like the feudatories did with theirs. Of course they were not permitted to sell or permanently alienate the land, since they only held it for a fixed term. The state closely supervised the use of the public land to ensure that it was not destroyed and that it did not lose its productive value.

The portion assigned to the churches and monasteries was not burdened by the dues that the feudatories had to render but any change in ownership had to first be approved by the authorities, that is the duke and his councillors.

The grants that Venice made to her subjects in Crete incorporated everything that was contained within the vast parcels of land which she handed out, including settlements, human workforce, buildings and natural resources. The colonists were also given houses and plots of land in Candia (where they were required to reside) and they were provided with pastures for their livestock, in particular their horses, which they had to keep in fulfilment of their military responsibilities. They were allowed to sell all their produce freely, whilst a great part of their annual cereal production was bought by the state sometimes at a better price than that which it would fetch in the open market.[24] The feudatories quickly took advantage of their rights to free trade. Many of them in fact were already involved with trade before the conquest (some of them even in Crete) and continued their mercantile activities after becoming feudatories.

In return for all these privileges the feudatories swore fidelity to Venice and undertook to defend the colony of Crete against any threat and to maintain its integrity for the honour of Venice and the benefit of all. This oath, which was always combined with the undertaking of military service (*varnitio*) and ought in theory to be renewed every five years, was supposed to be sworn by the heirs of the feudatories, provided they were of age, within a year of inheriting the property and after seeking the approval of Venice. If the heir was under the age of 16 or female, then the oath was taken by a substitute who would also assume responsibility for the military service.

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24 On the production and sale of cereal in Crete, see Dimitris Tsougarakis, "Η σιτική πολιτική της Βενετίας στην Κρήτη τον 13ο και 14ο αιώνα. Παραγωγή, διακίνηση και τιμές του σιταριού" ["Venetian Policies on Cereal in Crete in the 13th and 14th Centuries. Production, Transportation and Pricing of Wheat"], *Μεσαιωνικά και Νέα Ελληνικά* 3 (1990), 333–85.

In October 1211 the Venetian participants in the first colonisation swore faith to Venice and promised to observe faithfully all the terms of the *Concessio*. Their oath was recorded in the document of the *promissio*, which reiterated all their rights and responsibilities and which they then signed.[25] The content of this *promissio* was what all the new feudatories of Crete subsequently swore to obey.

### *The Fief*

The fief (*feudum* or *militia*) was an aggregation of elements, the most important of which was the village with its people and land (*corpus casalis cum suis habenciis, pertinenciis et villanis*). Therefore the fief was comprised of real estate (settlements, land, houses, urban estates) and the human workforce (*villani*) which it enclosed. As a rule, the land of a fief was concentrated in a particular area but from early on we also encounter fiefs whose land was scattered around different territories. Changes to the configuration of a fief could only be made provided the fief's value did not decrease, thus ensuring that the owner would always be able to fulfil his military responsibilities as they had been originally defined. The fief therefore formed, at least in the early period of Venetian rule (13th–14th centuries), the foundation of landownership and the nucleus of social organisation in Venetian Crete. The population was essentially divided into the feudatories who owned the land and the peasant population who cultivated it.

Taxation, in the form of military service, burdened the fief and not the feudatory. Thus, it was the fief that defined someone as a feudatory and not the other way round. In other words, whoever accepted land and was approved by the authorities became automatically a feudatory and was required to render military service. The link connecting the feudal class was the land and not social or economic background. This became particularly evident in the 14th century.

Feudatories could freely manage their fiefs: they could lease them, sell them, donate them, exchange them or alienate them in any other way. All of these actions, however, and especially the more permanent ones, could only be undertaken with permission from the duke and his councillors, who, as representatives of the Venetian Republic, retained direct ownership of all the land of Crete.

As we have already seen, in the document of the *Concessio* the colonists were divided into two tiers, the knights (*milites*) and the sergeants (*pedites*).

25 The oath of the feudatories of the *sexterium* of Santa Croce is published in Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, 2:136–42, no. 230.

At the same time two corresponding sizes of fiefs were instituted; one for the sergeants which comprised of one unit (*una pars*) and one for the knights which was six times as large (*sex partes*). Soon afterwards these fiefs acquired their own units of measurement, named after the title of their recipients, the *cavallaria* or *militia* and the *serventaria*. The former described the fief of the *miles* and the latter described the fief of the *pedes* or *servens*. Both these units of measurement of value were based on the size of the fief and not on the quality of its elements; it follows then that they were not necessarily based on the value of the revenues that it generated. The purpose of these units was to facilitate the estimation of military service owed by the feudatories. In the 14th century we have the appearance of a third, smaller unit, the *caratum*, which equalled 1/24 of the *serventaria*.

### *The Financial Stratification of Feudatories in the 13th Century*

It is apparent from the 1211 document of the *Concessio* that the class of the feudatories had not been envisioned as a class whose members were all on an equal financial standing; after all there were two different types of fiefs up for distribution, *cavallarie* and *serventarie*, the former of which were six times larger than the latter. Unfortunately this first document does not clarify how many fiefs each of the feudatories would receive. The only distinction made is between knights and sergeants, that is, those who would receive *cavallarie* and *serventarie* respectively. Assuming that each of these individuals received a single fief, then two distinct tiers of feudatories emerge, which moreover differed greatly in terms of the size of their landed property.

According to this first, theoretical plan, 540 feudatories would be sent to Crete in total, 132 or one-fourth of whom would be knights; the remaining 408 (three-fourths of the total number) would be sergeants. Assuming again that each of these feudatories were to receive one fief (*cavallaria* or *serventaria* accordingly) then the island would have to be divided into 200 *cavallarie* or 1200 *serventarie*. Three quarters of the land would then be given to the knights, who only made up one-fourth of the feudatories and one-fourth of the land would be given to the sergeants who represented three-fourths of the feudatories.

In practice, only 120 people participated in the first expedition, 94 of whom were knights, the remaining 26 being sergeants. The ratio of knights to sergeants is thus reversed in comparison to the theoretical one, with three-fourths (78 per cent) of the participants being knights and only one-fourth (22 per cent) being sergeants. We do not know whether this creation of a core of great landowners was a conscious decision of the Venetian authorities or whether it occurred fortuitously because of the high social and financial standing of

the Venetian volunteers. The drawback for Venice was that a number of great and powerful feudatories found themselves concentrated around Candia, thus endangering Venice's future sovereignty over the island. Simultaneously though, this group of landowners offered a feeling of security, for they would be able to defend the colony should the need arise.

Following this initial experience, things became clearer and Venice's colonial strategy more realistic in the subsequent colonisation documents. There are two defining characteristics in these new documents: the number and type of fiefs that each feudatory would receive is listed and there are subsidies offered to each of the participants. The former allows us to classify the feudatories into financial strata. The available information from the second and third colonisations confirm Venice's belated attempt to create a "feudal pyramid" in Crete, whose members would occupy different financial tiers. This pyramid ensured that the feudatory class would be more coherent and balanced compared to the original system that only distinguished between knights and sergeants; even disregarding the problems concerning the ratio of knights to sergeants, the inequalities of wealth between the two tiers were too great for the original system to be viable.

In 1222, eleven years after the first mission, the territory of Rethymnon was colonised. The land of this territory had been estimated to 60 *cavallarie* (360 *serventarie*). Only 315 of these *serventarie* were eventually handed out, indicating perhaps that participation in the expedition was smaller than planned. These *serventarie* were distributed between 67 feudatories. We can discern seven gradations in the amount of land that these feudatories received: at the lower end were feudatories who received just one *serventaria* each and at the higher end landowners who got two and a half *cavallarie*. Within these tiers there existed three zones, defined by the size of each feudatory's fiefs. This constitutes a formally laid out financial pyramid in which the smallest numerically class also owns the largest proportion of land. The largest tier, numerically, was that of the feudatories who owned just one *serventaria* or one *cavallaria*. The in-between and top-tier strata remain in the minority, proving that Venice insisted, to an extent, on the original theoretical plan of having two clearly defined strata of knights and sergeants within the feudatory class, each of which would own one unit of land. At the same time, however, Venice proceeded, albeit cautiously, towards the creation of middle strata, for reasons that are not immediately apparent but can be surmised. In other words, Venice decided to implement of her own accord, what would inevitably happen eventually.

We can draw further conclusions from the distribution of the land of Canea in 1252. The attempt here to organise the territory more systematically, once

it had been occupied, is much more evident. The territory of Canea was estimated at 90 *cavallarie*, 75 of which would be granted to the feudatories, the remaining 15 staying in the hands of the state. These 75 *cavallarie* (or 450 *serventarie*) were given to 53 Venetian feudatories. In this case, the lower stratum of landowners that appeared in Rethymnon, those who only received one or two *serventarie*, did not materialise. Amongst the feudatories of Canea, one can discern three distinct tiers, each owning twice as much land as the tier below it: the members of the first tier owned half a *cavallaria* (or three *serventarie*), those of the second owned one *cavallaria* and those of the third owned two *cavallarie*. This is a more acute pyramid and one that is inverted. The lower tier owns the smallest proportion of land overall; the other two tiers are made up of similar numbers but the top tier remains the largest numerically. In this sense the distribution of land seems more even, since the percentage of land that each tier occupies overall is proportionate to the percentage of the class itself within the overall number of feudatories, with a slight deviation in favour of the wealthiest strata.

Taking into account some of the local factors it becomes apparent that this policy was not accidental. The territory of Canea was the last one that Venice penetrated and was far away from the central authority of Candia. At the start of the effort to organise the western part of Crete, before the apparatus of government was fully developed, it was natural for Venice to promote the installation of strong men, whose financial interests would keep them loyal and who could ensure the defence of the area. Another important factor is the presence of a group of Greek feudatories, who occupied the lowest tier, owning one or two *serventarie* each. The middle and top tiers of Venetian feudatories could, therefore, function as a counterweight to this group.

At the same time Venice seemed keen to safeguard her own interests against the Venetian feudatories of Canea whom she herself had endowed so generously and to prevent the disproportionate increase of some of the feudatories' territories. We see then that, even though the presence of a large class of powerful landowners ensured the protection of the area, a section of this class comprising of the most powerful individuals and families was a potential danger for Venice's authority over the island. The document's terms were therefore clear: contrary to Rethymnon where there had been grants of two and a half *cavallarie*, no feudatory in the area of Canea was allowed to own more than two *cavallarie* and members of the same family were not allowed to own more than four *cavallarie* in total. This rule, which initially appears in the colonisation document of Canea, was later imposed on the whole of the island, though in practice its enforcement remained difficult.

The final distribution of land to the feudatories of the third expedition in 1256 overturned the provisions made in 1252. According to this latest document, the recipient feudatories of Canea were 38 and the fiefs were 56. They were divided into two groups of 19 feudatories, who would then share 28 fiefs. Twenty of these feudatories received a *cavallaria* each and 18 of them received two *cavallarie* each. Despite the change in the overall number of feudatories, their stratification remained the same. What shines through in this document, as indeed in the 1252 one, is Venice's obsession, especially in the mid-western areas of Crete, to reinforce the middle and top tiers of feudatories, and to do so whilst maintaining their ratio to each other.

The foundations of the feudal class of Crete, comprising of people bound together by the ownership of land and the responsibilities that issued from it, were set during the colonisations of the 13th century. In the long run, however, this class evolved, influenced not only by the political and economic conditions in Venice but also those of Crete and its different territories. Moreover, one should not disregard the impact of personal factors, like the background of each of the feudatories that arrived to Crete from Venice. Individuals with a strong financial background were naturally able not only to retain the land they acquired, but also to add to it. Furthermore, the geography and the political circumstances in the various areas of Crete during the 13th century offered feudatories unequal opportunities. The first feudatories, for example, who moved into the more fertile and calmer areas of eastern Crete (e.g. the plain of Messara) had much better prospects of economic advancement than those last settlers who acquired the land of Canea.

The simple plan for the feudal class of Crete, as outlined in the document of the first colonisation, had already changed by the mid-13th century. By this time there had already emerged a group of Venetian feudatories, born in Crete, whose interests were directly connected to the island. At the same time, during these first 50 years, the first feudatories had been joined by new ones sent from the metropolis, as well as others who arrived under their own initiative and at their own expense.[26] This was also the period of the resurgence of the old Greek landowners who forcefully tried to retain their former position. The second half of the 13th century is most noteworthy for the struggle of Greeks to

26 See Jacoby, "La colonisation militaire vénitienne de la Crète au XIII^e siècle: une nouvelle approche," in *Le partage du monde: Échanges et colonisation dans la Méditerranée médiévale*, ed. Michel Balard and Alain Ducellier (Paris, 1998), pp. 303, 306–07 and 313, repr. in David Jacoby, *Latins, Greeks and Muslims: Encounters in the Eastern Mediterranean, 10th–15th Centuries* (Farnham, 2009), IV.

penetrate the landowning classes of Crete. The class of feudatories, therefore, did not cease to evolve and suffer upheavals until the end of the 13th century.[27] At the beginning of the 14th century, having already survived in the area for a century under the administrative and financial guidance of Venice, the class of feudatories emerges fully evolved, now containing multiple financial tiers and also non-Venetian feudatories, Latins as well as Greeks.

### *The Evolution of Landownership*

The text of the *Concessio* in 1211 ignored all the existent conditions in Crete, political, social and economic. The pre-existing situation had been completely overturned and the Greek inhabitants of the island found themselves and their property under the jurisdiction of the duke and his councillors, who would decide how they would be treated henceforth.

The complete exclusion of the native Greeks from the redistribution of land once the new regime was in power was reinforced by the prohibition of the sale of land to non-Venetians. Even though this prohibition was later belied by the facts themselves, it never ceased to exist in theory. Nevertheless, the fact that local authorities had the power to approve or reject new feudatories allowed a group of Greeks to acquire land through various means and enter into the feudal class. As we have already seen the document of the *Concessio* allowed the local authorities to introduce new individuals that they deemed suitable into the ranks of colonists/feudatories. In actuality then, the right to distribute land passed with the authorisation of the doge from Venice to the duke of Crete and his councillors. Thus all donations of land were made by the duke of Crete in the name of the doge and the *Comune* of Venice. This was the case both with those feudatories who had participated in the organised colonisation and had thus been selected by the metropolitan authorities, and the ones who were already in Crete or arrived there later.

Venice's uncompromising, at least in its theoretical principles, attitude towards the population of Crete brought about the opposite results to the desired ones. The local landowners were faced with the prospect of losing everything and the greater part of the peasants, the old Byzantine *paroikoi*,

27 See Charalambos Gasparis, "Για την τιμή και το συμφέρον της πατρίδας. Οι « θυσίες » των βενετών φεουδαρχών της Κρήτης για την υπεράσπιση της κυριαρχίας κατά τον 13ο αιώνα" ["For the Honour and Benefit of the Fatherland. The 'Sacrifices' of the Venetian Feudatories of Crete in Defence of the Dominion in the 13th Century"], *Thesaurismata* 41 (2011/2012), 291–310.

seemed to change legal status, since they were now tied to the land, and they and their heirs would remain so unless they were emancipated by their lords.[28]

The great Greek landowners reacted immediately (as the first revolt by the family of Hagiostephanites broke out in 1212 in eastern Crete) and, through a series of revolts that lasted the entire 13th century, managed to retain or even increase their properties, meanwhile paving the way for other Greeks to acquire land. These other Greeks acquired land gradually, either by participating in the revolts of the 13th century, or by offering services to the Venetian state which then rewarded them with grants of land, or even by buying land from Venetian feudatories, having first secured the permission of the authorities.[29] The responsibilities and rights of the feudatories remained the same regardless of each one's ethnic origin, Venetian, other Latin or Greek. The Greek feudatories were considered the peers of the Venetians (depending on the size of their land), though they lacked the political rights that the Venetian feudatories possessed, which allowed Venetians to have a say in public matters and occupy positions in the administration. Though there exist examples of Greeks sitting on the Council of Feudatories and the Great Council of Crete, those cases are few and have to be treated as exceptions.

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28 The binding of the peasantry to the land is considered to have changed their status decisively, given the fact that the *paroikoi* of the Byzantine Empire were legally free. See David Jacoby, "From Byzantium to Latin Romania: Continuity and Change," in *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. Benjamin Arbel, Bernard Hamilton and David Jacoby (London, 1989) [= *Mediterranean Historical Review* 4:1 (1989)], pp. 20–22, repr. in David Jacoby, *Byzantium, Latin Romania and the Mediterranean* (Aldershot, 2001), VIII; idem, "The Economy of Latin Greece," in the present volume, p. 191; idem, "New Evidence on the Greek Peasantry in Latin Romania," in *Porphyrogenita: Essays on the History and Literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in Honour of Julian Chrysostomides*, ed. Charalambos Dendrinos, Jonathan Harris, Eirene Harvalia-Crook and Judith Herrin (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 239–52; repr. in David Jacoby, *Latins, Greeks and Muslims: Encounters in the Eastern Mediterranean, 10th–15th Centuries* (Farnham, 2009), X. However, the matter remains unclear, because we are still uncertain about the status of Byzantine *paroikoi* in certain parts of the Empire during the 12th century. Despite the binding of the Cretan peasant to the land, which appears to have been an innovation, the peasant remained under the institutional authority of the state, not of the feudatory. For the peasants in medieval Crete see Charalambos Gasparis, *Η γη και οι αγρότες στη μεσαιωνική Κρήτη, 13ος–14ος αι.* [*Land and Peasantry in Medieval Crete, 13th–14th Centuries*] (Athens, 1997), pp. 55–74.

29 For an initial treatment of the subject, see Charalambos Gasparis, "Έλληνες φεουδάρχες στο σεξτέριο του Dorsoduro. Στοιχεία για την ελληνική γαιοκτησία στη μεσαιωνική Κρήτη" ["Greek Feudatories in the Sexterium Dorsoduri. Evidence on Greek Landownership in Medieval Crete"], *Σύμμεικτα* 15 (2002), 195–227.

Despite the readjustment of Venetian policy on the matter of landownership and the upheavals in the countryside that resulted from the revolts of the 13th century, the landowning regime was stabilised very quickly. This in turn brought about a very rapid development of certain practical procedures, like for example the determination of the fiefs' boundaries.

How rapidly the situation stabilised can be gleaned by the registers of fiefs: here we can find, not only declarations by the feudatories of their property and settlements concerning their boundaries, but already from the mid-13th century exchanges, donations, sales, bequests and auctions of fiefs or parts of fiefs. From early on, then, and for a variety of reasons there was considerable mobility amongst feudatories and their properties.

The installation of Venetian feudatories in Canea in 1252 brought about the end of the official colonisation of Crete and the redistribution of its land, according to the provisions of the *Concessio*. Henceforth, changes in ownership were due to other causes, political, financial or personal.

The end of the 13th century and the resolution of the great revolt of Alexios Kallergis in 1299 closed yet another important chapter relating to landownership. The revolts of the great local landowners forced Venice to modify her plans regarding the complete exclusion of Greeks from owning land. The results of these movements were spectacular, allowing most great landowners to retain or even increase their lands and other Greeks to gradually begin to penetrate the landowning class.

Thus, at the end of the 13th century the shape of the feudal class had been finalised. Its members were all who owned land, regardless of its size and regardless of their ethnic descent, though the Greeks did not, as a rule, participate in the council of feudatories or any other administrative council. At the same time, the various economic tiers within the feudatory class had also been formed, and would be further reinforced in the future. This was the result not only of the evolution of the two original categories of feudatory envisioned in the first colonisation (*milites, pedites*) but also of other political, economic and social factors. On the one hand, the subdivision of the fiefs due to the custom of partible inheritance weakened the lower strata of the feudatory class; on the other hand marriages within the same tier of the feudatory class aimed at the retention and reinforcement of the fiefs and consequently the strengthening of their owners.

During the 14th century the subdivision of the fiefs proceeded even further. This is demonstrated at the first instance by the adoption of a new unit of measurement, the *caratum*, which equalled one-twenty-fourth of a *serventaria*. This was a much smaller unit than the original ones and it greatly

facilitated the authorities in their efforts to estimate the value of fiefs for taxation purposes, particularly towards the end of the 14th century. Each subdivision of a fief created new, smaller ones, since a piece of land could be named a fief irrespective of its size. This resulted, in some extreme cases, in fiefs that consisted of nothing more than a house in a town or a small plot of land. These new smaller fiefs, however, retained their relationship to the original, larger one. The owner of a tiny section of a fief was still considered a feudatory and was burdened by certain responsibilities. The gradual increase of subdivisions and the proliferation of smaller and smaller fiefs lead to the opening up of the feudal class, whose members were already very unequal.

A further important evolution, especially at the end of the 14th century, was the decline of the defence system that was based on the enlistment of the feudatories themselves or their substitutes (*socii*), known as *varnitio*. Broadly speaking, this system went through three stages. In the beginning most feudatories were enlisted personally (*defendere personaliter / defendere ad equum personaliter / varnire in propria persona*) and, depending on the magnitude of their responsibilities, took it upon themselves to enlist others as well. Gradually this ratio began to change and most feudatories avoided personal enlistment, opting to be represented by others (*defendere per socium* or *per militem / varnire per socium militem*). This gradual change in mentality, not only on the part of the feudatories but consequently of the state as well, lead to the substitution of enlistment by the payment of a compensation (*disvarnitio*) equal to the cost of maintaining a soldier, mounted or infantry. This money was then invested in the payment of mercenary forces (*stipendiarii*) for the protection of the colony.[30] Henceforth, the responsibility of the feudatory, according to the documents, was not to "defend personally" but to "garrison"; thus the feudatories had a choice about how to fulfil their military duties. For various political and strategic reasons the *disvarnitio* seems to have gained universal currency after the middle of the 14th century and especially following the uprising of St Titus (1363–1366). The safeguarding of Venetian overlordship and the need to control the feudatories required the weakening and disarmament of the most powerful among them.

30 On the topic of the *varnitio* and the military responsibilities of the feudatories, see Salvatore Cosentino, *Aspetti e problemi del feudo veneto-cretese* (*secc. XIII–XV*), (Bologna, 1987), in particular pp. 45–76. On the mercenary army, see Charalambos Gasparis, "Μητροπολιτική εξουσία και αξιωματούχοι των αποικιών. Ο καπιτάνος Κρήτης (14ος–15ος αι.)" ["Metropolitan Authority and Colonial Officials. The Captain of Crete (14th–15th Centuries)"], *Σύμμεικτα* 12 (1998), 186–96.

The commute of military service to monetary contribution reflects not just the gradual change of the feudatories' mentality, but also that of the Venetian state itself. It passed very easily and without any turbulence from a feudal system imitating the western European ones (where landownership entailed military service for the feudatory/knight) to a more flexible system of taxation and employment of mercenaries. Part of the reason for this development was the subdivision of fiefs to such small segments that it was impossible to determine what military service one owed for them. The sharing out of responsibilities for military service between the owners of a formerly unified fief was neither easy nor effective. On the contrary it was deemed a lot more effective to determine a suitable compensation payable to the fisc so that the state might enlist its own army.

The subdivision of fiefs also entailed some problems for the feudatories themselves, regarding the most advantageous ways of fulfilling their military responsibilities. Particularly in the 14th century, when *varnitio per socium* was the preferred method, there were petitions made to Venice for the consolidation of *serventarie* into whole or half *cavallarie* and the enlistment of single knights instead of multiple sergeants. Venice was favourably inclined towards this plan and supervised it, taking care not to weaken the defensive system and not to strengthen excessively the more powerful landowners.

As is evident, Venetian policy in the matter of landownership and in particular in the principle that the Republic should remain in direct ownership of the land, remained stable. As regards the matter of who enjoyed useful ownership, Venice showed herself more pragmatic, eventually accepting that Greeks could own land under the same conditions as the Latins. The most important, however, aspect of Venetian policy related to the broader aims that Venice had set from the beginning. The whole venture was not an opportunistic exploitation of a fertile and geographically important island; it was, rather, an integrated plan with long-term prospects. Therefore, it was not enough to surround the apparatus of government with a few powerful landowners representing the metropolis and controlling agricultural production. It was necessary to set up an entire class, with fully defined social and economic characteristics, that would offer balance and prospects of growth in the new territory without, however, threatening Venice's central authority.

Venice's next goal was to maintain, as far as possible, the distance between colonists and natives in the political and (to an extent) the social field. She eventually succeeded in excluding Greeks from high administrative and military office, but not from landownership and economic activity. As regards the social contacts of the two groups, it was inevitable that they would become close, especially since most of the Venetians of Crete, after a certain period,

had been born on the island.[31] The feudal class of Crete, therefore, comprised of both Latins and Greeks. The latter formed a group with certain particular traits and belonged mostly to the lower and middle tiers of the feudatory class. Nevertheless, the ownership of land and the responsibilities that issued from this formed a link between the tiers of the feudal class and between Latin and Greek feudatories, that led to common interests. This resulted in the formation of a class that was consolidated and shared common features.

### *The Registers of Fiefs and the Control of Public Land*

The fact that the Venetian state remained at all times the direct owner of all the land of Crete led the authorities to establish a mechanism for the supervision of landed property. This was done by creating official registers, which would record the land and its owners as well as any subsequent changes in ownership that might occur.[32] In the Byzantine Empire such registers already existed and were used for the collection of land taxes.

The Venetians adopted the Greek term *catasticum* (or *catastico*), which they found in use amongst the locals (*vulgariter*) and invested it with a similar meaning. It referred to a book which recorded the lands granted as fiefs (*feuda*) to the new landowners, that is the feudatories (*feudatarii*). Through this land register the Venetians kept records of the names of the feudatories and oversaw the developments in landownership but also determined the responsibilities of the feudatories. These responsibilities depended on the size of the land and not on the revenues generated, so no information is contained in the registers about the way the land was exploited and the incomes it produced. Instead, they record the components of each fief, the changes in ownership and the subdivisions which occurred. The registers contain an entry for each fief which lists all of its characteristics, in its original form: the name of its owner, its size (based on the units of *serventaria* and *cavallaria*), the manner in which its military service was discharged and the names of the villages, lands and villeins that were contained within the territory of the fief. Subsequently, each entry recorded all changes in the ownership of the whole

31 On the relations between Latins and Greeks and the identities of the two groups, as well as their bearing on the social and economic life of Crete, see Sally McKee, *Uncommon Dominion: Venetian Crete and the Myth of Ethnic Purity* (Philadelphia, 2000).

32 The same procedures were adopted by the Venetian authorities of Modon and Coron, who also created such registers, at least as early as the beginning of the 14th century. See Jacoby, "From Byzantium to Latin Romania: Continuity and Change", p. 11.

or part of the fief, whether they occurred on account of bequests, sales or exchanges.[33]

From the start, the registers of fiefs were arranged by geographical territory: as is shown by the surviving ones, the central territories around Candia were listed by *sexterium* and the other areas were listed by *turm*a.[34] A separate register, complementary to that of the fiefs was devoted entirely to the redistribution of the fiefs and the determination of their borders. The *catasticum divisionum* or *quaternus bumbicinus divisionum* recorded specifically and systematically all the subdivisions of fiefs or parts of fiefs, along with the new borders as they were determined by each new distribution. Many of these entries were also copied into the registers of fiefs, both to assist those who had recourse to them but also to ensure that the information was copied and preserved.

Finally there existed a separate *catasticum borgesiarum* which listed information concerning the plots of land and houses of Candia and the other towns of Crete; these could be parts of larger fiefs or be fiefs in their own right.[35] If the urban property was part of a larger fief, then the information concerning it would also be listed in the registers of fiefs, under the fief's original entry.

## The Frankish Dominions

One of the oldest Frankish regimes in former Byzantine lands was the kingdom of Cyprus, which was founded at the end of the 12th century as a result of the

33 On the organisation of the registers of fiefs, see Charalambos Gasparis, *Catastici Feudorum Crete: Catasticum sexterii Dorsoduri. 1227–1418*, 2 vols. (Athens, 2004); and *Catastici Feudorum Crete: Catasticum Chanee. 1314–1396* (Athens, 2008).

34 *Sexterium* was an administrative unit in the city of Venice and the term was used by the Venetians to organise the first group of colonists sent to Crete in 1211. In Crete *sexterium* was a simple geographical unit used only in the registers of fiefs of the territory of Candia. *Turma* was initially a military and then an administrative unit of the Byzantine *themata*. The term used in Byzantine Crete was adopted by the Venetians as a geographical unit for all the territories of Crete except that of Candia, where the term *sexterium* was used. See Charalambos Gasparis, "Από τη βυζαντινή στη βενετική τούρμα: Κρήτη, 13ος–14ος αι." ["From the Byzantine to the Venetian *Turma*: Crete, 13th–14th Centuries"], *Σύμμεικτα* 14 (2001), 167–228.

35 On the *burgesie* as components of the fiefs, see Charalambos Gasparis, "Τα αστικά φέουδα (burgesie). Η ακίνητη ιδιοκτησία των φεουδαρχών στον Χάνδακα" ["Urban Fiefs (Burgesie). The Real Estate of Feudatories in Candia"], in *Πεπραγμένα Η΄ Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου* [*Proceedings of the Eighth International Cretological Congress*], 3 vols. (Herakleion, 2000), 2:137–50.

Third Crusade. This was followed, after the Fourth Crusade, by the Principality of Achaea, the Duchy of Athens and by Corfu, which came into the hands of the Angevins in the mid-13th century. These states shared the Frankish ancestry of their lords and the feudal traditions which these lords brought with them. In all cases, as indeed was the case with Venice, the new lords resolved that the landowning regime in their conquered lands ought to change. The matter was dealt with differently in each of the above mentioned territories but all sets of rulers (Lusignan, Villehardouin, de la Roche and Angevins) attempted, on the one hand, to please their own people who formed their power base, and on the other to reach a compromise with the local Byzantine landowners. In the following section we shall outline the particularities that emerged during the 13th and 14th centuries in each of these territories (with the exception of the Duchy of Athens, concerning which not enough information is available).

### *The Kingdom of Cyprus*

The recipients of the land of Cyprus were many and diverse, ranging from the king himself and his Frankish nobles, the Latin and Greek Church, the military orders and the monasteries, to small, distinct groups of small landholders like Greeks and Turcopoles. The Greek landowners of Cyprus were weakened during the final period of Byzantine rule after Isaac Doukas Komnenos had seized power on the island in 1184 and their destruction continued with the arrival of Richard the Lionheart. By the establishment of the Lusignan family in 1192 the Greek archons who had remained on the island lost a great part of their lands, mainly those that belonged to the state and to the Byzantine emperor, but part of their private ones as well. Those Greeks who acceded to the new political and social situation did not join the lower strata of the new Frankish feudal class, nor did they form a secondary aristocracy, with its own social characteristics. They were affluent and continued to enjoy high social status among the Greeks, but they were not noble knights like the Franks. Their lands were not burdened by military responsibilities ( for obvious reasons) and therefore they cannot be termed feudatories.[36]

36 For the Greek landowners under Frankish dominion see Angel Nikolaou-Konnari, "Greeks," in *Cyprus: Society and Culture, 1191–1374*, ed. Angel Nikolaou-Konnari and Christopher Schabel (Leiden, 2005), pp. 26–31, 41–57; Jean Richard, "Οι πολιτικοί και κοινωνικοί θεσμοί του μεσαιωνικού βασιλείου" ["The Political and Social Institutions of the Medieval Kingdom"], in *Ιστορία της Κύπρου: Μεσαιωνικόν βασίλειον, Ενετοκρατία* [*History of Cyprus: The Medieval Kingdom, Venetian Rule*], ed. Theodoros Papadopoullos (Nicosia, 1995–96), 4A:354–55.

The lands sequestered from the Greek landowners and from the Greek Church came into the possession of the Frankish king, who kept a portion of them and distributed the rest to his Frankish subjects, the Latin Church and monasteries, as well as to the military orders of Templars and Hospitallers.[37] The royal estates included villages and lands, which would either be exploited directly or leased out. These estates gradually grew through the annexation of fiefs that reverted to the fisc, either because their owners had died heirless or because they had lost their rights to their land.

The Franks who had followed and supported the first king from Syria in his new dominion, or who arrived to the island shortly after, formed the local noble feudal class. This class was relatively small among the population of the island during the first decades of the 13th century, but their number increased during the same century as nobles continued to arrive from Syria. It is estimated that Guy de Lusignan distributed 300 fiefs to knights and 200 to sergeants, and that the number of noble feudatory families on Cyprus never exceeded 200, during the 13th and 14th centuries.[38] Only a very small segment of these feudatories participated directly in the administration of the kingdom, which was the responsibility mainly of the king and his council. The feudatories were of noble descent and adherents to the Latin creed, both of which disqualified the Greeks and other residents of the island from entering this class. The number of feudatories did not increase very much partly due to the observance of primogeniture rather than partible inheritance. The occasional reduction of their number, during the 14th century, was due to a variety of reasons, sometimes political, as at times some of the feudatories were persecuted or expelled from the island, died during the Black Death around 1348, or captured by the Genoese during the war of 1373–1374. On those occasions, their property either reverted to the king or was redistributed amongst the remaining or newly arrived feudatories.

The feudal class of the Latin nobles was divided into three tiers, depending on the type of fief that each feudatory owned. Right from the start, the kingdom's fiefs were classified into three categories, depending on the type of military service that their owners owed. This was decided by the size of each fief

37 For the land owned by the Latin and Greek Church, as well as by other religious formations see the chapter by Nicholas Coureas in this volume. For the military orders in Cyprus see Anthony Luttrell, "Τα στρατιωτικά Τάγματα" ["The Military Orders"], in *Ιστορία της Κύπρου*, 4A:733–57.

38 For a detailed analysis of the structure of the noble feudatory class in Cyprus see W.H. Rudt de Collenberg, "Δομή και προέλευση της τάξεως των ευγενών," in *Ιστορία της Κύπρου*, 4A: 785–841, esp. 785–810.

and the revenues that it generated. Those were the knight's, the squire's and the sergeant's fief. This classification also of course reflected the division between different tiers within the feudal class. Although their main duty was military service, the Frankish feudatories cannot be considered as militarily powerful in their own right, for they did not own castles like those in Principality of Achaea for example or in western Europe. The hard core of the feudatory class was comprised of the barons, four in number, who were not only financially much more powerful than the rest of the feudatories, but politically as well, for only they among the feudatories had direct access to the king and, in some cases, co-signed important documents. Among the rest of the feudatories, we can distinguish two tiers, the *nobiles maiores* and the *nobiles minores*, the former more powerful (politically and economically) than the latter. All of the feudatories, however, regardless of the tier to which they belonged, participated in the High Court.

Fiefs were granted either directly by the king or by one of his subordinates. In the latter case, the feudatories would swear fealty to him, thus, indirectly to the king. Fiefs could consist either of lands or of money or of a combination of the two. The nucleus of the fief was the village, which was also the main productive and tax unit. The feudatories, as was the case elsewhere, resided in the cities, mainly in Nicosia, but also some of them in other cities of the island. They also maintained a residence in their villages, but did not reside there permanently. They were not allowed to dispense justice over their peasants. They were represented in their villages by the *Katepano*, who were responsible for the collection of taxation from the villagers. Most of the lands of the fief were exploited indirectly, by the peasants who then rendered the usual services to the lord. A small portion of the land was cultivated directly by the feudatory, either through the *angaria* (compulsory service rendered by the lord's villeins) or through waged workers. Along with the control of the land, feudatories also owned rights of exclusive or shared exploitation of other resources, which supplemented their incomes. These included rights over mills, winepresses, facilities for the treatment of flax, facilities for the treatment of dyed fabrics, or even taverns. All these gave the feudatories a very privileged financial position in their own territories and in the kingdom in general.[39]

Amongst the landowners, but excluded from the feudal class, were counted the so-called Turcopoles, a small group of around a hundred and fifty to two

39 For the Frankish nobility and feudatories see Peter W. Edbury, "Franks," in *Cyprus: Society and Culture*, pp. 77–98; Richard, "Οι πολιτικοί και κοινωνικοί θεσμοί," pp. 354–59.

hundred individuals.[40] These were Syrian Christians who received lands in return for mounted military service. Though they too owed military service in return for their land, like the feudatories, they were not counted as part of this class. What differentiated them was the size of their estates, their limited political rights and above all, the type of their military service which they had to discharge personally.

### *The Principality of Achaea*

In the Peloponnese the Frankish conquerors annulled all pre-existing forms of ownership, regardless of whether it concerned public land granted to private owners, private heritable land or ecclesiastical property. The entirety of the land passed into the ownership of the prince who kept as his own domain about a quarter of the principality, which comprised several castellanies. Each castellany was equal to a great barony. The prince, just like the duke of Crete or the king of Cyprus, then distributed the rest of the land to his men.

Following the conquest of the Peloponnese, various different types of fiefs emerged. The so-called "conquest fiefs" (*της κουγκέστας*) were those that belonged to the Franks that had taken part in the conquest. They were heritable and could be transferred not just to the firstborn scions (male and female) but also laterally, to siblings or widows. Another category of fiefs were those that had been granted at a later date and were thus called the new grant (*νέο δόμα*). These were also heritable but could only be transferred to direct descendants of the owners. Another distinct category were the *casaux de parçon* or *casali pro medietate grecorum et medietate francorum*. These were villages that, under particular political conditions and often on account of their location at the borders of the Principality, had been recognised by treaties as joint possessions of both the prince of Achaea and the Byzantine Emperor. They were subsequently granted by these rulers to both Franks and native Greeks. The land of such villages was indivisible and the peasants rendered half of their dues to each of the owners.[41] Similar, but not identical, was the case of the landed

40 See Jean Richard, "Les turcoples au service des royaumes de Jérusalem et de Chypre: musulmans convertis ou chrétiens orientaux?" *Mélanges Dominique Sourdel, Revue des Études Islamiques* 56 (1986), 259–70, repr. in idem, *Croisades et États latins d'Orient: points de vue et documents* (Aldershot, 1992), X; Theodoros Papadopoullos, "Δομή και λειτουργία του φεουδαρχικού πολιτεύματος" ["Structure and Function of the Feudal Regime"], in *Ιστορία της Κύπρου*, 4A:765.

41 David Jacoby, "Un régime de co-seigneurie gréco-franque en Morée: les casaux de parçon," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 75 (1963), 189–228; repr. in David Jacoby, *Société et démographie à Byzance et en Romanie Latine* (London, 1975), VIII; see also idem, "Rural Exploitation and Market Economy in the Late Medieval Peloponnese," in *Viewing*

property of the Latin bishoprics of the Venetian towns of Modon and Coron. Part of this property was within the borders of the principality. Geoffrey de Villehardouin had agreed not to confiscate it and redistribute it, thus recognising the rights of the bishops. Accordingly, the bishops were counted amongst his subjects.[42]

Regardless of the different categories of fiefs, the feudal class in the principality included, apart from the prince who was the first among the knights, three different tiers, whose difference was based not only on the size of the fief and consequently on each one's financial position but also on the manner in which the fief had been granted and on the relationship of the fief-holder with the prince. The top tier was occupied by the lieges (*ligii*) and formed the most important and most numerous category of the prince's vassals. They owed military, court and counsel service to the prince and each one of them could judge his own vassals. Among the lieges we find the small group of the barons (*bers de terre*), who were the peers of the prince and who assisted him in the governance of the principality. The barons were noble and were, initially, those who along with the Prince had conquered the Peloponnese and founded the principality. In later years the title passed to their heirs. The baronies were about twelve and of unequal size. Each of them consisted of a certain number of knights' fiefs and some of them were subinfeudated to other knights. The lieges enjoyed all the traditional rights of high feudal lords, including the right to mint coins within their dominions, the right to dispense justice, both low and high (since they sat in the High Court) and the right to build castles.[43]

The middle tier of the feudal class consisted of the feudatories of simple homage (*homines plani homagii*), who did not have the same political and judicial authority as the lieges. They had the right to dispense justice only over their own villeins (*villani*) and they had the right to bequeath their fiefs to their eldest son or, if childless, to their next of kin. Finally, the third, and lower tier of the feudal class consisted of the enfeoffed sergeants, who were subjected to a baron or a liege.[44] The relations and obligations between feudatories,

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*the Morea: Land and People in the Late Medieval Peloponnese*, ed. Sharon E.J. Gerstel (Washington DC, 2013), pp. 213–75, and esp. 218–19, 228–29.

42 Jacoby, *La féodalité*, p. 223.

43 For the role of castles in Frankish Greece and especially in the Peloponnese, see Peter Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean, 1204–1500* (London, 1995), pp. 75–80.

44 See Jean Longnon, "The Frankish States in Greece, 1204–1311," in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton, 6 vols. (Madison, Wisc., 1969–89), 2:235–74, esp. 248–51; Jacoby, "The Encounter of Two Societies", p. 887; idem, "Social Evolution in Latin Greece", in *A History of the Crusades*, 6:190–92; Maria Dourou-Eliopoulou, *Το φραγκικό πριγκιπάτο της*

the prince, their subjects and the peasantry were regulated by the Assizes of Romania, a law code compiled in the mid-14th century.[45]

The military responsibilities of the feudatories of the Peloponnese, especially the lieges who formed the majority, were determined according to the size or rather the number of fiefs that they held and their ensuing incomes. From this perspective, and according to the *Chronicle of the Morea*, three different categories of feudatories emerged: those who owned a single fief, those who owned four fiefs and those who owned more than four fiefs. The first owed military service as footsoldiers (sergeants). The second, apart from providing personal military service as knights, also had to present a second knight and twelve sergeants. Feudatories in the third category were required to maintain two lightly armed mounted sergeants or one knight for each of their fiefs.

In the second half of the 13th century, the new overlord of the principality, Charles of Anjou, took over all the pre-existing baronies and forced all the landowners to take an oath of fealty in order to retain their fiefs. At the same time he (and later his successors) granted out new fiefs, thus strengthening the local class of feudatories.[46] The military service of the feudatories was gradually connected to their revenues and not to the number of their fiefs. It was decided that the annual revenues of a knight's fief amounted to 20 ounces of gold. Therefore the feudatories whose annual income was 20 ounces of gold had to either perform personal military service as knights, or provide a substitute to do so. If one's income exceeded this sum, he had to provide more knights according to the same ratio. At the same time, there existed fiefs and feudatories that had been relieved of military duty. This could happen for a variety of reasons, including dispensations for services rendered, or inability to undertake military service because of sickness, gender or inadequacy of the fief. These dispensations could either be plenary or partial, in which case the feudatories had to render reduced services.

During the first decades of the 13th century the Villehardouins pursued a policy of appeasement of the local lords and eventually soon after the

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*Αχαΐας (1204–1432): Ιστορία, Οργάνωση, Κοινωνία* [*The Frankish Principality of Achaea (1204–1432): History, Organisation, Society*] (Thessalonica, 2005), pp. 93–123.

45 On the Assizes, see Antonella Parmeggiani, *Libro dele uxanze e statuti delo imperio de Romania* (Spoleto, 1998). See also Jacoby, *La féodalité.*

46 See such examples in Jacoby, "The Encounter of Two Societies", pp. 892–95. Another characteristic example is Niccolò Acciaiuoli and his offspring who acquired important fiefs in the Peloponnese in the 14th century. Acciaiuoli in turn ceded smaller fiefs to others, who became his vassals. See Jean Longnon and Peter Topping, eds., *Documents sur le régime des terres dans la principauté de Morée au XIV^e siècle* (Paris, 1969), pp. 7–12.

conquest recognised their possessions, especially the private heritable ones, thus forestalling major upheavals like the ones that troubled Crete. The local Byzantine landowners were thus introduced into the feudatory class, initially in the lowest tier of the class as non-nobles and with no military responsibilities. Gradually however, during the 13th century, things began to change and some of the old Byzantine archons became also members of the middle tier of the feudal class. A turning point in this process was the appearance of Byzantine forces in the Peloponnese in 1262, which shook the rulers of Achaea. This led to the ceding of fiefs to Greeks in return for military service which they offered, aiming not just to reinforce the army, but also to keep the Greeks from supporting the Byzantines. Thus, in the second half of the 13th century and under the reign of the Angevins, the feudal class of the Principality of Achaea included both Latins (mainly Franks, but Italians as well) and native Greeks, in all tiers apart from that of the barons.[47] As David Jacoby points out, "the conjunction of several factors explains the integration of Greeks within the class of feudatories in the Principality of Achaea: the class-consciousness and self-confidence of the Frankish knights, their approach to the archons, their practical needs, and, finally, the eagerness of the Greeks to achieve integration".[48]

### *Corfu*

The new Angevin lords of Corfu brought about changes that suited their own political traditions, without however making a clean break with the pre-existing landownership regime. Upon taking direct control of the island in 1272 King Charles I promised the landowners that the landownership regime would not change for those who opted to remain on the island and swear fealty to him, just as had been the case in the Principality of Achaea. This led to the recognition of older landownership, not just that of the previous Angevin overlordship, but also that of the preceding Byzantine period.[49] Under Charles there were hardly any new grants of land. Landowners included the state itself (*curia*), the Latin Church (which had been superimposed over the Greek

47 On the Greek archons and the Frankish feudatories in the Peloponnese see David Jacoby, "Les archontes grecs et la féodalité en Morée franque," *Travaux et Mémoires* 2 (1967), 481–82, repr. in David Jacoby, *Société et démographie à Byzance et en Romanie latine* (London, 1975), VI; idem, "The Encounter of Two Societies," pp. 873–906, and especially pp. 889–903; idem, "From Byzantium to Latin Romania: Continuity and Change," pp. 6–9; idem, "Social Evolution in Latin Greece," 198–200. For Greek archons and land exploitation see also idem, "Rural Exploitation," pp. 213–75, esp. 225.

48 Jacoby, "The Encounter of Two Societies," p. 899.

49 Jacoby, *La féodalité*, pp. 253–70, esp. 254–56.

Church structure) and of course private owners. Fiefs were granted by the king to a wide range of recipients: members of the aristocracy of the Kingdom of Naples, high officials of Corfu, illustrious Italian residents of the island, members of the local Byzantine aristocracy and other Greek residents. The landowning class included both the great landowners/feudatories (*feudatarius* or *baro*) and small private owners, who largely followed in the footsteps of the old Byzantine *decarchiae*.[50] The goods granted as fiefs (mostly lands and agricultural facilities but occasionally also public revenues) were selected by the supreme authorities themselves, from among the property of the state. The state's property would occasionally expand, due to feudatories dying heirless or, occasionally, due to heirs not seeking the ratification of their inheritance.

Fiefs could of course be inherited but, as was the case in Venetian Crete, the heir was required to seek the ratification of the inheritance by the authorities. Fiefs were distinguished into two categories, depending on the time of their granting: the old fiefs (*feudi antiqui*) and the new ones (*feudi nuovi*). The former category included all the properties of the Byzantine period which had since been ratified by the king; the latter included the grants that had been made later, during the period of Angevin overlordship. Their main difference related to their legal status and therefore to their mode of inheritance. Following the traditions of the Kingdom of Naples, the old fiefs fell under the *ius Longobardorum* and thus could be bequeathed to any descendant as well as the owner's widow. By contrast, the new fiefs followed the *ius Francorum* and could only be inherited indivisibly by the firstborn son. During the 14th century this changed to allow inheritance by daughters as well. Most of the fiefs in Angevin Corfu belonged to this second type.

As was the case everywhere else, the main responsibility of the landowners was the provision of military service in the king's army, provided that the feudatory's annual income amounted to at least 20 ounces of gold. This, as we saw, was also instituted in the Principality of Achaea. Feudatories with smaller incomes could commute the service, as could some of the greater landowners under certain conditions.[51] The land regime developed in Corfu under the

50 On the similarities between the barony and the Byzantine *pronoia*, see Catherine Asdracha and Spyros Asdrachas, "Quelques remarques sur la rente féodale: Les Baronies (Pronoiai) de Corfu," *Travaux et Mémoirs* 8 (1981), 7–14; eidem, "Στη φεουδαλική Κέρκυρα: από τους παροίκους στους vassali angararii" ["Feudal Corfu: from the Paroikoi to the Vassali Angararii"], *Τα Ιστορικά* 3 (1985), 77–94.

51 For the landownership regime in Corfu see Spyros N. Asonitis, *Ανδηγαυική Κέρκυρα (13ος–14ος αι.)* [*Angevin Corfu (13th–14th Centuries)*] (Corfu, 1999), pp. 179–208.

Angevins was maintained even after 1386 by the Venetians, who also introduced the Assizes of Romania to the island in the 15th century.[52]

## Conclusions

As is evident from the above examination, landownership presents certain similarities in all Latin dominions of Greece, both Venetian and Frankish, during the 13th and 14th centuries; it also presents a number of particularities that can be traced to the past of each territory as well as the political traditions that the new Latin lords brought with them. The terminology employed in relation to landownership is in all cases identical to the feudal terminology of western Europe, yet none of the regimes that developed was identical to that system, which in any case had begun its decline. In the Frankish dominions the landowning regime and the lines along which it operated were more closely related to traditional feudal practices; in the Venetian lands, by contrast, the relationship was more superficial. Nevertheless, the link between European feudal practices and the Latin dominions of Greece can be found in the Assizes of Romania. Even this collection of rules rooted in the feudal law of western Europe was adjusted to local conditions and particularly to Byzantine traditions, wherever it was implemented. During the 14th century, the Assizes of Romania gained currency primarily in the Frankish territories (but also in the Venetian colonies, apart from Crete) and regulated many of the matters regarding the relations of feudatories with the state, with the peasants and with each other.

The Latin rulers treated the matter of landownership very seriously in all their conquered lands, for it immediately concerned the upper social strata who were expected to support the new regimes. One of the most immediate problems that the Latin rulers had to face was that of the native Greek landowners and their property. All of them eventually opted to compromise, fearing that otherwise they might well have to pit their weak armies against united opposition. In every case, however, the conquerors took it as a given that Byzantine state-owned land, regardless of its present occupier, would pass into the possession of the ruler or the metropolitan authorities and then be distributed to those who took part in the conquest. Under similar reasoning much of the Greek Church's land was transferred to the Latin Church. In all cases, Byzantine landowners managed (with various degrees of difficulty) to retain their private lands, with very few losses. In Crete this was achieved gradually

52 Jacoby, *La féodalité*, pp. 258–70; Asdracha and Asdrachas, "Στη φεουδαλική Κέρκυρα," p. 77.

thanks to the great revolts of the local landowners, which continued throughout the entire 13th century. In Cyprus, despite initial difficulties at the end of the 12th century, those Greeks who remained on the island retained their property, albeit somewhat reduced. In other territories the inclusion of local landowners into the landowning regime was smoother. In the Peloponnese and Corfu reactions by the local landowners seem to have been more muted, perhaps because the new rulers' efforts to confiscate private lands were not sustained. Though our information is very limited concerning the other Latin territories, we know that the Byzantine landowners of Euboea had also been integrated into the new feudatory class immediately after the conquest of 1205.[53] We know very little about the Greek landowners of the Aegean islands (Cyclades and Dodecanese). During the first half of the 13th century the Venetian lords of the Cyclades (the Sanudo family in the Duchy of Naxos, the Ghisi family in the islands of Tenos and Myconos) accepted the Greek local archons as their vassals, and allowed them to keep their land and be integrated in the lower tier of the small Latin feudal class.[54] In Rhodes, the Knights Hospitaller guaranteed with the agreement of *c.*1309 that the property and personal status of the island's Greeks would be respected, but in practice the order controlled most of the land and leased it to Latins and Greeks. In fact in Rhodes "no class of archons or Greek nobles survived, and since initial attempts to create a group of Latin fief-holders were, with few exceptions, unsuccessful, there was never any significant class of individuals with permanent, heritable lordship over the land and people."[55]

The lands that devolved to the new rulers were then distributed amongst Frankish knights and Venetian colonists, who in each case formed the core of the feudal class. The position of Greek landowners within this class presents certain small but interesting distinctions in each area. In Crete the Greeks were introduced into the feudal class in a state of political weakness, since they had

53 David Jacoby, "The Demographic Evolution of Euboea under Latin Rule, 1205–1470," in *The Greek Islands and the Sea*, ed. Julian Chrysostomides, Charalambos Dendrinos and Jonathan Harris (Camberley, 2004), pp. 134–38, repr. in David Jacoby, *Travellers, Merchants and Settlers across the Mediterranean, Eleventh-Fourteenth Centuries* (Farnham, 2014), IX; Silvano Borsari, *L' Eubea veneziana* (Venice 2007), pp. 42–45.

54 Jacoby, *La féodalité*, pp. 246–48, 284; Jacoby, "Social Evolution in Latin Greece," p. 200; Marina Koumanoudi, "The Latins in the Aegean after 1204: Interdependence and Interwoven Interests," in *Urbs Capta: The Fourth Crusade and its Consequences*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou (Paris, 2005), pp. 247–67, esp. 259–67.

55 Anthony Luttrell, "The Greeks of Rhodes under Hospitaller rule: 1306–1421," *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* n.s. 29 (1992), 196, repr. in Anthony Luttrell, *The Hospitaller State on Rhodes and its Western Provinces, 1306–1462* (Aldershot, 2007), III.

no access to political authority. They did however share equal rights in administering their land and equal military responsibilities towards Venice as their Venetian peers and thus some Greek feudatories became very affluent. The openness of the feudal class of Crete eventually allowed the accession of other Greeks (with the approval of course of the authorities), who in turn reinforced the various economic strata of the Venetian feudal class. In the Principality of Achaea and in Angevin Corfu, Greek landowners formed an institutionally lower tier of the feudatory class: they had no political and judicial authority and the ownership and inheritance of their fiefs were governed by different terms. In Lusignan Cyprus, the few landowning Greeks cannot be counted as part of the small and relatively closed feudal class, which was comprised exclusively of Catholic Frankish knights.

Though the land regime in Venetian Crete seems to have been defined by a clear and relatively uniform institutional framework, in the Frankish areas we can observe a number of interesting exceptions which relate to the particular political and social conditions of each state. Such are the cases of the *casaux de parçon* in the Principality of Achaea and the Turcopoles in Cyprus.

A common feature in all our cases is the responsibility for military service in return for the land acquired. These responsibilities were determined according to the size and/or number of fiefs of equal value. In Crete military service continued to be based on the original estimation of a fief's value according to particular tax units. In other territories like Achaea and Corfu, by contrast, it seems that after a certain point military service was determined on the basis of a fief's annual income. We do not know, however, whether a realistic annual evaluation of the fief's revenue was conducted or whether the estimation remained theoretical. In Crete, particularly in the 14th century, personal military service began to be replaced by forms of taxation, which was based always on the initial size of the fiefs and not on the revenues.

Depending on the polity in question, the feudatory appears sometimes more and sometimes less powerful, both politically and militarily. In Crete, feudatories, particularly the upper tier of their class, participated in government, yet they had no judicial power, neither at a high level nor within their own fiefs. Initially all of them were required to reside in the towns (later on, from the 14th century onwards a lot of them, and especially the lowest tier, resided occasionally or permanently in the countryside) and their military power was supervised strictly by the Venetian central authorities. In more "feudalised" states, like the Principality of Achaea and Cyprus, an even smaller tier of the feudatories, i.e. the tier of the lieges, co-governed with the prince or the king and sat in the High Court. The feudatories of Achaea, unlike Cyprus, had wide political powers within their fiefs, like the right to mint coins and to

dispense justice, and they were militarily strong as well, as they possessed the right to build castles. In Cyprus no noble feudatory held a castle in his fief nor could dispense justice within his domains. Although some of the nobles stood out on account of their wealth or social status, in theory, they were all equally under the control of the king.

In all of the above territories, various tiers of feudatories emerged, depending on the size and number of the fiefs that each received. Contrary to the Frankish territories where feudatories were almost invariably members of the nobility, in Crete feudatories were not necessarily noble. Even in Crete though, the noble feudatories occupied the topmost tier within their class, without, however, having an institutionalised function. The stratification of the feudatory class progressed over the decades and centuries, especially in areas where the class was not closed and where there were no limitations to the inheritance of fiefs, like Crete. Here, the increase in the number of feudatories and the associated subdivision of the fiefs eventually weakened the entire class, thus strengthening—in the long run (starting from the 15th century)—the nobility. Finally, in Cyprus the feudatory class remained powerful through 13th and 14th centuries, although a decrease in the number of feudatories occurred during the Black Death and the Genoese war in 1373–1374, when about 70 noble feudatories were captured and transported to Genoa.[56]

In all of the Latin states, the ruler or the metropolis in the case of colonies (Venice in the case of Crete) retained the direct ownership of the land it handed out, and thus heirs almost invariably had to seek the ratification of their inheritance. In all cases, production was mainly based on the labour of the unfree peasantry and also of free but landless farmers; only a small percentage of the land was cultivated through the *angariae.* All of the states in question retained some land to exploit directly, through leasing, either in order to bolster the fisc or to reward individuals for services rendered to the ruler or the homeland. A striking example is the island of Chios, which in 1347 was ceded in its entirety by Genoa to an association of private citizens (*Mahonna*) in return for an annual rent. The members of the Mahonna were not so much interested in the control of land, as they were interested in the land's produce. Thus, they exploited the land only indirectly, by collecting taxes. The land continued to be cultivated mainly by local middling and great Greek landowners as well as by a few Italians who installed themselves on the island and received some of the Mahonna's lands.[57] The land was exploited in similar ways across

56 Edbury, "Franks," p. 85.

57 The original agreement between Genoa and the authorities of Chios in 1346 stipulated that the property rights of the Greek landowners would be respected. However, after an

all the territories examined but there existed significant variations which characterised each state. Such variations included the relationship of the cultivator with the land and the landowner, the relationship of both with the state, the form and size of taxation, the methods of cultivation, the products produced and their trade, the agricultural facilities etc.

Despite these differences, however, there can be no doubt that in the Latin states of Greece, land was the focus around which the Latins built their conquest and their defence, articulated their societies and based their financial growth. The observable variations in the land regime of the individual states were the result of each territory's history, the political background of each of the new rulers and the unique geophysics of each area.

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unsuccessful attempt on the part of some of the Greeks to take control of the island and reunite it to the Byzantine Empire in 1347, their properties were seized. The rest of the Greeks probably retained their lands. See Michel Balard, *La Romanie génoise* (*XII^e–début du XV^e siècle*) (Genoa, 1978), pp. 125, 704–05. See also Philip Argenti, *The Occupation of Chios by the Genoese and their Administration of the Island, 1346–1566*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1958), 1:416–17, 438–42.

CHAPTER 4

# Society, Administration and Identities in Latin Greece

*Anastasia Papadia-Lala*

The socio-administrative organisation of Latin Greece forms an exceedingly composite research field, on account of the great complexity and constant fluidity of the prevailing political scene.[1] The present study will focus, among the numerous Latin dominions in Greece, on that of Venice, the longest-lasting and most stable of them, which imposed upon the Greek lands a distinct social regime of urban character directly linked to its administrative system, and particularly to the institutions of self-government. However, in order to provide a more comprehensive overview of the subject, the study will include a brief description of the socio-administrative regime in other Latin-ruled Greek regions whose characteristics differed considerably.

The chronological frame of the study spans the 13th to the 18th centuries, the starting point being 1204, the year of the capture of Constantinople by the Frankish Crusaders and the Venetians, although certain regions, such as Cyprus and the Ionian Islands, had already come under Latin dominion some years earlier. The study concludes with the 1797 surrender of Venice itself and subsequently of its last possessions in the Levant—the Ionian Islands—to Napoleon, which is beyond the conventional limits of the medieval period. It should, however, be noted that the Venetian *Stato da Mar* comprised an exception within the general history of Latin Greece, since the rest of the Latin dominions in the Greek lands had already fallen to the Ottomans by the 16th century.

Moreover, the 16th century was also an exceptionally decisive period for the Venetian *Stato da Mar*, since it was during this time that three Veneto-Ottoman wars were waged (the second, third and fourth), which resulted in Venice's loss of major territories, the only counterbalance being the annexation of the islands of Cephalonia and Ithaca in 1500. Meanwhile, the

1 Of the copious literature on the history of Latin Greece, see William Miller, *The Latins in the Levant: A History of Frankish Greece* (*1204–1566*) (London, 1908); Peter Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean, 1204–1500* (London, 1995).

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16th century was additionally a turning-point in the social history of the Venetian-ruled Greek regions and, directly linked with this, in the running of the local administration. More specifically, the second half of the century witnessed the institutionalisation of the system of the "closed" civic communal councils and the implementation of a strict social stratification modelled upon that of the metropolis, Venice, accompanied by the parallel decline of the local feudal system, the first signs of which are already evident in the 14th century.

A crucial aspect of any research into the socio-administrative history of Latin Greece is the examination of the "rulers" and the "ruled". In a generalised sense, the former category was comprised of Latins, that is, Catholic western Europeans, who assumed the governance of the various regions and who at the outset constituted, broadly speaking, the new upper socioeconomic class.

On the other hand, their subordinates were in their majority Orthodox Greeks—a term which describes the populous indigenous folk whose chief mark of identity was their religion, though they additionally displayed social but also early forms of "ethnic-Greek" characteristics, one of the principal ones being the Greek language.

It must be stressed nevertheless that these two categories were not absolutely distinct and exhibited striking internal differences. The Latin rulers, already from 1204, were characterised by their non-uniformity, their multiple ethnic backgrounds and their constant clashes amongst themselves, but also internally by differences in their socioeconomic status. On the other hand, a good proportion of the Greeks gradually acquired the right to participate along with the Latins in the local administration and eventually came to form an essential part of the local ruling class.

The ruling side was strongly identified with the original Latin powers of the Frankish crusaders and the Venetians who had settled in the Byzantine lands in 1204 as well as of later powers that succeeded them from the 13th century onwards, such as the Angevins, Catalans, Florentine Acciaiuoli, but also new ones such as the Genoese and the Hospitallers.

The establishment of the Latin dominions in Romania produced strikingly novel political, ecclesiastical, economic and cultural realities, a special place in this system being occupied by the newly installed structures of socio-administrative organisation. These dominions may be classified into two large categories further divided into a number of sub-categories.

The first category comprises the great majority of the Latin dominions in Greece, the so-called Crusader States, which were created after 1204. Its main characteristic was the institution of imperial succession and of vassalage, while

the land and its administration was organised along feudal principles, though urban institutions also existed. In this framework various Latin overlords ruled a great number of local hereditary feudal domains. In subsequent stages of their history, the original Crusader States in Latin Greece came under the sway of various western lords who either accepted the former regime, albeit with certain variations, as the Angevins did, or else imposed new institutions, as was the case with the Catalans. A particular case among the later Latin dominions in the Greek lands is that of the lordship of the Hospitallers in Rhodes who issued, however, not from the Fourth Crusade but from the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.

The second category consisted of the maritime states of the Greek lands, principally that of Venice, in which the civic system of socio-administrative organisation predominated, while feudal institutions, mainly of empirical character, were adopted in parallel.

## The Post-1204 Crusaders States and Their Successor Latin Lordships

According to the 1204 *Partitio terrarum imperii Romanie*, one fourth of the Byzantine territory and five eighths of Constantinople were awarded to the Latin emperor, while three eighths of the city were granted to the Venetians. The remainder of the Empire was divided among the Venetians and the other crusaders.[2]

These post-1204 Crusader States of Romania never comprised an integral political aggregation. Nevertheless, the entity preserved the elements of a notional unified bloc with its chief point of reference being the short-lived Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261). This persisted even after the reconquest of Constantinople in 1261 by the Empire of Nicaea under Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos and, subsequently, the concession of the rights of the empire of the titular Latin Emperor of Constantinople Baldwin II to Charles I of Anjou, King of Sicily (1267).[3]

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2 Antonio Carile, "Partitio terrarum Imperii Romanie," *Studi Veneziani* 7 (1965), 125–305.

3 For the Latin Empire of Constantinople, and especially its socio-administrative organisation, see Jean Longnon, *L'Empire Latin de Constantinople et la Principauté de Morée* (Paris, 1949), mainly pp. 49–186; Robert Lee Wolff, *Studies in the Latin Empire of Constantinople* (London, 1976); Benjamin Hendrickx, *Οι θεσμοί της Φραγκοκρατίας: Η Λατινική Αυτοκρατορία Κωνσταντινουπόλεως και το Λατινικό Βασίλειο της Θεσσαλονίκης* [*The Institutions of the Frangokratia: The Latin Empire of Constantinople and the Latin Kingdom of Thessalonica*] (Athens, 2007), pp. 23–329; Filip van Tricht, *The Latin Renovatio of Byzantium: The Empire of Constantinople* (*1204–1228*) (Leiden, 2011). See also Lock, *Franks*, pp. 35–57, 60–67, and 162–92.

The institutions of the Empire had already been put in place with the pact of March 1204 between the crusaders and the Venetians regarding the division of land and offices upon the capture of Constantinople. Baldwin, Count of Flanders, was crowned the first Latin Emperor as Baldwin I and an upper social stratum of Latin vassals/knights, feudal lords, soldiers and state officials was formed.

Special committees undertook the regulation of various matters such as the Committee of 24 for the partitioning of the Byzantine Empire (*repartitores*); of particular importance were the two councils—the imperial council and the emperor's council—as well as the Parliament, whose members were knights and clerics.

Within the framework of the administrative organisation, a series of offices and titles were set up which were held by Latin knights, including the seneschal, constable and marshal, the chief cook (*major cocus*), the baker (*panetarius*), the butler (*buticularius*), but also Byzantine official titles and honorifics such as the *protovestiarius* (chamberlain), *sebastokrator* and *caesar*. A significant place was held by the imperial secretariat at the head of which was the chancellor, the judicial authority, the diplomatic service and the army.

With few exceptions, the officials and clerics of the former Byzantine regime were removed from the administrative mechanism. Among the exceptions was the Latinophile Theodore Branas and a number of essential staff (secretaries and interpreters). With regard to the greater part of the Greek population, the peasants, despite their initial forbearing stance towards the new rulers, soon had cause for bitter resentment when they found themselves forced into serfdom. In this milieu, their new socio-administrative status in the Latin lordships of Romania conduced to the emergence of new ideological trends of both a social and an ethnic-religious character.

In contrast to the Latin Empire of Constantinople, in most of the remaining dominions of Latin Greece the indigenous Greeks from early on gained posts in the administrative mechanism. A case of particular interest is the short-lived (1204–24) Kingdom of Thessalonica, which, in 1224, was surrendered to the forces of Theodore Komnenos Doukas of Epirus.[4] The region was not included within the *Partitio*, instead comprising a fief of the empire and later becoming a kingdom.

The internal clash between Thessalonica and Constantinople markedly elevated the significance of the town's large population of indigenous Greeks, since the Emperor Baldwin acknowledged the privileges of Thessalonica,

4 Lock, *Franks*, pp. 57–60; Hendrickx, *Οι θεσμοί της Φραγκοκρατίας*, pp. 381–90. See also Michael B. Wellas, *Das westliche Kaiserreich und das lateinische Königreich Thessalonike* (Athens, 1987).

while his successor, Emperor Henry, after implementing a policy of supreme control, sought to appease both his Frankish and his Greek subjects. Within this context, though the archbishop was a Latin, the Greek Church remained free, Byzantine law continued to be applied and certain Greeks participated in the local administration. The objective of the emperors was the shaping of a mighty empire based on feudal principles while at the same time discouraging any centrifugal tendencies on the part of its subjects.

By contrast to the above-mentioned examples, the feudal system found fertile ground for development in the Principality of Achaea, or Morea, throughout its historical duration,[5] ever since the conquest of the Peloponnese by William de Champlitte and Geoffrey I de Villehardouin in 1205 and the subsequent recognition of the latter as a vassal of the emperor of Constantinople and senior official (*senescalus totius imperii Romaniae*) and as governor (prince) of the Peloponnese.

The socio-administrative organisation of the principality is reflected in the Assizes of Romania, or Book of the Customs of the Empire of Romania (*Liber Consuetudinum imperii Romaniae*), a law code (or a private compilation) composed of 219 articles drawn up during the first quarter of the 14th century and today preserved in its 15th-century Venetian version, which defined the legal relations and mutual obligations of all members of society.[6] The organisation of the new regime was underpinned by a network of personal allegiances (homage), that is, the bond of dependency of a free man upon another and the rigid stratification of the population into lords and vassals.

The ruling class of the principality was comprised of the prince and the eleven Latin barons, peers of the *primus inter pares* prince, who dominated the local High Court. Below them, the prince's vassals, the lieges, made up a middle tier of lesser feudatories, followed by the feudatories of simple or plain homage, at the bottom of the "feudal pyramid": these included certain of the old Byzantine archons who, in accordance with Byzantine law, retained their patrimonial estates in return for rendering of homage and military service to the Frankish rulers.

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5 Longnon, *L'Empire Latin*, mainly pp. 187–355; Antoine Bon, *La Morée Franque: recherches historiques, topographiques et archéologiques sur la Principauté d'Achaïe* (*1205–1430*), 2 vols. (Paris, 1969); Maria Dourou-Eliopoulou, *Το φραγκικό πριγκιπάτο της Αχαΐας* (*1204–1432*)*: Ιστορία, οργάνωση, κοινωνία* [*The Frankish Principality of Achaea* (*1204–1432*)*: History, Organisation, Society*] (Thessalonica, 2005).

6 Concerning the Assizes, see the seminal study by David Jacoby, *La féodalité en Grèce médiévale: Les "Assises de Romanie": sources, application et diffusion* (Paris, 1971). Specifically concerning the Peloponnese, see Peter Topping, *Feudal Institutions as revealed in the Assizes of Romania, the law code of Frankish Greece: Translation of the Text of the Assizes with a Commentary on Feudal Institutions in Greece and in Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia, 1949).

Belonging to the lowest ranks of the society of the Latin East were the numerous peasants, some free but most of them serfs. According to feudal law, the serf could be freely transferred from his lord to a third party, he was compelled to request permission to wed or to marry off his daughters, he could not accept feudal land as a grant without the authorisation of the prince and, if he was a Greek, his testimony in a court of law against a liege had no value in a criminal case involving life or limb, while, in the event of his death without legal heir, his belongings passed to the ownership of his lord. Amongst his few rights was his ability to sell his livestock, to feed his pigs with acorns which he gathered in the woods and to cut wood in the forest.[7]

Finally, the city-dwellers occupied a special place in local society: these comprised both well-to-do merchants who owned landed property and the simple populace. The towns were in the main identified with their castle, an exception being the first capital of the Principality of Achaea, Andravida, which had no castle. After 1255, the main financial centre of the region was the nearby seaside town of Glarenza.[8] This town prospered considerably during the later Angevin period as a port animated by intense commercial activity and inhabited, either permanently or temporarily, not only by locals but also by Italians, Spaniards, French and other westerners.

As regards the administration, numerous western and Byzantine official posts were in place: around the governor there developed a hierarchy of officials bearing the titles of constable, marshal, treasurer, protovestiary-chamberlain, chancellor, castellan.

Women held a relatively important position in the principality, in direct relation to their social rank. At the upper echelon, women were not excluded from hereditary succession, played a considerable role in political developments (the characteristic example being the princess Isabelle de Villehardouin) and were allowed to own fiefs. The widowed liegewoman, by contrast to a woman of simple homage, was able to marry freely. Widows' position was meanwhile an elevated one.

The Principality of Achaea, particularly during the first and most glorious phase of its history under the Villehardouins, experienced a remarkable cultural flowering. This same period also witnessed a harmonious symbiosis between the Frankish suzerains and the indigenous Greeks, some of whom owned fiefs and exerted official functions, bore titles and engaged in commercial activities. Nevertheless, it should not be overlooked that in their majority,

7 Topping, *Feudal Institutions*, p. 79. On the division and exploitation of land, more generally, see above, Charalambos Gasparis, "Land and Landowners in the Greek Territories under Latin Dominion, 13th–14th centuries."

8 Angeliki Tzavara, *Clarentza, une ville de la Moreé latine, XIII^e–XV^e siècles* (Venice, 2008).

the Greeks belonged to the lowest ranks of the feudal society, i.e. dependent cultivators, the main components of their identity being both their social status and their adherence to the Greek-Orthodox rite.

Similar socio-administrative institutions continued to be employed during Angevin rule in the Morea, from 1267/78 until its decline in the 14th century, as well as during the ensuing various fleeting Latin regimes (the Florentine Acciaiuoli, the Knights of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, the Navarrese Company), which lasted up until 1432 when the final remnant of the Frankish State was surrendered to the Byzantines.[9]

The feudal system delineated in the Assizes of Romania was also implemented in the Burgundian Lordship of Athens (after 1280, the "Duchy of Athens").[10] Its complex history began with the conquest of Attica and Boeotia by Boniface of Montferrat towards the end of 1204 and their subsequent cession as a fief to the Burgundian knight Otto de la Roche. The duchy was thereafter expanded, with the cession of Argos and Nauplion as fiefs by Geoffrey I de Villehardouin to Otto in 1212, and shortly afterwards broken up, with the cession of Thebes to the Flemish family of St Omer.

By contrast to the Principality of Achaea, data chronicling the social organisation of the Frankish lordship of Attica and Boeotia are sparse. The fiefs will have belonged in their virtual totality to the Latins, while most of the indigenous people held the status of villeins. On the other hand, there is ample testimony of a small segment of the population residing in the city of Thebes who were vigorously engaged in urban economic activities.

The administrative and political structures of the duchy were modified after the conquest of Attica, Boeotia and southern Thessaly by the Catalan Grand Company, a free company of mercenaries, and the establishment of the Catalan lordship (1311–1389)[11] and, subsequently, of the Florentine Acciaiuoli from 1389 until the duchy's occupation by the Ottomans in 1456.

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9 Apart from the works listed above, see Jean Longnon and Peter Topping, eds., *Documents sur le régime des terres dans la principauté de Morée au XIV^e siècle* (Paris, 1969); Antonio Carile, *La rendita feudale nella Morea latina del XIV secolo* (Bologna, 1974).

10 William Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient* (Cambridge, 1921; repr., Amsterdam, 1964), pp. 110–134; Andreas Kiesewetter, "Ricerche costituzionali e documenti per la Signoria ed il Ducato di Atene sotto i De La Roche e Gualtieri V Di Brienne (1204–1311)," in *Bisanzio, Venezia e il mondo franco-greco (XIII–XV secolo): atti del colloquio internazionale organizzato nel centenario della nascita di Raymond-Joseph Loenertz o.p., Venezia, 1–2 Dicembre 2000*, ed. Chryssa A. Maltezou and Peter Schreiner (Venezia, 2002), pp. 289–347.

11 Kenneth M. Setton, *Catalan Domination of Athens, 1311–1388* (London, 1975). Specifically concerning the social organisation, see idem, "The Catalans in Greece (1311–1380)," in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton, 6 vols. (Madison, Wisc., 1969–89), 3:167–

From the beginning of the Catalan domination, this company acknowledged the Aragonese crown of Sicily as sovereign. Within this framework, the Sicilian duke appointed the vicar general, the chief executive of the duchy, as well as the chief military official, the marshal of Athens and Neopatras. The Catalans governed the city of Athens, under the duke's vicar general, as a corporation and the political system was an amalgamation of municipal and feudal institutions. Thebes was the capital of the duchy until its occupation by the Navarrese in 1379. Within the duchy, the five municipalities, of Thebes, Athens, Livadia, Siderocastron and Neopatras, were governed by their own veguers or captains and were defended by their local military commandants (*castellani*), all of them holding a three-year term of office. The veguers and the captains were assisted by a staff of judges, notaries and councillors.

The councils of municipal corporations (*universitates*) were composed of Catalans as well as Greeks and chose their attorneys, who represented them before the duke and who, in their name, presented their petitions. The land, which initially belonged to the Company in a form of communal ownership, was later divided up into fiefs among its members, resulting in the weakening of its communal organisation. Though feudal institutions continued to exist, the duchy was no longer governed under the Assizes of Romania but under the Customs of Barcelona.

During the second half of the 14th century, in recognition of their services, Aragonese citizenship was granted to certain eminent Greeks, such as the notary Demetrios Rendi, while protection and tax exemptions were accorded to Greeks and Albanians who wished to settle on lands of the Catalan duchy.

Similar policies were implemented by the Acciaiuoli, the members of the Florentine banking family who, thanks to their links with the Angevins, managed in the 14th century to acquire public offices and territories in the Principality of Achaea. Their dominion over the Duchy of Athens was founded by Nerio Acciaiuoli in 1389 and, with the exception of a brief interlude of Venetian dominion (1395–1402), continued uninterrupted until the Turkish takeover in 1456 (though Athens had become a tributary of the despot of Morea in 1444). During this period, the Acciaiuoli acknowledged the privileges of Athens and the system of municipal organisation steadily expanded while feudal institutions declined. At the same time, the duchy became a centre of Greek studies and the Greek language was in use in official documents,

224, and "Catalan Society in Greece in the Fourteenth Century," in *Essays to the Memory of Basil Laourdas*, ed. Louisa Laourdas (Thessalonica, 1975), 241–84, both repr. in Kenneth M. Setton, *Athens in the Middle Ages* (London, 1975), IV and V.

while old Greek families, pro-Florentine, but also anti-Florentines (like the Chalcocondylae) played a significant role in local affairs.[12]

New administrative and social institutions were also established after 1204 in the island dominions of the Aegean and Ionian Seas. More specifically, both the island of Euboea during the early Latin domination under the triarchs (13th–14th centuries)[13] and the Cyclades islands under the rule of the Sanudo and other Venetian families (13th–16th centuries)[14] witnessed the setting up of multiple ties of subjugation with the Latin Empire of Constantinople and later, from 1248 onwards, with the Principality of Achaea—including the development of feudal institutions based on the code of the Assizes of Romania—along with multifaceted relations with Venice.

Meanwhile, the population's close attachment to the land was the chief factor defining the structure of the local society. In Euboea the fiefs remained in the hands mainly of the Latins. In the 14th century, the old triarchs held on to their pre-eminent positions, although during the decades preceding 1390 they began to be regarded by the Venetian state as simple Venetian feudal lords. In their vast majority, the indigenous Greek populations continued to be landless peasants, of both dependent and free status, cultivators on the properties of the Latins. Nevertheless, it was during this same period that the island also began to flourish as an anchorage and ship-repair yard for Venetian vessels as well as an important commercial centre for both imports and exports and for

12 Kenneth M. Setton, "The Catalans and Florentines in Greece (1380–1462)," in *A History of the Crusades*, 3:225–77, repr. in Setton, *Athens in the Middle Ages*, VI. See also Demetrios K. Giannakopoulos, *Δουκάτο των Αθηνών: Η κυριαρχία των Acciaiuoli* [*The Duchy of Athens: The Reign of the Acciaiuoli*] (Thessalonica, 2006).

13 For a brief overview of Latin Euboea, see Lock, *Franks*, pp. 150–151. See also Raymond J. Loenertz, "Les seigneurs tierciers de Négrepont de 1205 à 1280: régestes et documents," *Byzantion* 35 (1965), 235–76. Specifically concerning Venetian Euboea, see Silvano Borsari, *L'Eubea veneziana* (Venezia, 2007). Concerning Euboean topography, see Johannes Koder, *Negroponte. Untersuchungen zur Topographie und Siedlungsgeschichte der Insel Euboia während der Zeit der Venezianerherrschaft* (Vienna, 1973).

14 Raymond J. Loenertz, *Les Ghisi, dynastes Vénitiens dans l'Archipel, 1207–1390* (Florence, 1975); Ben J. Slot, *Archipelagus Turbatus: Les Cyclades entre colonisation latine et occupation ottomane c. 1500–1718*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1982); Marina Koumanoudi, "The Latins in the Aegean after 1204: Interdependence and Interwoven Interests," in *Urbs capta: The Fourth Crusade and its Consequences*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou (Paris, 2005), pp. 247–67; Nikos G. Moschonas and M.-G. Lilly Stylianoudi, eds., *Il Ducato dell'Egeo: atti dell'incontro di studio* (*Nasso—Atene 2007*) (Athens, 2009). Specifically on Serifos, see Walter Haberstumpf, "L'isola di Serifo e i suoi dinasti (1204–1537): Note storiche e prosopografiche," *Thesaurismata* 24 (1994), 7–36.

the transiting and storage of goods, all these factors fostering the development of urban settlements and, by extension, of urban communal institutions.

Data regarding the social evolution of Euboea are limited. However, drawing upon the little evidence that is available, one may conclude that the organisation of the "powerful" of the local society into a community or a *Maggior Consiglio*, which represented the entire population of Euboea, preceded the direct rule of Venice. This collective organ continued to function after 1390 as the "community of Euboea", the *universitas-communitas*.

On the other hand, in the Duchy of the Aegean (also known as the Duchy of the Archipelago, or Duchy of Naxos) on the basis of the feudal organisation and under the dominion of local Latin lords, society was divided in principle into two categories, the notables and the lower strata. The first were composed of feudatories, who received fiefs from their lords in exchange for military and administrative service or levy furnished to the sovereign. These men were often the lords' second-born offspring or illegitimate children and relatives of the Venetians of Crete, as well as of lay and ecclesiastic functionaries and, in general, of reputable citizens, both Latin and Greek. All the above enjoyed the privilege of residing in castles and grew in influence throughout the entire network of the islands, their main common characteristic being high social standing and not the ethnic-linguistic factor. The second social category comprised mainly Greek landless peasants dwelling in the *burghi* and the villages on whom onerous taxes were levied.[15]

The feudal system strongly marked the history of the Ionian Islands during the early Latin period, that is to say, that of Corfu under the Angevins (1267–1386) and of Zakynthos/Zante, Cephalonia, Ithaca and Lefkada, which from the 13th to the 15th centuries found themselves successively under the rule of the Orsini and the Tocco families.

More specifically Corfu during the Angevin period was administered by a delegate of the king named *vicarius/capitaneus generalis*. A particularly important position in the hierarchy was occupied by the *castellani* and the *magister massarius*, while there is evidence of numerous other officials being assigned special duties. The administration of the island was firmly grounded in a system of strict bureaucracy, including the meticulous registration of all acts, as well as officials' reports and inhabitants' petitions addressed to the king. The Angevins preserved the pre-existing feudal system of landownership, which

15 Guillaume Saint-Guillain, "Cavalieri, feudatari, borghesi e altri vassali: le forme di notabilità nelle Signorie delle Cicladi (13o–15o secolo)," in *Il Ducato dell'Egeo: atti dell'incontro di studio* (*Nasso—Atene 2007*), ed. Nikos G. Moschonas and M.-G. Lilly Stylianoudi (Athens, 2009), pp. 136–47.

had been established on Corfu after 1259 by its new lord Manfred of Sicily and its governor Philip Chinardo. The fiefs were divided into those of the State, the Latin Church and private persons, these last being mainly Latin but also including numerous Greeks. While the great majority of the inhabitants became villeins of various types, the city residents formed a community (*universitas*) at the head of which were the feudal lords and the rich merchants.[16]

The Latin lords of the Greek lands primarily originated from western Europe, an exception being a very few who, irrespective of their various western European origins, were formerly residents in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. One such exception were the Lusignan, who founded the Kingdom of Cyprus (1192–1474/1489), one of the most enduring Latin regimes in the East, a few years before the events of 1204.[17] Another, much later and long-lasting such regime, intimately connected with the Holy Land, was set up by the Knights Hospitaller of St John throughout most of the south-east Aegean Islands, known as the Dodecanese, with its focal point on the island of Rhodes (1309–1522).[18]

Under Hospitaller rule, the island of Rhodes became a centre for piracy. Meanwhile, the town of Rhodes developed into a cosmopolitan economic and cultural centre thanks to the contribution of numerous Latins, including Venetians, Genoese, Florentines and Catalans who converged on the island from various regions, as well as of Greeks both native to the island an non-native.

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16 For the Angevin period on Corfu, see Maria Dourou-Eliopoulou, *Η Ανδεγαυική κυριαρχία στη Ρωμανία επί Καρόλου Α΄ (1266–1285)* [*Angevin Rule in Romania under Charles I (1266–1285)*] (Athens, 1987), pp. 58–61, 88–91 and 116–21; Spyros N. Asonitis, *Ανδηγαυική Κέρκυρα (13ος–14ος αι.)* [*Angevin Corfu (13th–14th Centuries)*] (Corfu, 1999).

17 Some aspects of the history of the Kingdom of Cyprus are discussed in the chapters by Charalambos Gasparis and Nicholas Coureas, in this volume.

18 Concerning the Hospitallers in the South-East Aegean Islands, see the numerous articles on this subject reprinted in Anthony Luttrell, *The Hospitallers in Cyprus, Rhodes, Greece and the West, 1291–1440* (London, 1978), especially "The Hospitallers at Rhodes, 1306–1421," originally published in Setton, *History of the Crusades*, 3:278–313; Anthony Luttrell, *Latin Greece, the Hospitallers and the Crusades, 1291–1440* (London, 1982); idem, *The Hospitaller State on Rhodes and its Western Provinces, 1306–1462* (Aldershot, 1999), as well as in Zacharias N. Tsirpanlis, *Η Ρόδος και οι Νότιες Σποράδες στα χρόνια των Ιωαννιτών Ιπποτών (14ος–16ος αιώνες)* [*Rhodes and the Southern Sporades Islands in the Age of the Hospitallers (14th–16th Centuries)*] (Rhodes, 1991). See also, idem, ed., *Ανέκδοτα έγγραφα για τη Ρόδο και τις Νότιες Σποράδες από το Αρχείο των Ιωαννιτών Ιπποτών, 1 (1421–1453): εισαγωγή, διπλωματική έκδοση, σχόλια* [*Unpublished Documents on Rhodes and the Southern Sporades Islands from the Hospitaller Archive, 1 (1421–1453): Introduction, Diplomatic Edition, Commentary*] (Rhodes, 1995).

The central administration of the Hospitallers in Rhodes was conducted via the Grand Master, the senior administrative and military official, and a council made up of elected members of each of the order's *tongues* (Provence, Auvergne, France, Italy, Aragon, England, Germany and Castile). The highest offices were the grand commander, the marshal, the hospitaller, the admiral, the drapier, the treasurer, the grand chancellor and the turcopolier.

At the apex of the social hierarchy were the members of the order, divided into three principal classes: the knights, the sergeants and the chaplains, residents of an exclusive fortified quarter around the castle, the *collachium*. In the rest of the massive walled city or *borgo* resided a large population of merchants and shipowners, lawyers and clerics, artisans and workers, both Latin and Greek, enjoying a form of communal organisation, the interest-bearing money-lending activities being mainly in the hands of the prosperous Jewish community. Properties in the town and throughout the island were granted mainly through non-feudal tenures to both Latins and Greeks. In the Rhodian countryside and on the lesser islands, the local leading groups met together as a *universitas grecorum*.

The greater part of the population was composed of Greek landless peasants, both unfree (*parichi*) and free (*francomati*) living within a system of onerous economic and social oppression, as well as of *marinarii*, who possessed hereditary obligations to serve at sea.[19] These historical conditions account for the voluntary departure from the city in 1522 of numerous Greek inhabitants together with the Knights and, on the other hand, the tolerant attitude of much of the Rhodian peasantry to the Ottoman conquest.

## The Italian Maritime Republics and Their Greek Lands: Venice and Genoa

Among the several Latin dominions set up in the Greek lands after 1204, Venetian rule was to prove the longest-lasting and was preserved until 1797 when Venice itself and, hence, its few remaining Greek territories—the

19 Concerning the social stratification and especially the Greek population, see Anthony Luttrell, "The Greeks of Rhodes under Hospitaller rule: 1306–1421," *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* n.s. 29 (1992), 193–223, repr. in Anthony Luttrell, *The Hospitaller State on Rhodes*, III; Tsirpanlis, *Ανέκδοτα έγγραφα*. Specifically concerning landownership and the few cases of feudal tenure, see Anthony Luttrell, "Feudal Tenure and Latin Colonization at Rhodes: 1306–1415," *English Historical Review* 85 (1970), 755–75, repr. in Luttrell, *The Hospitallers in Cyprus, Rhodes*, III.

Ionian Islands and their mainland appendages—surrendered to the forces of Napoleon. Throughout this long period, the larger region of the Eastern Mediterranean also fell under other rulers, including Byzantines, various westerners and Ottomans. Thus, the Venetian *Stato da Mar* was in a state of volatility throughout the entire period and its borders constantly fluctuated as a consequence of the complex developments taking place in the region.[20]

The *Partitio terrarum imperii Romanie* awarded Venice a large part of present-day coastal and island Greece, and Crete was added in August 1204 following an agreement with Boniface of Monferrat.[21] However, by the early 13th century, Venetian rule had shrunk to just Crete and its Peloponnesian bases at Modon and Coron, its dominion even there appearing shaky, while, during the second half of the 14th century, the Ottoman advance into the Eastern Mediterranean entirely reset the stage for Venice's ambitions as regards consolidation and expansion in the East.

On Crete, virtually the whole of the local Greek-Orthodox aristocracy of the former Byzantine period, after many decades of revolts, had capitulated to Venice and had been transformed into a consistently pro-Venetian body. During this same period, the island of Cythera was annexed by Venice in 1363, while various Byzantine and Frankish territories were ceded to the Venetian state with the forbearance, or even at the invitation, of their inhabitants, including Corfu and its mainland appendage Vouthrotos (1386), Nauplia and Argos (1389/94), the island of Euboea (1390), the islands of Tenos and Mykonos (1390), the cities of Parga (1401), Naupactus (1407), Patras (1408, 1417) and Thessalonica (1423).

The Venetians supported the Byzantines during the siege of Constantinople in 1453, but hastened to sign a commercial treaty with the Ottomans just a year later in 1454. The islands of Aegina (1451) and the Northern Sporades (1453), the Peloponnesian city of Monemvasia (1463), the Ionian island of Zakynthos/

20 Of the copious literature on the history of the Venetian-ruled Greek lands, see Freddy Thiriet, *La Romanie Vénitienne au Moyen Age: le développement et l'exploitation du domaine colonial vénitien* (*XII^e–XV^e siècles*), 2nd ed. (Paris, 1975); Chryssa A. Maltezou, ed., *Όψεις της ιστορίας του βενετοκρατούμενου Ελληνισμού: αρχειακά τεκμήρια* [*Aspects of the History of Venetian Rule in Greece: Archival Evidence*] (Athens, 1993), as well as eadem, Angeliki Tzavara and Despina Vlassi, eds., *Βενετοκρατούμενη Ελλάδα: Προσεγγίζοντας την ιστορία της* [*Venetian Greece: Approaching its History*], 2 vols. (Athens, 2010). See also Benjamin Arbel, "Venice's Maritime Empire in the Early Modern Period," in *A Companion to Venetian History, 1400–1797*, ed. Eric R. Dursteler (Leiden, 2013), pp. 125–253.

21 For a different account of how the Venetians acquired Crete, see Guillaume Saint-Guillain, "Comment les Vénitiens n'ont pas acquis la Crète: note à propos de l'élection impériale de 1204 et du partage projeté de l'empire byzantine," *Travaux et Mémoires* 16 (2010) [= Mélanges Cécile Morrisson], pp. 713–58.

Zante (1484) were peaceably annexed during the second half of the 15th century, with Cyprus, which had been ruled by the Lusignan dynasty for three centuries, following shortly afterwards (1489).

In addition, between the second half of the 15th and the early 18th centuries, the Venetian *Stato da Mar* experienced significant territorial upheavals as a consequence of the seven Veneto-Ottomans wars. These wars led to successive losses for Venice—Euboea (1470), then its Peloponnesian bases (1503, 1540), Cyprus (1571), Crete (1669), the Peloponnese for a second time and Tenos (1715)—though these were offset by the expansion of Venetian rule to the Ionian Islands of Cephalonia and Ithaca (1500), as well as Lefkada (1684). The treaty of Passarowitz in 1718 restricted the Venetian state to the Ionian Islands and their mainland appendages (Vouthrotos, Parga, Preveza, Vonitsa). Subsequently, Venice continued to rule her much-reduced Greek territories until she was dissolved by Napoleon's forces in 1797. In the same year, French troops disembarked on the Ionian Islands, thereby bringing to an end many centuries of Venetian rule over Greek regions.[22]

In the Greek-Venetian East the administration was divided into two levels, Venetian and local. Senior posts were held by Venetian nobles appointed by the metropolis for terms of service lasting just a few years. Their areas of competence were laid out in special texts handed to them on their departure (*capitularia/commisiones*), while on completion of their term they would submit reports (*relazioni*) to the Senate in Venice. In large regions, political and military power was wielded by a triumvirate (*Regimen*); in smaller regions, a single official was charged with their administration. In the former case, the head of the administration, whose title varied from region to region (*duca* in Candia and *rettori* in Rethymnon and Canea, *baillo* on Corfu and Euboea, *locotenente* on Cyprus, *provveditor* on Zakynthos and Cephalonia), was flanked by two advisers (*consiliarii*). A particularly significant place in the administrative hierarchy was occupied by the heads of the economic services and local secretariats.

Offices with supervisory competencies were also introduced (*provveditore general* on Crete, *provveditore general da mar/di Levante, sindici, avogadori, inquisitori in Levante*). However, lower-level posts existed as well, held by locals who were members of the highest social tiers and of the local communities.[23] Meanwhile, the social system which evolved in the Greek-

22 For an overview, see Kostas G. Tsiknakis, "Ο ελληνικός χώρος στη διάρκεια της βενετοκρατίας" ["Greek Lands during Venetian Rule"], in *Βενετοκρατούμενη Ελλάδα*, 1:21–67.

23 In brief, see Michela Dal Borgo, "Ανώτεροι αξιωματούχοι στη βενετική Ρωμανία (σχεδιάγραμμα)" ["High-Ranking Officials in Venetian Romania (an Outline)"], in *Βενετοκρατούμενη Ελλάδα*,

Venetian East was marked by a strict social stratification, strongly influenced by the socio-administrative system of Venice herself.

A turning point in the history of Venice had been the Closing of the Great Council in 1297 (*Serrata del Maggior Consiglio*).[24] Its members, belonging to a small number of families who elected the doge—the lifetime though not hereditary ruler of the city—secured for themselves the hereditary status of nobility and thereby their participation in the administration. An intermediate social stratum was formed by the *cittadini* who emphatically set themselves apart from the lower stratum made up of the *popolo*.

This then was the scheme that was implemented in the Venetian *Stato da Mar*, adapted however to the various socioeconomic circumstances of each locality. One strongly distinguishing feature of the Greek-Venetian lands, starkly contrasting with the exclusively urban environment of Venice, was the fact that it was underpinned by the twin "pillars" of countryside and city. The city residents made up the more eminent and privileged segment of the indigenous populations, while the countryside included the greater, yet also subordinate, segment of the locals who were required to contribute to the defence and the provisioning of the cities.

The highest social rank was comprised of the members—both Latins and Greeks—of the local communities who wielded wide-ranging administrative powers and who, depending on the region, were termed nobles or more usually "citizens" (*cittadini*). The second social stratum was composed of the *cittadini*/*civili*, mainly of Greek origin, who were entitled to certain lower local offices but were excluded from the communal councils. The third stratum was made up of the populace (*popolo, plebe*), also almost totally of Greek origin, exercising such occupations as those of craftsman and small trader. The largest part of the local population, as mentioned above, was comprised of the Greek inhabitants of the rural areas, divided into a) feudal villeins and b) freeholders and landless peasants.[25] Lastly, the Jews, economically powerful though few in number, comprised a community of their own, which was developing alongside, but separately from the Christian ones.

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1:73–79, and Aspasia Papadaki, "Τοπικοί αξιωματούχοι και υπάλληλοι" ["Local Officials and Clerks"], in *Βενετοκρατούμενη Ελλάδα*, 1:83–101.

24 Among the rich bibliography, see Gerhard Rösch, "The Serrata of the Great Council and Venetian Society, 1286–1323," in *Venice Reconsidered: The History and Civilization of an Italian City-State, 1297–1797*, ed. John Martin and Dennis Roman (Baltimore, 2000), pp. 67–88.

25 Anastasia Papadia-Lala, "Κοινωνική συγκρότηση στις πόλεις" ["The Social Make-up of Towns"], in *Βενετοκρατούμενη Ελλάδα*, 1:105–27.

These social categories were based upon the two main features of the local organisation, on the one hand extensive landownership, mainly of feudal character, and on the other civil social structures. These contradictory features nevertheless merged harmoniously at the highest level, since the nobles/feudatories, though forming an organic part of the countryside, of necessity lived in the city and thus held membership in the local communal council.

In the Greek-Venetian territories, the landowners constituted a powerful class who were favourably disposed to Venetian dominion despite the difference of their ethnic extraction and rite. Their number and origin depended upon the stance of the locals towards the Venetians. In those regions where violent reaction broke out against Venetian rule, such as in Crete, the new landowners, in the main Venetian colonists belonging to well-known families of the metropolis among whom the island had been shared out after 1211, initially fully replaced the former proprietors. The old Greek-Orthodox landowning families of Byzantine extraction (the Hagiostefanites, Scordilis, Melissenoi, Varouchas, Chortatzis, Kallergis) were at first excluded from the new system. Nevertheless, following a series of uprisings, most of these families had, by the mid-14th century, capitulated to the Venetians, receiving in exchange social privileges and fiefs. This landowning class would, over the ensuing centuries, grow in power through the addition of new members, both Latins and Greeks, who acquired territorial domains either via concessions made by the state or through purchase. In any case, they preserved the pro-Venetian orientation of their predecessors.

On the other hand, in Corfu, Euboea, Tenos, Mykonos and Parga, regions which between 1386 and 1401 had been brought under Venetian dominion with the consent of their inhabitants, the land remained in the hands of the original owners, Catholic Angevins and other Latins but also Orthodox Greeks, both locals and refugees of former Venetian-controlled areas.

On the islands of Zakynthos and Cephalonia, sparsely populated at the time of their incorporation (at the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th centuries) into the Venetian state, the very few landowners, descendants of earlier western overlords, were integrated into the local landownership system. At the same time, the need for effective defence of the islands and the quest for exploitation of their production potential impelled the Venetians to invite colonists from the rest of the Venetian as well as from the Ottoman-ruled Greek lands, mainly Greeks, but also Albanians, to whom large expanses of land were conceded in exchange for military service.

The landownership regime implemented by Venice on her Greek colonies has already been discussed in the previous chapter. Suffice it to say here that Venice adopted a feudal vocabulary and parcelled out lands to both Latins and

Greeks in return for military service. The gradual implementation of the system was accompanied by a considerable amount of divergence. In Crete, as a characteristic example, right up to the 17th century the parcels of land were named fiefs and their holders feudatories. In fact, however, and despite the prohibitory regulations brought in by Venice, a large portion of the fiefs had been handed over to simple landowners who rarely fulfilled any feudal obligations to the state. In parallel, many among the original feudal lords were unable to carry out their economic, and particularly military, duties. The decline of the once robust feudal cavalry was especially evident in the regular review of the troops (*mostra generale*) held by the feudal lords in the 16th and 17th centuries, and has been described in dismal terms by the Venetian dignitaries of the age.

In other regions, such as the Ionian Islands, the feudal system gradually receded. In the 18th century, the number of fiefs on Corfu had dropped to 15 (many of which belonged to the state) from an original 25, while in Zakynthos merely 12 were left and on Cephalonia only six. Of particular interest is the case of Corfu where, a few decades after the annexation of the island to the Venetian state (1386), the Assizes of Romania were introduced through the initiative of the local feudal lords.[26]

The cultivators of the fiefs during the first period of Venetian rule were the villeins (*villani, parici*). They were unfree with regard to their personal status, bound to the feudal land or to the feudal lord and burdened with the entire web of feudal obligations. At the same time, however, there also developed a category of free tenant peasants who were connected with the feudal demesne via various forms of contracts.[27]

The Venetian sources vividly describe the oppression exercised by the feudatories upon rural populations, e.g. via arbitrary increase of fees due, imposition of unpaid labour, forceful intervention into their private life.

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26 Concerning the feudal institutions, see Jacoby, *La féodalité en Grèce médiévale*. Generally concerning landownership in the Greek-Venetian lands, see Anastasia Papadia-Lala, "Το γαιοκτητικό καθεστώς" ["The Landowning Regime"], in *Όψεις της ιστορίας*, pp. 198–214. Specifically concerning Crete, see Elisabeth Santschi, *La notion de "feudum" en Crète Vénitienne* (*XIII^e–XV^e siècles*) (Montreux, 1976); Salvatote Cosentino, *Aspetti e problemi del feudo veneto-cretese* (*secc. XIII–XIV*) (Bologna, 1987); Charalambos Gasparis, *Η γη και οι αγρότες στη Μεσαιωνική Κρήτη, 13ος–14ος αιώνες* [*Land and Peasantry in Medieval Crete, 13th–14th centuries*] (Athens, 1997). Concerning the Ionian Islands, see Spyros I. Asdrachas, "Φεουδαλική πρόσοδος και γαιοπρόσοδος στην Κέρκυρα την εποχή της βενετικής κυριαρχίας" ["Feudal Revenue and Land Revenue in Corfu under Venetian Rule"], *Τα Ιστορικά* 2.4 (1985), 371–86.

27 Kostas Lambrinos, "Κοινωνική συγκρότηση στην ύπαιθρο" ["The Social Make-up of the Countryside"], in *Βενετοκρατούμενη Ελλάδα*, 1:131–53.

Recognising the ineffectiveness of the system at the economic level as well as the risk to the Venetian state sustained because of the constantly mounting dissatisfaction of the rural populations, in 1589 the *provveditor general* of Crete, Zuanne Mocenigo, proposed the redistribution of land and the allocation of small lots to landless farmers.[28] However, Mocenigo's proposals, as well as other Venetian plans for the reformation of the landowning system, clashed with the Venetian state's conservatism and were, in fact, never applied. Nevertheless, apart from the feudal demesnes, from the first centuries of Venetian rule in the Greek lands there is evidence of both large-scale and small-scale full landownership. This came to the fore during the final centuries of Venetian dominion, especially in the Ionian Islands.

The second factor contributing to the moulding of the social dynamics of the Greek-Venetian East was the "city". Venice assigned especial weight to the creation of urban hubs, mainly city-ports, which functioned as administrative, economic, religious and cultural centres. The population sizes of these cities differed widely from region to region. For example, while the population of the capital of Crete, Candia, at certain periods exceeded the number of 20,000, those of many of the Aegean island-fortresses were as small as a few hundred.

The social origins of the city populations were diverse. Initially, the obligation of settling the developing urban centres fell to the upper social stratum, the nobles/feudatories or *cittadini* (depending on the region) who were usually organised into urban communities, notwithstanding that their basic economic activity was agrarian exploitation. Gradually, their residence in the cities transitioned from being a coercive obligation towards the state to being a potent badge of social prestige. Meanwhile, already from the earliest days of Venetian rule the economic opportunities provided by the cities conduced to the increase of their population and to the formation of the three social strata, as noted above: a) nobles or citizens (*cittadini*), b) citizens (*cittadini*, *civili*), c) populace (*popolo, plebe*).[29]

The urban landscape differed vastly from the rural environment, with its massive city walls, impressive public and religious buildings, rich private palaces, but also densely-populated neighbourhoods of humble dwellings, quarters occupied by particular population groups (first and foremost the Jewish quarter), commercial streets as well as a coastal commercial zone dominated by dockyards, customs houses, warehouses for goods and supplies, taverns and

28 Stergios G. Spanakis, ed., *Μνημεία Κρητικής Ιστορίας* [*Monuments of Cretan History*] 6 vols. (Herakleio, 1940), 1:45–49.

29 Papadia-Lala, "Κοινωνική συγκρότηση στις πόλεις."

inns.[30] Most importantly though, the city was the place where a privileged status was granted to its inhabitants that stood in total contrast to life lived in the rural areas: personal freedom, tax exemptions, relief from certain obligatory travails and compulsory army or navy recruitments.

Meantime, among the city-dwellers a comparatively very small number of privileged individuals, the nobles or *cittadini* who assembled in localised "civic communities", were carving out for themselves a discrete position. The term "civic community" refers to an institutionally recognised collective organ composed of socially eminent inhabitants of the city, whether noblemen or *cittadini*; the civic communities represented their members as well as the sum total of the local population vis-à-vis the Venetian authorities, possessing exclusive right to partake in the exercise of local government.

On the basis of their individual characteristics, the civic communities in the Greek-Venetian East may be grouped into four principal categories: a) the civic communities or councils of nobles/feudatories, b) the "open" communities of the urban populace, c) the "open" communities of the urban populace which gradually evolved into the "closed" civic communities of the *cittadini*/nobles, and d) the civic communities of the late Venetian period comprising from their very outset a fixed number of citizen (*cittadini*)-members.[31]

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30 Specifically concerning Venetian Candia, see Maria Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies: Architecture and Urbanism* (Cambridge, 2001).

31 Concerning the totality of urban communities in the Greek-Venetian East, see Anastasia Papadia-Lala, *Ο θεσμός των αστικών κοινοτήτων στον ελληνικό χώρο κατά την περίοδο της βενετοκρατίας (13ος–18ος αι.): Μια συνθετική προσέγγιση* [*The Institution of Civic Communities in Venetian-Ruled Greek Lands (13th–18th Centuries): A Synthetic Approach*] 2nd ed. (Venice, 2008). Among the copious literature on local communal councils, concerning Rethymnon, see Kostas E. Lambrinos, *Κοινωνία και διοίκηση στο βενετοκρατούμενο Ρέθυμνο: Το ανώτερο κοινωνικό στρώμα των ευγενών (1571–1646)* [*Society and Administration in Venetian Rethymnon: The Upper Social Stratum of Nobles (1571–1646)*] (Corfu, 1999). Concerning Cyprus, see Benjamin Arbel, "Urban Assemblies and Town Councils in Frankish and Venetian Cyprus," in *Πρακτικά του Δεύτερου Διεθνούς Κυπριολογικού Συνεδρίου* [*Proceedings of the Second International Cyprological Congress*], 3 vols. (Nicosia, 1986), 2:203–13, repr. in Benjamin Arbel, *Cyprus, the Franks and Venice, 13th–16th Centuries*, (Aldershot, 2000), IV. Concerning Corfu, see Nikolas Karapidakis, *Civis fidelis: L'avènement et l'affirmation de la citoyenneté corfiote (XVI^ème^–XVII^ème^ siècles)* (Frankfurt am Main, 1992). Concerning Zakynthos, see Demetrios D. Arvanitakis, *Κοινωνικές αντιθέσεις στην πόλη της Ζακύνθου: Το ρεμπελιό των ποπολάρων (1628)* [*Social Contrasts in the Town of Zakynthos: The Rebellion of the Populace (1628)*] (Athens, 2001); Marianna Kolyva, "Obbedir et esseguir tutti l'infrascritti capitoli: i capitoli dell'isola di Zante durante il dominio veneziano (fine XV–fine XVII sec.)," in *I Greci durante la venetocrazia: uomini, spazio, idee (XIII–XVIII sec.): atti del convegno internazionale di studi, 3–7 Dicembre 2007*, ed. Chryssa A. Maltezou,

The first category was to be found in Crete, while an example of a more complex type is noted in the town of Nicosia on the island of Cyprus. In Crete, one of Venice's older and more long-lasting possessions (1204–1669), communal councils existed in the capital of the island, Candia, but also in Rethymnon and Canea, capitals of the homonymous administrative districts. These councils comprised of members of both the Venetian and Cretan nobility (*nobili Veneti, nobili Cretesi*).

This social configuration took shape by degrees. Thus, in the earliest period of Venetian rule it was the feudatories who made up the upper social rank, these comprising exclusively Venetian colonists who settled on Crete during the successive colonisations of the 13th century. As mentioned above, the old Greek-Orthodox landowning families of Byzantine extraction were initially excluded from the new system. However, at the end of the great revolutionary movements of the 13th and 14th centuries, social privileges and fiefs were also granted to Greeks in exchange for their capitulation to Venice. During this period, the councils of feudatories, mainly Latins but also Greeks, belonging to the three Cretan towns of Candia, Rethymnon and Canea, constituted the dominant collective bodies. In addition, there functioned in Candia a collective organ of urban character, i.e. the Great Council (*Consilium Maius, Maggior Consiglio*), participation in which depended on strict conditions: high repute, legitimate issue and non-exertion of any manual craft.

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Angeliki Tzavara and Despina Vlassi (Venice, 2009), pp. 483–95; Panaghiota Tzivara, *Βενετοκρατούμενη Ζάκυνθος, 1588–1594: Η νομή και η διαχείριση της εξουσίας από το Συμβούλιο των 150* [*Venetian Zakynthos, 1588–1594: The Acquisition and Exercise of Power by the Council of 150*] (Athens, 2009). Concerning Cephalonia, among their copious articles, see Nikos G. Moschonas, "Πρακτικά Συμβουλίου Κοινότητας Κεφαλονιάς. Βιβλίο 1 (19 Μαρτίου–19 Απριλίου 1593)" ["Minutes from the Council of the Community of Cephalonia. Book 1 (19 March–19 April 1593)"], *Σύμμεικτα* 3 (1979), 265–350; Despina Er. Vlassi, "'Ενταξη νέων μελών στο Συμβούλιο της Κεφαλονιάς από το γενικό προβλεπτή της Θάλασσας Francesco Grimani (1760)" ["The Introduction of New Members into the Council of Cephalonia by the *Proveditor General da Mar* Francesco Grimani (1760)"], *Κεφαλληνιακά Χρονικά* 5 (1986), 74–127; see also Stamatoula S. Zapandi, *Κεφαλονιά, 1500–1571: Η συγκρότηση της κοινωνίας του νησιού* [*Cephalonia, 1500–1571: The Formation of the Island's Society*] (Thessalonica, 1999), pp. 244–63. Concerning the Peloponnese, see Konstantinos Dokos, "Οι αστικές κοινότητες και οι αγγαρείες του Δημοσίου στη βενετοκρατούμενη Πελοπόννησο" ["The Civic Communities and the Corvée Due to the State in the Venetian Peloponnese"], *Εώα και Εσπέρια* 4 (1999–2000), 243–81; Alexis Malliaris, *Η Πάτρα κατά τη βενετική περίοδο, 1687–1715: γη, πληθυσμοί, κοινωνία στη Β.Δ. Πελοπόννησο* [*Patras during the Venetian Period, 1687–1715: Land, Populations and Society in the North-Western Peloponnese*] (Venice, 2008), mainly pp. 247–64.

In the context of the historical developments of the era (e.g. the institutionalisation of the Venetian nobility within the domain of the metropolis and, by extension, on Crete, as well as other major political events on the island, culminating in the revolt of Saint Titus in 1363–1364), the Cretan Great Councils from the 14th century onwards began to be transformed into councils of the Venetian nobles, who adhered to the Latin rite. The only exception was the Orthodox Kallergis family who were granted Venetian nobility in 1381 in recompense for their notable support rendered to the Venetian state. In the mid-15th century, the new configuration of Cretan society motivated Venice to institute the Cretan nobility, which was to rank second in the social hierarchy, directly below the Venetian nobility. This class was made up of Venetians, westerners in general, but also Greeks—indigenous Cretans and refugees on Crete from other Greek regions. Starting in the second half of the 15th century, Venetian and Cretan nobles made up the councils of the nobles/feudatories of Candia, Rethymon and Canea. In accordance with the metropolitan ordinances, a prerequisite for entry into the Venetian nobility was the process of "proof" (*prova di nobiltà*), based on official birth/baptism certificates and on marriage among its members. On the other hand, in the second half of the 16th century, following the great increase in the granting of titles of Cretan nobility and the consequent penetration of large numbers of new members into the nobility, Venice embarked on meticulous monitoring of the existing members and enacted strict rules of accreditation of social/family status.

Meanwhile, in Venetian-ruled Cyprus (1489–1571), following the cession of the island in 1489 to the Venetian state by the Venetian-lineage Queen Caterina Cornaro, the communal council of Nicosia was set up, thereby replacing the former High Court of the Lusignan period. Its members were composed of the older feudal lords/nobles who were of both western European and Greek extraction, new noblemen as well as non-nobles/citizens (*cittadini*) and a few "foreigners" who possessed the requisite civic qualifications. It is of note that in fact the communal council of Nicosia was controlled by an elite group of approximately ten families of the nobility who held the highest local administrative and ecclesiastical offices. By contrast however with Nicosia, the communal council of Famagusta was comprised of *cittadini* and other bourgeois, while in Keryneia we find a community composed of members of the lower classes of the local population.

The second category, that of the "open" communities of the urban populace, included communities of a large number of Venetian-ruled Greek lands characterised by various individual features, relating to geographical situation, the time and manner of their entry into the Venetian dominion and the nature of the previous administration (Byzantine, Latin, Ottoman).

In all cases, these communities were open to all city-dwellers. In reality, however, though unofficially, the reins of power were held by but a small number of eminent families, mainly of Latin extraction, though at the same time Greek residents were not entirely excluded. In this framework, the local population was divided between the citizens (*cittadini*), frequently holding titles of the feudal nobility, and the populace (*popolo*). The communities of this type developed mainly from the 14th to the 16th centuries. They appeared in the regions of Modon and Coron, and chiefly in areas which yielded voluntarily to Venice after the second half of the 14th century, such as Nauplia, Argos, the islands of Euboea, Tenos, Aegina and the Northern Sporades, and the cities of Naupactus and Monemvasia.

The third category, that of "open" communities of the urban populace, which were to gradually evolve into the closed communities of citizens (*cittadini*)/nobles, are to be noted in most of the Ionian Islands which were incorporated into the Venetian state between 1386 and 1500. The first civic communal council of citizens (*cittadini*) was set up on the island of Cythera (1363–1797) in the second half of the 16th century. Its organisation came about following a petition drawn up by thirty prominent families of the area, mainly landowners of Latin and Greek descent, who also constituted its original members and who were to hold the status for life and hereditarily. The communal council retained its closed character until the end of Venetian rule in 1797. However, the number of its members was to increase, particularly after 1669 when it admitted large numbers of Cretan refugees, Cretan nobles as well as *cittadini*.

Developments in the capital of the Ionian Island of Corfu (1386–1797) proved to be a good deal more complex. Venetian after 1386, at the invitation of its inhabitants, Corfu elicited privileges from Venice while conserving social characteristics dating from the previous Angevin period. During the first years of Venetian rule there existed in the capital of the island, the city of Corfu, a community composed of both Latins and Greeks whose members were nobles, landowners/feudal lords, traders, shipowners, secretaries and notaries, professionals and craftsmen. From early on, nevertheless, there appeared at its interior an informal social hierarchy made up of inhabitants of the city at whose head were great landowners/feudatories and rich merchants.

In this milieu, from the middle of the 15th and until the 16th century, systematic changes took place towards the creation of a "closed" Corfiot community: a) the institution of flexible organs with only a few members, such as the Small Council of 150, b) the "cleaning up" of the General Council via the gradual institution of civic criteria (expulsion of foreigners, illegitimates, manual workers, non-residents of the city) and c) establishment of the registry

of records of the community members (*Libro d'Oro*) in 1572, as well as of the books of marriages, births and baptisms. From that point, the city residents were divided into the members of the civic communal council (*cittadini*) and those outside of this (*popolari*), while in the 17th century the more eminent of the *popolari* composed the social stratum of the *civili*.

The first half of the 17th century saw the fixing of the criteria for participation in the community as well as the entry of those families who fulfilled the criteria based on birthright. The "civic" nobility of Corfu, which was never formally recognised by Venice, differed from the statutory feudal nobility of the island. Nonetheless, in the 18th century the term "nobleman" was firmly established and essentially indistinguishable from the Corfiot "*cittadino*", that is, from the members of the communal council of Corfu.

Analogies with Corfu are to be seen in the social history of Venetian Zakynthos (1484–1797). During the first decades of Venetian dominion, the local community was of an open character composed of a very small number of indigenous inhabitants as well as settlers and refugees from formerly Venetian regions, while its seat, the city of Zakynthos, was characterised by its distinctive development into two residential areas, the castle and the littoral town.

From the mid-16th century, coordinated efforts took place on the island for the closure of the communal council, on the one hand through the adoption of the institution of the Small Council of 150, and on the other via the inception of the "cleaning-up" of the General Council and the institution of the civic criteria of participation. In this context, the city residents gradually were divided into the members of the civic communal council (*cittadini*) and those outside of this (*civili* and *popolari*). In the 17th century, the year 1683 marked the strict "closure" of the communal council with the numerical restriction of its families to 93 who, as in Corfu, took on the unofficial title of nobles. The 17th and 18th centuries were marked by social clashes, most notably the so-called the "Rebellion of Populace" (1628).

The particularities of the community in Venetian Cephalonia (1500–1797) are also worth noting. The first efforts towards the forming of a communal council can be traced to the 16th century, with its administrative seat in the capital of the island, the Fortress of Saint George, in accordance with the criteria for citizen status as prevailing in Corfu and Zakynthos. During the first decades of Venetian rule, the community was an open body with members who were divided into *cittadini* and the lower urban strata. A substantial change would come about in 1593 when the communal council, on the initiative of its members, proceeded to a radical self-imposed clean-up operation and a list of 450 legal members would be drawn up.

However, in the following two centuries (17th–18th), the records relate that the community was composed of a large number of members who did not possess citizen status and included even villagers. This situation led to the creation of the myth of the "democratic council" of Cephalonia. However, in fact the ostensibly democratic make-up was due to the existence of powerful family networks who, while clashing amongst themselves, had forced the council to bring in members of inferior social ranks whom they would then control for the purpose of boosting their own influence.

The Cephalonian communal council remained "unclean" until the end of Venetian Rule in 1797 despite the efforts made by the Venetian authorities for its reorganisation, particularly in 1750, as well as its relocation to the new capital of the island, Argostoli, in 1758.

The fourth category—the civic communities of the late Venetian period with a fixed number of *cittadini* who had been members from the outset—developed from 1684 onwards and somewhat later in the Peloponnese and the island of Lefkada, regions which fell to the Venetians following many years of Ottoman rule, as well as in the mainland administrative appendages of Lefkada, that is, Preveza and Vonitsa, during the 18th century.

Throughout the Greek-Venetian lands, the members of the civic communities, nobles and *cittadini*, enjoyed a number of rights of which the most important were the following two. The first was the dispatch of delegations (*ambascerie*) to Venice to whom they submitted petitions, sometimes representing the entirety of the local population but more often favouring their own class at the expense of the rest of the social strata.

The second was the participation in the local administration. As noted above, the administration of the Greek-Venetian regions operated on two levels, Venetian and local. The first included those offices granted exclusively to Venetians of the metropolis, while the second comprised appointments that could be undertaken by members of the indigenous populations and, mainly, the members of the communal councils.

The offices of the local administration were divided into the few communal appointments and those pertaining to more general public life either in the city or in the rural areas: judges (*judici*), market and health inspectors (*giustizieri* and *provveditori alla sanità*), persons in charge of security and most especially of nighttime safety (*signori di notte*), administrators of the charitable institutions, galley captains (*sopracomiti*); also, castellans and "captains" fighting against bandits (*capitani contra fures*) in the countryside and even governors of small regions.

The awarding of the local offices took place in the following ways:

a) preferential granting of office by the Venetian authorities as remuneration for services rendered to the State,
b) sale/hiring out of the office via the process of public auction,
c) election by various administrative organs.[32]

With regard to their social role, it appears that the civic communities in the Greek-Venetian East contributed to the shaping of rigid social networks and thereby gave rise to social antagonisms which, in extreme instances, descended into armed skirmishes.

On the other hand, they were characterised by internal hierarchisations, developed along the axis of the communal families. The influence of the latter, which was buttressed by their socioeconomic supremacy, was perpetually on the rise thanks to intermarriage and to the webs of alliances and clientelistic dealings as well as to aggressive efforts to gain ascendancy over rival families.[33] The members of the communities and, in general, the upper tiers of the urban populations, wealthy nobles/feudal lords and *cittadini*, developed refined codes of etiquette and lifestyles strongly influenced by the contemporary western model, which differentiated them from the lower social strata. For example, they owned imposing and richly furnished city residences and country manors; they benefited from the best education; they maintained libraries and collections of artworks.

Second in the ranking of the social regime of the Greek-Venetian East was the stratum termed "*cittadini*" in such regions as Cretan cities and Nicosia, and "*civili*" residing in Corfu and Zakynthos. In other parts of the Greek-Venetian East this stratum was either of negligible importance or else did not exist at all. The *cittadini*/*civili* comprised but a small segment of the town-dwellers. Greek-Orthodox in the main, they retained feudal domains, engaged in lucrative urban financial activities, exercised such professions as that of physician and lawyer and occupied certain lower local public offices. In Crete, while a certain number of the *cittadini* contrived to enter the ranks of the Cretan nobility, the remainder built up an informal type of collective organisation: representatives of theirs took part in the nobles' delegations and participated

32 On *ambascerie* and on the local offices, among others, see Papadia-Lala, *Ο θεσμός των αστικών κοινοτήτων*, pp. 100–21, 304–20, 367–75, 412–18, 488–93. Especially on Corfu, see Karapidakis, *Civis fidelis*.

33 In general, see Papadia-Lala, *Ο θεσμός των αστικών κοινοτήτων*, pp. 92–94, 319–20, 420–21. On Venetian Crete see McKee, Sally, *Uncommon Dominion: Venetian Crete and the Myth of Ethnic Purity* (Philadelphia, 2000).

in the running of charitable establishments, while some of their members were integrated into Orthodox brotherhoods. The year 1613 saw the institution, modelled upon the Venetian prototype, of the "proof of citizenship" (*prova di cittadinanza*) based on civic criteria and having the aim of providing access to posts in the local government.[34]

Towards the end of the 18th century, the *civili* of Corfu set about to form a special council to represent their social group. This effort was, however, stifled due to the violent reaction of the nobility of the island, though it did nevertheless trigger the eruption of new social conflicts.

Lastly, the socially inferior but more numerous segment of the city population was made up of the "populace" (*popolo, plebe*), who were Greek-Orthodox almost in their entirety. While some of its members were able to occupy certain positions of the lower grades of civil service, the majority of them were engaged in manual crafts, a factor which excluded them from the nobles' councils. From the 15th century and thereafter, certain professional domains acquired the right of incorporation within the guilds. In just a very small number of cases, members of the *popolo* took part in delegations of the nobles/feudatories. It is also noteworthy that in Nicosia there came into being what was known as the *consiglio del popolo menudo* (People's Council).[35]

The social structure of the Venetian-ruled Greek lands maintained a striking degree of uniformity and stability, which, nevertheless, was dependent upon a delicate balancing act that was perpetually in jeopardy. This situation is vividly illustrated by the account provided by the *provveditore general* Zuanne Mocenigo of 16th century Crete. According to his testimony, the Venetian nobles were thoroughly detested by the Greek nobles, who, in turn, were deeply distrusted by the other town-dwellers, while the rural populations harboured nothing but hostility towards the remainder of the social strata.[36]

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34 Aspasia Papadaki, "Αποδείξεις αστικής ιδιότητας στην Κρήτη το 17ο αιώνα (prove di cittadinanza)" ["Proof of Citizenship in 17th-Century Crete (prove di cittadinanza)"], in *Πεπραγμένα του Ζ΄ Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου* [*Proceedings of the Eighth International Cretological Congress*], ed. Nikolaos E. Papadogiannakis, 6 vols. (Rethymnon, 1995), 2.2:619–34.

35 Angeliki Panopoulou, *Συντεχνίες και θρησκευτικές αδελφότητες στη βενετοκρατούμενη Κρήτη* [*Guilds and Confraternities in Venetian Crete*] (Athens, 2012); Konstantinos Dokos, "Οι κοινότητες των λαϊκών τάξεων στη βενετοκρατούμενη Κύπρο" ["The Communities of the Lower Strata in Venetian Cyprus"], in *Πλούσιοι και φτωχοί στην κοινωνία της ελληνολατινικής Ανατολής, Διεθνές Συμπόσιο* [*Rich and Poor in the Society of the Greco-Latin East; International Symposium*] ed. Chryssa A. Maltezou (Venice, 1998), pp. 387–94.

36 Spanakis, *Μνημεία Κρητικής Ιστορίας*, 1:26–28.

As regards the womenfolk of the time, though women had long been excluded from the official public life, nonetheless, their role in social activities was vigorous. Married women belonging to the upper classes were exclusively engaged in matters concerning the household, while their rural sisters, by contrast, participated in the family's agrarian tasks. Meanwhile, women of the lower strata living in the city would be employed, either permanently or intermittently, in a variety of occupations. These women could either be self-employed or else salaried (e.g. as stockholders in maritime and commercial operations, money-lenders, weavers, midwifes, servants, wet-nurses and in other occupations) being paid wages well below those of men, with the exception of the well remunerated profession of wet-nurse.

On the death of a husband, a woman would find her social and economic role elevated. Irrespective of her social class, the widow undertook the guardianship of her children, tended to their entry into the professional world and managed the family finances or fortune.[37]

The conditions of children's lives and their future potential were intimately connected with society's strict stratification and, in the second instance, with the youth's gender. Boys, depending on their social position, were either educated as to be enabled in the future to contribute to the perpetuation of their family bloodline or were sent out to work from an early age. Girls, from a very early age, assumed the burdens of married life, passing directly from the paternal to the conjugal household. As to illegitimate children, the society of the age held a tolerant stance, particularly in the case of the upper social strata. It also provided assistance to abandoned children through the creation of foundling hospitals and orphanages.[38]

The stratification of social classes in the Venetian-ruled Greek regions did not always precisely tally with the economic ranking of their members. On the other hand, the strictly stratified social system conduced to the appearance of new identities and, simultaneously, to the shaping of new ideological trends. Thus, the entire period of Venetian dominion was marked by the existence of such ethnic/religious identities as Greeks and Venetians, Orthodox, Catholics and Jews, the most powerful attachment being to one's local identity, as for example Cretan, Corfiot, Cypriot. Meanwhile, alongside these phenomena, social organisation contributed to the emergence of new social

37 Chryssa A. Maltezou, "Η παρουσία της γυναίκας στις νοταριακές πράξεις της περιόδου της βενετοκρατίας" ["The Presence of Women in Notarial Deeds of the Venetokratia"], *Κρητολογία* 16–19 (1983–84), 62–79.

38 Chryssa A. Maltezou, "Το παιδί στην κοινωνία της βενετοκρατούμενης Κρήτης" ["The Child in the Society of Venetian Crete"], *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 27 (1987), 214–27.

identities which at once composed, disrupted and overrode the core elements of the local societies as concerns ethnicity, rite, language and economic classes.

These new developments gave rise to the configuration of a complex ideological landscape. For example, while during the early period the indigenous populations of the Greek-Venetian lands regarded Venice with hostility, as embodying the "predatory" Latin powers who had flooded into the Byzantine Empire, from the 14th century they had begun to look upon the Venetians as allies and protectors against Ottoman expansion. On the other hand, at no point during this long historical period did the Greek populations of the Venetian colonies share a united stance towards Venetian rule, acute socioeconomic differences within these populations making this impossible.

Generally speaking, it could be argued that the Greek noblemen, *cittadini* and, in general, bourgeoisie of the Greek-Venetian lands identified themselves with Venetian policy and, with very few exceptions, remained consistently pro-Venetian, supporting the Venetians in their struggles in every way. In contrast, the rural populations, who bore the brunt of a burdensome socioeconomic regime, often viewed the possibility of Ottoman rule with equanimity, though they did take up arms alongside their fellow Christians in the Veneto-Turkish wars under the banner of the Christian faith.

By contrast with Venice, her greatest rival, Genoa, chose in her limited number of possessions in Latin Greece to gain control mainly via various indirect means of administration.[39] An illustrative example of this policy is to be noted on the island of Chios during the Genoese period (1346–1566), where, on account of Genoa's economic weakness at the time, the administration was conceded to the Genoese trading company Mahonna. The members of the company abandoned their individual surnames towards the end of the 14th century and adopted that of Giustiniani. The Mahonna gained the right to exploit the island's products, most especially mastic. At the head of the local government was an official holding the title of *podestà* who was appointed by the metropolis and was aided by six councillors chosen from among the members of the Mahonna. Other officials were the castellan, the vicar, the rectors, the officials in charge of the financial administration (*massari*) and the chancellor (*scriba cancellerie*).

Heading the local society were the Giustiniani, and below these were the *burgesses*: these last were of Latin origin, nearly all from Genoa, and were chiefly engaged both in trade and in industry or were large and small estate owners or professional men. The exploitation of the land and trade were undertaken by the Greek *archons*, such as the Schilizzi family, who had their

39 Michel Balard, *La Romanie génoise* (*XII^e–début du XV^e siècle*), 2 vols. (Genoa, 1978).

roots in Byzantium and had been guaranteed all their privileges and property by the Genoese. The bulk of the population, meanwhile, was made up of Greek peasants mainly engaged in mastic cultivation and agriculture. The Jews comprised a community of their own and dealt in money-lending.[40]

In summary, Latin Greece composed a motley and complex patchwork of lands, disparate both in time and in space and which possessed no central, unifying administrative-social institutions. Despite this, however, distinguishable at its nucleus are certain common constituents, which permit one to regard it as a single entity, the prime of which are its rulers, all of whom were Catholic western Europeans (principally Italians, French, Flemish, Spaniards). The temporal inception of its creation is considered to be the overthrow of the Byzantine Empire in 1204, notwithstanding that certain of the Latin dominions preceded this date, whereas others were established some time later, being unconnected with the Frankish crusades. The majority of the rulers arrived on Greek territory straight from the West, while only a few (the Lusignan, the Hospitallers of St John) came from the Holy Land.

With regard to the administrative and social organisation, the various dominions presented both differences and similarities, which were, in any case, all new to the Greek world of that era. Initially, the main axis was comprised of the institution of the empire together with the simultaneous development of feudal lordships within a system of sequential bonds of subjugation. After the collapse of the Latin Empire in 1261, the transference of the rights of suzerainty to various western rulers further complicated the political scene. The tributary lordships, with the Principality of Achaea wielding the greatest authority, built up powerful ties with their own vassals, such as the lords of Euboea and of the Cycladic islands. Outside of this system there still subsisted certain earlier hegemonies (e.g. Lusignan Cyprus) and, notably, later ones (e.g. that of the Hospitallers and of the Catalans). Governance of most of the regions was exercised by the local lords themselves. One exception to this general rule was that of lords ruling their own domains via their deputies, as in the instance of the Angevins. Another noteworthy case was the granting of domains by a dominion to its subjects (individuals, families or commercial companies) who sometimes acted within the framework of the dominion's politics and at other times operated independently, maintaining only weak links with it. These

40 For the political and mainly administrative and social history of Genoese Chios, see Balard, *La Romanie génoise*, 1:119–26, 253–54, 259–64, 267–68, 274–77, 279–83, 376–86; Philip P. Argenti, *The Occupation of Chios by the Genoese and their Administration of the Island, 1346–1566*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1958), mainly 1:370–415, 569–648.

latter policies were widely adopted by the maritime powers of the age, Venice and Genoa. Concurrently, however, already from the 13th century Venice initiated the creation of a powerful maritime state in the East that was of both centralised character as well as possessing self-governing privileges.

The feudal institutions adopted in medieval Greece were in large part sustained by the Assizes of Romania (or, on the island of Cyprus, by the Assizes of Jerusalem); nevertheless, there are also instances of an empirical application of feudal principles, e.g. in the Venetian regions and principally Crete, as well as the adoption of other codes, such as the Customs of Barcelona in the Catalan lordship.

Within the feudal lordships of Latin Greece the governor was assisted by the Latin feudatories who, as members of the local councils and possessing high administrative and judicial competences, composed the upper social stratum. The feudal administrative-social organisation gradually also saw the entry of Greeks, who were either members of the former Byzantine elite or else new elements sympathetic to the West. The Latin and Greek feudatories mainly lived in the walled fortress cities/castles which gradually became centres of commerce and crafts. Next in the social hierarchy was a mixed urban population ranging from affluent merchants to simple folk (craftsmen, labourers) who were mainly local Latins or foreigners, but also Greeks. Last on the social scale and living outside the city walls were the landless Greek peasants making up the great majority of the population: agricultural labourers, they toiled under an oppressive socioeconomic regime, working on the domains of the landowners who, though mainly Latin at the start, increasingly included a growing number of Greeks.

The Venetian-ruled Greek lands saw the institution of a similar social organisation where, however, civil institutions predominated: at the top of the social scale were the nobles or citizens, both Latins and Greeks, members of the civic communal councils who were, in their vast majority, also big landowners/feudatories and who participated in the local administration; they were followed by the intermediate and lower social strata residing in the city (*cittadini-civili* and *popolo*), while at the lowest level were the Orthodox Greek-peasants, both unfree and free.

It was against this social backdrop that there gradually emerged the new identities of Latin Greece that materialised on the basis of composite "ethnic", religious and social constituents. At the start, the divisions were founded mainly on differences of rite: the ruling upper class was closely identified with the western Catholics and the socially inferior, ruled populations with the Greek-Orthodox. Although one's religious affiliation remained a constant feature of differentiation between Latins and Greeks throughout the period of

Latin dominion, the entry of a certain number of Greeks into the administration and the upper social ranks eventually led to the formation of novel social identities.

Meanwhile, the progressive osmosis that had already commenced in the 13th century in some of the regions, such as the Principality of Achaea and later in Hospitaller Rhodes and the Ionian Islands, brought about an increasing degree of rapprochement between the Latins and Greeks of the upper echelons, their basic commonality being their shared social status and, concomitantly, their differentiation from the other mainly Orthodox social strata, this last often resulting in clashes between them.

A similar spirit of compromise is to be noted in the Greek lands under Venetian rule, though principally after the 15th century, under the influence of the Ottoman advance. Thus, despite the prevailing social differences and ideological antagonisms, the Greek-Venetian territories were enriched by an inflow of institutions and cultural movements from western Europe, which crossed creatively with elements of the local tradition, and served as a bridge between Catholic western and Orthodox eastern Europe.

CHAPTER 5

# The Latin and Greek Churches in former Byzantine Lands under Latin Rule

*Nicholas Coureas*

The Latins and the papacy already possessed experience in ruling over Greeks well over a century prior to the Fourth Crusade of 1204 and the resultant conquest of peninsular Greece, Crete, and the Aegean and Ionian Islands. Latin states had been founded in the coastal areas of Syria and Palestine after the successful First Crusade of 1099, while the Normans had conquered southern Italy and Sicily in the second half of the 11th century. Greek churches, monasteries and communities existed in all these areas, Sicily had a substantial Greek population and southern Italy, in particular Calabria, was predominantly Greek. In this chapter the establishment of Latin Churches in Cyprus, conquered by the King Richard I of England in 1191 during the Third Crusade, as well as in Constantinople, Thessalonica, Crete, Athens, the Peloponnese and the Aegean and Ionian Islands after 1204 and their relations with their Greek counterparts will be examined and discussed. Salient features of this discussion will be how the papacy regarded the Greek Church, the divergence between theory and practice in the implementation of papal policy towards the Greeks, and how the relations between Latin and Greek Churches exhibited strong regional divergences, to some extent attributable to the Latin secular powers ruling over specific Greek lands.

The Greeks considered the Roman Catholic Church to be distinct from their own, and the discussion here will regard them as separate institutions. The papacy, however, did not consider the Greek Church to be distinct. Unlike other eastern Christian sects, Jacobites, Copts, Armenians, Maronites and Nestorians which were doctrinally monophysite, miaphysite or monothelite, the Greek Church was Chalcedonian, like the Roman acknowledging two natures of Christ.[1] For the papacy the Greek Church presented a jurisdictional obstacle, not a doctrinal one, in that its clergy refused to recognise papal primacy and the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic Church. This made them schismatics, not heretics, and meant that as insubordinate Roman Catholics they had to be

1 Bernard Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: The Secular Church* (London, 1980), p. 159.

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compelled to acknowledge papal jurisdiction, while being allowed to maintain those customs and rites of theirs that did not conflict with the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church they formed part of, a position articulated clearly during the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215. The fact that the Greeks were considered a part of the Roman Catholic Church also meant that besides jurisdictional submission, the Greek secular church had to have the same bishops as its Latin counterpart, for western canon law prohibited more than one bishop in each diocese.[2] The implementation of this policy inevitably meant the abolition of Greek dioceses superceded by Latin ones created after the Latin conquests of lands with Greek populations and the replacement of Greek by Latin bishops in those remaining. How the policies of jurisdictional submission and episcopal restructuring were applied forms the subject of the first section of this paper.

## The Latin and Greek Secular Churches

Cyprus was the second chiefly Greek territory that the Latins conquered from Byzantium after southern Italy. It was conquered by King Richard I of England in 1191, in the course of the Third Crusade, and sold by him first to the Templars, who returned it following an uprising of the Greeks, and then to Guy de Lusignan, the dispossessed king of Jerusalem, who established a French Roman Catholic dynasty which ruled the island for the next 300 years.[3] Given that the Latins conquered Cyprus just over a decade before the Fourth Crusade of 1204, resulting in the conquest of Constantinople, much of continental Greece and the Aegean and Ionian Islands and the establishment of Frankish or Venetian dominion there, the establishment of a Latin Church in Cyprus in 1196, under Pope Celestine III, was a precedent for what followed in Constantinople and Latin Greece after the Fourth Crusade.[4] The relations of the Latin secular church with its Greek counterpart on this island shall therefore be discussed first.

Following the Latin conquest of Cyprus Guy de Lusignan encouraged Latin nobles as well as Latin and Syrian burgesses and craftsmen to settle there. For the most part they originated from the territories of Latin Syria conquered and

2 Nicholas Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus, 1195–1312* (Aldershot, 1997), p. 261.

3 Peter Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades 1191–1374* (Cambridge, 1991; 2nd ed. 1994), pp. 5–9.

4 See Michael Angold, *The Fourth Crusade: Event and Context* (Harlow, 2003), pp. 129–62; Peter Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean, 1204–1500* (Harlow, 1995), pp. 1–8; Nicholas Coureas and Christopher Schabel, eds., *The Cartulary of the Cathedral of the Holy Wisdom of Nicosia* (Nicosia, 1997), nos. 1–4.

retained by Saladin in 1187. Therefore in dealing with non-Latin Christians, Greeks and others, on Cyprus the new Latin rulers drew on their previous experience in Latin Syria.[5] The Latin clergy arriving in Cyprus following the establishment of a Latin Church, however, originated for the most part from western Europe as opposed to Latin Syria, and their treatment of the native Greek episcopate recalls practices first implemented in southern Italy and Sicily.[6] The adverse effects of the Latin conquest of Cyprus, which caused the flight of the Byzantine nobles who were a source of patronage, on the finances of the Greek Church and the structure of the native Greek episcopacy are recorded early in the 13th century. In referring to the election of Isaias as the new Greek archbishop of Cyprus, sometime between 1200 and 1205, the synodal report of the Greek patriarch of Constantinople, resident in Nicaea in exile after the Latin conquest of Constantinople, alluded to "a time of economy", stating as follows:

> Indeed in any of the bishoprics becoming vacant, should there be anything impeding the establishment of other bishops, the existing bishops should become enthroned in the boundaries of the churches thereby made bereft.[7]

The above passage indicates how economic necessity was causing the amalgamation of Greek bishoprics in Cyprus barely a decade following the establishment of a Latin Church in 1196. The Latin Church established under Pope Celestine III consisted of a Latin archbishop of Nicosia and three suffragan bishops of Paphos, Limassol and Famagusta. The relevant bull lists "the tithes of those areas in Cyprus that belong to the church of Nicosia" and eight of the localities listed in the Latin archdiocese of Nicosia were Greek bishoprics. The Latins' unfamiliarity with Greek episcopal boundaries resulted in two such localities awarded to the Latin archbishop in 1196 being awarded to the Latin bishop of Famagusta in 1197.[8] One observes that the German traveller

5 Jean Richard, "Le peuplement latin et syrien en Chypre au XIII^e siècle," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 7 (1979), 157–73, repr. in idem, *Croisés, missionnaires et voyageurs* (Aldershot, 1983), VII.

6 Peter Herde, "The Papacy and the Greek Church in Southern Italy between the Eleventh and the Thirteenth Century," in *The Society of Norman Italy*, ed. Graham A. Loud and Alex Metcalfe (Leiden, 2002), pp. 216–24; Graham A. Loud, *The Latin Church in Norman Italy* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 495–99.

7 Coureas, *Latin Church 1195–1312*, p. 254.

8 Peter Edbury, "Latin dioceses and Peristerona: A Contribution to the Topography of Lusignan Cyprus," *Επετηρίς Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών* 8 (1978), 45–46; Coureas and Schabel, *Cartulary*, no. 8; Coureas, *Latin Church*, pp. 85–86.

Wilbrand of Oldenburg, who visited Cyprus in 1211, stated that 13 Greek bishops, including one archbishop, existed on the island, an indication that one of the original 14 Greek bishoprics had by then ceased to exist, although it is not known which one. Furthermore, one observes that the cities of Byzantine Cyprus numbered from 13 to 15, as some rose to prominence and declined with the passage of time, so the number of 14 bishoprics in Byzantine Cyprus is not absolutely certain.[9]

The recently established Latin Church became more interventionist towards its Greek counterpart in Cyprus in the years 1220 and 1223, when agreements regulating the relations of the Cypriot Latin Church with the crown and the nobility were concluded at Limassol and then ratified by Pope Honorius III. The agreements also affected the Greek Church, even though it had not been party to them, especially as regarded the episcopal structure. Pope Honorius III desired the abolition of all Greek bishoprics in Cyprus, an objective opposed by Queen Alice, who feared the unrest this might cause. The Greek Church was not party to the agreements of these years, which the Lusignan crown, the Latin secular Church and the Latin military orders reached with the assistance of the papal legate Cardinal Pelagius of Albano, with final confirmation given by the pope. They provided for the retention of only four Greek bishops, each of whom was to reside in a remote locality within the diocese of the Latin diocesan he was jurisdictionally subject to. These bishops were bishops in name only inasmuch as they lacked full episcopal powers. They had no territorial jurisdiction, a vital prerequisite for them to be considered bishops *pleno iure*, simply exercising spiritual jurisdiction over the Greek regular and secular clergy and the Greek laity within the dioceses of their Latin diocesans. Furthermore, the Latin diocesans could annul their elections if they considered them uncanonical and could conduct visitations at fixed times of the year.[10] These provisions were added, confirmed and articulated more expressly in the 1260 agreement concluded in Rome under Pope Alexander IV and known as the *Bulla Cypria*, which regulated relations between the Latin and Greek Churches in Cyprus until the Ottoman conquest of 1570.[11]

9 Claude D. Cobham, ed. and trans., *Excerpta Cypria: Materials for a History of Cyprus* (Cambridge, 1908), p. 13; George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1940–1952), 1:262–71; Pierre-Vincent Claverie, *Honorius III et l'Orient* (*1216–1227*) (Leiden, 2013), p. 211.

10 Coureas and Schabel, *Cartulary*, nos. 82–86; Coureas, *Latin Church 1195–1312*, pp. 259–80; Claverie, *Honorius III*, pp. 212–13.

11 Coureas and Schabel, *Cartulary*, no. 78; Christopher Schabel, trans., *The Synodicum Nicosiense and Other Documents of the Latin Church of Cyprus, 1196–1373* (Nicosia, 2001), pp. 311–20.

The provisions previously applied to the Greek episcopacy in Sicily, southern Italy and Latin Syria, as well as those of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, clearly influenced the formulation of the agreements concluded in 13th-century Cyprus.

The Latin patriarchs of Jerusalem appointed Orthodox coadjutors, bishops in name but without territorial jurisdiction, in the 12th century, as recorded by Jacques de Vitry, the Latin bishop of Acre (1216–28). Such bishops, subject to the Latin diocesan bishops, existed in Sidon, Lydda, Acre and Gaza. In addition, the fact that ethnic Syrians as opposed to Byzantine Greeks obtained these offices once Latin states were established as a result of the First Crusade greatly facilitated their acceptance of this arrangement.[12] This practice was given expression in the ninth canon of the Fourth Lateran Council, which while expressly prohibiting the existence of more than one bishop in each diocese, stated that the bishop in areas where more than one rite was practiced should originate from the rite of the majority and could appoint a vicar or *presul* from the minority rite to assist him in ministering to its members.[13] In Sicily and southern Italy, however, sustained Latin immigration gradually tilted the ethnic balance so that Greeks became minorities in areas where they had previously predominated, so that sometimes, as in Crotone, the Greek bishop had to practise both rites during the transition. Contemporary Roman Catholic canon never defined the juridical status of such *presules* with exactitude. The designation *presul* was often used as a synonym for bishop in the terminology of the conciliar canon, but the wording employed shows that this designation could never refer to a second bishop in the same diocese, but only to a substitute under the diocesan's jurisdiction. The canonist Tancred stated that the diocesan was empowered to either appoint a suitable cleric for the pastoral care of those following a rite other than his own or else to appoint a bishop for them, whom he should make his vicar. This designation of vicar makes it clear that the person appointed, even if called a bishop, would have no territorial jurisdiction and so would never be a bishop *pleno iure*.[14]

Tancred's opinion was applied in practice throughout former Byzantine and even Muslim territories whose Greek populations were now under Latin rule. Following the capture of Constantinople in 1204 Pope Innocent III, despite expressing initial indignation at the reports of Latin atrocities against

12 Hamilton, *Latin Church in the Crusader States*, pp. 182–84.

13 Joseph Alberigo et al., eds., *Concilium Oecumenicorum Decreta* (Bologna, 1972), p. 215, no. 9.

14 Peter Herde, "The Papacy and the Greek Church," pp. 226–28 and 240–50.

the Greeks, as well as by their arrogation of Greek ecclesiastical properties, nonetheless came to accept the conquest as ultimately facilitating the submission of the Greek Church to Rome. This impelled him to eventually accept Tomasso Morosini as the new Latin patriarch of Constantinople in 1205, notwithstanding the fact that he had been elected uncanonically.[15] The rivalries between the Franks and Venetians in Constantinople over control of the Latin patriarchate continued, with the first three patriarchs being Venetians. In 1226 Pope Honorius appointed the Frenchman Jean Halgrin, who had helped preach the Fifth Crusade but declined the post citing ill health. The next Latin patriarch in 1229 was Simon de Maugastel, of unknown national origin, and in 1233 the Piacenzan Nicholas, after whose death in 1251 the Venetian Pantaleone Giustiniani was appointed in 1253. He was the last resident Latin patriarch, for by then the Latin Empire was moribund, and in 1261 the Byzantines reconquered Constantinople.[16] All this was still in the future in 1204 when the Greek ecumenical patriarch of Constantinople, John X Camateros, fled first to Selymbria and then to Didymoteichon, declining Theodore Laskaris's offer to re-establish the ecumenical patriarchate in Nicaea and dying in exile in 1206. The pope instructed the new Latin patriarch to have vacant episcopal sees with a Greek population filled by Greek bishops loyal to Rome, and those with a mixed Latin and Greek population by Latins, the implicit assumption being that the Greeks is such sees would be ministered by a *protopapas*, namely a Greek arch-priest acting as the Latin bishop's vicar, as was happening in parts of Sicily and southern Italy.[17]

In practice the situation on the ground was more complex. Some Greek bishops, such as those of Rhaedestos (Rodosto) and Euboea (Negroponte) did submit to Rome, and Pope Innocent III stated that they did not need reconsecration after the Latin manner. One observes that Patriarch Morosini also attempted to have newly installed Latin archbishops placed under his jurisdiction, not always with success. Pope Innocent III rejected his claim in 1206 that the Latin archbishop of Cyprus came under his jurisdiction on the

15 Joan Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 186–88; Robert Lee Wolff, "Politics in the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, 1204–1261," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 8 (1954), 227–29; idem, "The Organization of the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, 1204–1261," *Traditio* 6 (1948), 33–35; Lock, *Franks*, pp. 196–99.

16 Wolff, "Politics," pp. 229–30 and 283–95; Claverie, *Honorius III*, pp. 148–49.

17 Hussey, *Orthodox Church*, pp. 188–89; Lock, *Franks*, p. 187; Wolff, "Organization," pp. 34–35; Jean Richard, "The Establishment of the Latin Church in the Empire of Constantinople (1204–1227)," in *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. Benjamin Arbel, Bernard Hamilton and David Jacoby (London, 1989) [= *Mediterranean Historical Review* 4:1 (1989)], p. 47; Claverie, *Honorius III*, pp. 205–06.

grounds that the previous disobedience Constantinople had shown Rome in Byzantine times had annulled any rights of jurisdiction it ever possessed over Cyprus. Antelm the Latin archbishop of Patras also persuaded the pope in April 1207 to confirm him eventually, citing alleged difficulties in travelling to Constantinople, but in this instance the pope granted it with the proviso that this concession in no way prejudiced the Latin patriarch's jurisdiction over his archbishopric. Yet some time prior to June 1222 the papal legate John Colonna declared the archdiocese of Patras exempt from the jurisdiction of the Latin patriarch of Constantinople, a decision Pope Honorius III confirmed in July 1222. This pope granted similar exemptions to the archdiocese of Ainos in Thrace and the diocese of Madyte.[18]

Not all Greek prelates submitted to the incoming Latin clergy. In Athens, Corinth, Patras and Crete, the Greek metropolitan archbishops fled to Nicaea, and the prevailing practice was for such Greek prelates to be succeeded by Latins. As had happened in Cyprus, a reduction in episcopal sees occurred. Tomasso Morosini proposed this measure and the pope confirmed the decisions of his legates to grant the administration of vacant dioceses to the bishops of adjacent ones, which resulted in practice in the unification of sees with increasing frequency, although at times it provoked resistance. Some time after 1222 Pope Honorius III united the see of Marmara to that of Heracleia, confirming a previous act of the papal legate John Colonna. He also united two bishoprics in Asia Minor previously subject to Ephesus as well as the bishopric of Chios, previously subject to Rhodes, to the archbishopric of Lesbos.[19] In 1224 the bishop of Oreos complained to the pope that the bishop of Euboea had taken advantage of the unification of the see of Oreos with that of Euboea so as to appoint a Greek priest as his vicar at that bishop's expense, a clear case of a *protopapas* displacing an established bishop. It is, moreover, possible that some such vicars had been secretly consecrated as bishops so as to ordain Greek priests according to the Greek as opposed to the Latin rite, a phenomenon noted by the papal legate John of St Praxedes, who stated in 1218 that some Greeks "had secretly been given holy orders by persons other than their own

18 Wolff, "Organization," pp. 35–37 and 40; Richard, "Latin Church in Constantinople," p. 47; Coureas, *Latin Church 1195–1312*, p. 90; Christopher Schabel, "Antelm the Nasty, First Latin Archbishop of Patras (1205–ca.1241)," in *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean 1000–1500*, ed. Alexander D. Beihammer, Maria G. Parani and Christopher D. Schabel (Leiden, 2008), pp. 98–99; Claverie, *Honorius III*, p. 186.

19 Hussey, *Orthodox Church*, pp. 192 and 198; Wolff, "Organization," pp. 44–46; Richard, "Latin Church in Constantinople," pp. 48–49.

bishops".[20] As will be seen below, by the 14th century Greek clerics in lands under Latin rule such as Rhodes and Crete were travelling to Byzantine territories to be ordained, a practice that the papacy and the Latin lay powers expressly prohibited.[21]

In the Peloponnese, the conquest of which was a protracted affair compared with that of Cyprus and Constantinople, considerable changes to the episcopal structure occurred. In Byzantine times the archbishopric of Patras had ranked below that of Corinth, but this order was reversed after the Latin conquest. The Byzantine archbishopric of Patras had exercised jurisdiction over the suffragan bishoprics of Lacedaemon, Olena, Amyclae (Nikli), Coron, Modon, Helos and Kernitsa. Most Greek bishops in the Peloponnese fled before the Latin invaders, and Archbishop Antelm reported this to Pope Innocent III sometime before 19 April 1207, on which date the pope instructed him in writing to recall them several times but to have them deposed by Cardinal Benedict of Santa Susanna and replaced by "suitable persons" if their sees remained vacant for over six months, although whether such persons were to be Latin or Greeks is not specified.[22] The pope likewise instructed the Latin archbishop of Athens and the bishops of Thermopylae and Zeitouni in 1210 to induce the Greek archbishop of Corinth to submit to Rome if he were found within the city, under siege and expected to fall soon to the Latins, otherwise to remove him and appoint a Latin in his stead, as would also be done if he were not found in residence. A new bishop for Lacedaemon (Sparta) was appointed under Pope Honorius III, who also appointed Peter directly to the bishopric of Olena, despite its subjection to the archdiocese of Patras.[23]

The Greek bishop of the Ionian Island of Zakynthos who remained following the Latin conquest was allegedly disobedient to Rome and dissolute in his lifestyle. In a letter Pope Innocent III wrote on 19 September 1207 to Archbishop Antelm he told him to warn the bishop to reform, failing which he was to be replaced. The see of Zakynthos had been under the jurisdiction of the archbishopric of Corinth in Byzantine times, although whether it was now transferred to that of Patras is unclear. Sometime before August 1213 the bishop

20 Richard, "Latin Church in Constantinople," p. 48.

21 Zacharias N. Tsirpanlis, ed., *Ανέκδοτα έγγραφα για τη Ρόδο και τις Νότιες Σποράδες από το Αρχείο των Ιωαννιτών Ιπποτών, 1 (1421–1453): εισαγωγή, διπλωματική έκδοση, σχόλια* [*Unpublished Documents on Rhodes and the Southern Sporades from the Hospitaller Archive, 1 (1421–1453): Introduction, Diplomatic Edition, Commentary*] (Rhodes, 1995), p. 206; Hussey, *Orthodox Church*, p. 199.

22 Schabel, "Antelm the Nasty," pp. 101–02.

23 Wolff, "Organization," pp. 34–35; Claverie, *Honorius III*, p. 148.

of another Ionian bishopric, that of Cephalonia, had written to the pope maintaining that although his bishopric had been subject to Rome directly "ab antiquo", the Latin archbishop of Corinth was maintaining that he was jurisdictionally subject to him. In fact the see of Cephalonia in Byzantine times had been subject to the archbishops of Corinth, and the incumbent bishop was clearly striving to place his see directly under the pope, *nullo medio*. The pope simply told Archbishop Antelm of Patras to examine this issue and prevent the archbishop of Corinth in the meantime from troubling the bishop of Cephalonia. The town of Andravida, despite assertions to the contrary, was not elevated to a bishopric under the incoming Latins but was considered an archdeaconate in the diocese of Olena.[24]

In the Peloponnese as in Cyprus and Constantinople a fusion of dioceses took place. On 24 April, on the basis of Pope Honorius III's letter granting permission to change the diocesan structure, Cardinal John Colonna in March 1222 had the diocese of Kernitsa absorbed into the archdiocese of Patras, that of Christianoupolis divided between those of Modon and Coron and that of Veligosti absorbed into that of Coron. In addition, Zakynthos was annexed to Cephalonia and Amyclae to Lacedaemon, with Cephalonia placed under the jurisdiction of Patras and Lacedaemon under that of Corinth some time before 1228. The see of Zemaina was united to Corinth, while that of Damala was divided, with one half going to Corinth and the other half to Argos, a suffragan see of Corinth.[25] One observes that Coron, Modon and some Ionian Islands had been conquered by Venice as a result of the Fourth Crusade, and so the Latin archdioceses in the Peloponnese included sees under Venetian as well as Frankish domination. In the Venetian-ruled dioceses of Coron and Modon the Greek bishops were compelled to reside outside the city walls, a situation reminiscent of Cyprus, where after 1223 the Greek bishops were likewise forced to live in villages within the new Latin dioceses but far from the diocesan capital. Such Greek bishops had no territorial jurisdiction and limited powers, like their counterparts in Sicily, Crete and Cyprus. It is noteworthy, however, that such Greek bishops acting as coadjutors or vicars of the Latin ordinary are not recorded in the Frankish Peloponnese, only in the areas under Venetian rule.[26]

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24 Wolff, "Organization," p. 40; Nicholas Coureas, "The Establishment of the Latin Secular Church at Patras under Pope Innocent III: Comparisons and Contrasts with Cyprus," *Mésogeios* 13–14 (2001), 147–48; Schabel, "Antelm the Nasty," pp. 103–04.

25 Wolff, "Organization," pp. 45–46; Schabel, "Antelm the Nasty," pp. 104–05; Claverie, *Honorius III*, pp. 169–70.

26 Hussey, *Orthodox Church*, p. 198; Coureas, "Church at Patras," pp. 149–50.

A Latin ecclesiastical structure was established in Macedonia, Attica and in the regions of central Greece, although the conquest of the Latin Kingdom of Thessalonica in 1224 by Theodore the despot of Epirus meant that Latin clergy disappeared from Macedonia. By 1222, for example, the Latin archbishop of Larissa had been forced into exile by Despot Theodore of Epirus' expansion into Thessaly, although in 1224 Pope Honorius III entrusted him with the application of an agreement concerning the chapter of St Demetrius in Thessalonica, consisting of regular and secular canons subject to the Order of the Holy Sepulchre. Boniface of Montferrat had claimed the Kingdom of Thessalonica in 1204, and following his death in battle in 1207 his wife Margaret, once married to the late Byzantine emperor Isaac Angelos (1185–95) ruled on behalf of her under-age son Demetrios, the first crowned king of Thessalonica, and allegedly favoured Greek prelates. In autumn 1208 Pope Innocent III reported that the Latin archbishop of Larissa had complained to him that Margaret was restricting the movement of Latin abbots and abbesses and favouring Greek bishops, and in 1210 she was accused of supporting the Greek suffragan bishops who had refused obedience to the Latin archbishop of Larissa, with the pope instructing the Latin archbishop of Neopatras and the bishops-elect of Nezero and Kitros to make her withhold this support. By then, however, some Greek clergy had offered obedience to Rome, and in March 1210 the pope instructed the bishops of Thermopylae and Gardiki to protect them.[27] In the Greek ecclesiastical province of Thessalonica, consisting of an archbishopric and 11 suffragan bishoprics, there were five Greek bishops under the Latin archbishop Garinus according to a letter of 1213 written by the Greek archbishop Demetrios Chomatianos of Ochrid, although he says nothing about the other six bishoprics. Fusions of bishoprics also took place in central and northern Greece. That of Megara was placed under the archbishop of Athens, those of Carystos, Avlona and Oreas were united to Euboea and that of Avilon was united to the bishopric of Castoria, a suffragan bishopric of the archdiocese of Thebes. An attempt by the cathedral chapter of Avlona to have their suppressed bishopric reestablished, that was made under Pope Gregory IX, was unresolved as late as 1240 and seems to have failed.[28]

In Athens Duke Otto de la Roche founded a dynasty that would rule the city until the Catalan conquest of 1311, and sometime before 1208 the Latin archbishop appointed was Bérard, who replaced the Greek archbishop Michael Choniates, then living in exile on the Aegean island of Kea and who subsequently may have moved on to Thessalonica. In 1208 Bishop Theodore

27 Wolff, "Organization," pp. 37–39 and 46; Claverie, *Honorius III*, pp. 141–42.

28 Wolff, "Organization," pp. 39–40 and 46–47.

of Euboea, mentioned above as having submitted to Rome, complained to the pope that Archbishop Bérard had ejected him and had installed his own nominee, causing the pope to instruct the archbishop of Neopatras and two other Latin prelates to have him reinstated. Other island dioceses subject to the Latin archbishop of Athens included Andros and Kea. In 1210 the pope instructed Archbishop Bérard to appoint a Latin priest in every locality in which 12 or more Latins resided permanently.[29] This instruction is noteworthy, for in general the Latin secular church in Greece and Cyprus lacked organisation below the level of bishops and cathedral chapters. Latin parishes were few and the Latin secular churches were invariably centred on towns. The Latin cathedral chapters as well as Latin bishoprics suffered from the absenteeism of the incumbent bishops and canons. In Patras the problem was compounded when Archbishop Antelm in 1210 triggered a conflict in his ultimately failed attempt to replace the secular canons of the chapter by regular canons from St Rufus in Valence near Lyon, a dispute the seculars won by 1222.[30]

Abuses were perpetrated by members of the Latin secular church in Greece, who included persons not properly ordained or not even qualified. An archdeacon appointed to the see of Corinth in 1213 by the legate Cardinal Pelagius of Albano had to wait five years before receiving the incomes attached to his office and in the 1220s the election of the Latin archbishop of Thebes was revoked on account of his illiteracy. In 1215 the Latin archbishop of Corinth and two bishops were deposed because of their complicity in a murder. In 1227 the bishop of Olena, accused of ill treating his canons, fleecing the clerics of his diocese and torturing peasants who had rejected his authority was deposed under Pope Gregory IX. In 1233 this pope also began proceedings against the archdeacon of Athens, who had been demanding money payments from the Greeks for performing marriages instead of the traditional cockerel and loaf of bread. In 1239 the cathedral chapter of Cephalonia complained of how the incumbent Latin bishop had neglected his pastoral duties, dissipated the church's incomes, had taken a concubine and had children by her and had allowed Greek priests to buy canonical prebends, thereby committing simony. In perpetrating abuses, however, none seem to have equalled, let alone surpassed Archbishop Antelm of Patras. A letter of Pope Honorius III of 10 June 1224 records him as squandering church funds, exercising physical violence against Latin and Greek clerics, which included incarceration, gouging their eyes out, floggings, and in

29 Wolff, "Organization," pp. 36 and 41; Hussey, *Orthodox Church*, pp. 190 and 192.

30 Sally McKee, *Uncommon Dominion: Venetian Crete and the Myth of Ethnic Purity* (Philadelphia, 2000), p. 106; Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus 1313–1378* (Nicosia, 2010), p. 447; Schabel, "Antelm the Nasty," pp. 100–01.

extreme cases resulted in their deaths. Furthermore, he harboured pirates, celebrated mass after acts of violence without first obtaining absolution, forged documents, promoted excommunicate clergy, maintained incontinent clergy and was himself incontinent, extorted vast sums of money, destroyed abbeys, had Templars killed and granted indulgences to those killing them, even in his presence. He was punished for perpetrating these appalling acts by being suspended from his pontifical duties for one year, in which he was to live in a monastery. This punishment, hardly proportionate to his crimes, must have done little to deter clerical abuses.[31]

In Latin Syria and Cyprus, as stated above, the Greek vicars of the Latin diocesans were titled bishops, but in Crete, a Venetian colony from 1211 until the Ottomans conquered it in 1669, the vicars appointed were never titled bishops. Furthermore, disagreement over who they were accountable to arose between the papacy and Venice. The Greek metropolitan Nicholas of Crete and three of his suffragans fled to Nicaea, where a Byzantine Empire in exile had been established, after the Venetian conquest, and of the ten Orthodox bishops definitely one and perhaps another three acknowledged the primacy of Rome. A Latin archbishop replaced Nicholas, with ten Latin suffragan bishops under his jurisdiction. Until the 14th century the Latin archbishop of Crete had 130 Greek priests under his direct jurisdiction, but the remainder who formed the great majority of Greek priests in Crete came under the jurisdiction of the local secular Venetian administration. In 1324 the Venetian government conceded that the priests under its jurisdiction were also subject to the Latin archbishop of Crete, but only to the same extent as lay persons. At the head of this great majority of Greek priests was a *protopapas*, namely an arch-priest as opposed to a bishop, an arrangement that had already been applied in parts of southern Italy with mixed Latin and Greek populations. Whether the Venetian secular administration or the Latin archbishop should appoint him was a bone of contention until 1402, when Venice decreed that the secular administration alone should appoint the *protopapas*, who was to originate exclusively from those priests under its jurisdiction.[32]

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31 Wolff, "Organization", p. 43; Schabel, "Antelm the Nasty," pp. 129–33; Claverie, *Honorius III*, pp. 145, 158–61 and 191.

32 Freddy Thiriet, ed., *Délibérations des assemblées vénitiennes concernant la Romanie: 1160–1463*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1966–67), 1: no. 668 for the number of 130 priests; Hussey, *Orthodox Church*, pp. 199–200; McKee, *Uncommon Dominion*, pp. 104–07; Zacharias N. Tsirpanlis, *Το κληροδότημα του καρδιναλίου Βησσαρίωνος για τους φιλενωτικούς της Βενετοκρατούμενης Κρήτης (1439–17ος αι)* [*The Bequest of Cardinal Bessarion for the Uniates of Venetian Crete (1439–17th Century)*] (Thessalonica, 1967), p. 29.

The papacy appointed a Greek vicar for those priests under the jurisdiction of the Latin archbishop of Crete in 1326, when Pope John XXII instructed Archbishop Alexander, a Dominican, to have appointed a Greek as the *presul* for the pastoral care of the Greeks. The papal letter does not make clear whether his authority extended to all the Greek priests or only to those subject to Archbishop Alexander's jurisdiction, nor does it refer to him as a bishop, as Joseph Gill and Sally McKee titled him. The letter that Pope Urban V wrote to the Latin archbishop of Crete in July 1368, expressly instructed him to prohibit the ordination of Greek priests by a person other than a Latin bishop or a Greek Catholic, and likewise accords no ecclesiastical rank to the latter, although Joseph Gill considered him to hold episcopal office. Georgios Rampani, whom the Latin archbishop of Crete appointed as archpriest (*protopapas*) of those Greek clergy under the archbishop's jurisdiction, had no episcopal title.[33] One observes that the papacy and Venice, despite their differences over which of them should exercise jurisdiction over the Greek clergy of Crete, were united in their resolve to prohibit the entry of Greek bishops, priests and monks from outside Crete who did not accept papal primacy, or to allow Greek Cretan clergy ordained outside the island by such clergy to exercise their ministry within it.

The situation in Crete, where two Latin authorities, the papacy and Venice, were in dispute over the exercise of jurisdiction over the Greek Church found its parallel in Rhodes, conquered by the Hospitallers from Byzantium in around 1309. Few Latins resided in Rhodes, a situation similar to the other smaller Greek islands of the Aegean, and the Latin archbishop of Rhodes, who had displaced the Greek metropolitan following the conquest, was provided for by the pope, a situation prevailing from the 14th century onwards in Cyprus, Crete and Latin Greece in general, although the Latin cathedral chapters in 13th-century Cyprus had been more active in electing bishops and the archbishop of Nicosia. One notes that cathedral chapters in the Latin churches of former Byzantine territories, consisting of secular canons, were not large. Their size when known ranged from 12 at Athens, Thebes and Nicosia, to 24 at Constantinople, with most Latin dioceses having far fewer chapter members, Limassol for example having only six. The Latin archbishop of Rhodes had two suffragans, the bishops of Kos and Nisyros, and enjoyed *iurisdictio libera* over the lay and clerical Greeks of Rhodes, which meant that he was entitled to perform episcopal visitations and received the required procuration payments

33 Aloysius L. Tautu, ed., *Acta Ioannis XXII (1317–1334)*, PC/CICO (Rome, 1952), no. 81; Aloysius L. Tautu, ed., *Acta Urbani PP. V*, PC/CICO (Rome, 1964), no. 153; Joseph Gill, "Pope Urban V (1362–1370) and the Greeks of Crete," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 39 (1973), 461–68.

on such occasions. Yet numerous Latin secular priests in Rhodes as well as the Greek Church were jurisdictionally subject to the Hospitallers, not the Latin secular church.[34]

When surrendering under conditions in 1309, the Rhodians formally acknowledged the primacy of the Roman Catholic Church, while maintaining their Greek rite and clergy, but the Hospitallers exercised this primacy, not the Latin archbishop. The Greek patriarch of Constantinople continued to appoint bishops of Rhodes until 1369, after which the office was held by other Greek metropolitans, but these bishops never set foot on Rhodes, and although in 1357 the patriarch wrote to the clergy and laity on Rhodes that Archbishop Neilos would arrive to ordain priests and deacons and to consecrate churches it is doubtful that this was implemented. The Greek metropolitan church in the town of Rhodes was administered by a *dikaios* or dean, and Greek clergy resident in Rhodes were being ordained or consecrated by someone on Crete or elsewhere without synodal mandate, as the patriarch complained in his letter. The Greek metropolitan church in Rhodes town maintained Greek clerics, notaries and officers of the ecclesiastical court that arbitrated over issues involving only Greeks, although the original Greek metropolitan church was transformed after the conquest into a Latin cathedral for the archbishop. By the early 15th century, however, Greek bishops are attested in residence on Rhodes, Kos and Castellorizo, although the last of them seems to have been the bishop of a see in adjacent Asia Minor, since this tiny island was never a bishopric.[35]

In the Cyclades, likewise under Venetian rule, a pattern similar to Crete emerged although one observes that no amalgamation of bishoprics took place, unlike other Greek areas of Byzantium conquered by Latins. Instead, the seven Greek bishoprics of the Byzantine period simply became seven Latin ones, their Greek incumbents likewise replaced by Latins. In the Byzantine periods all these bishoprics had been subject to the archdiocese of Paros-Naxos but following the Latin conquest the sees of Andros and Kea were made

34 Anthony Luttrell, *The Town of Rhodes, 1306–1356* (Rhodes, 2003), pp. 75–78 and 100–03; Tsirpanlis, *Ανέκδοτα Έγγραφα*, pp. 210–11; Anthony Luttrell, "The Latins and Life on the Smaller Aegean Islands, 1204–1453," in *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean*, pp. 146–57; Coureas, *Latin Church 1195–1312*, pp. 69–80 and 96; idem, *Latin Church 1313–1378*, p. 251; Lock, *Franks*, p. 211; Claverie, *Honorius III*, p. 142.

35 Anthony Luttrell, "The Greeks of Rhodes under Hospitaller Rule: 1306–1421," *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* n.s. 29 (1992), 211, repr. in *idem, The Hospitaller State on Rhodes and its Western Provinces, 1306–1462* (Aldershot, 1999), III; Luttrell, *Town of Rhodes*, pp. 124–29; Tsirpanlis, *Ανέκδοτα Έγγραφα*, pp. 204–08.

subject to the Latin archbishop of Athens, as stated above. The Latin bishops' flocks were generally small since the majority of the population continued to follow the Greek rite, although over time the Latin element increased in some islands, notably Tenos and Syros. In general they were ordained from among Latin clergy native to the island. It is noteworthy that the genesis of an indigenous Latin clergy in the Cyclades marks these islands out from other parts of the Greek speaking world, notably Crete, Cyprus and the Peloponnese, where the Latin clergy were recruited chiefly from western Europe. Latin bishops were usually papal nominees as opposed to persons elected by the cathedral chapters, a phenomenon also encountered elsewhere in Greek lands under Latin rule. On occasion the papacy nominated absentee bishops from western Europe who never set foot in these islands, a situation that suited the local Latin clergy inasmuch as the episcopal revenues remained with them. On Naxos and Tenos, however, the Latin bishops were resident.[36]

The local Venetian lords, while agreeing with the papacy in not wanting Greek bishops subject to the Byzantine patriarch of Constantinople, otherwise did not harm the Greek Church. Indeed they had new churches constructed during the Latin period, something true for other Greek lands under Latin rule. The Greek clergy of the islands were under the leadership of a *protopapas* as in Crete. Such *protopapades* are recorded in Tenos, Kythnos and Melos and they acted as mediators between the Greeks and the Latin secular rulers and bishops. Certain Greek churches, notably former Greek cathedrals, were turned into Latin cathedrals or churches but the Greek Church retained considerable property, and a 14th-century Byzantine source records the Greek church of Naxos as enjoying considerable incomes. Indeed, in the smaller Aegean islands the only Latin churches would have been garrison chapels, with Latins using Greek priests and churches for their pastoral needs. The lack of a Latin bishop for five years on the island of Melos caused even Latin families to have recourse to the Greek Church for baptism and other sacraments. In 1253 Pope Innocent IV rectified this situation by having the cantor of Crete appointed bishop there. On the smaller islands, other than garrison chapels, the Latins must have availed themselves of Greek priests and churches, and some Greek churches had separate altars so that both the Greek and the Latin rites could be celebrated. Such churches existed in Naxos, as well as in Cyprus. Nonetheless, the Latin rite did penetrate some of these smaller islands. Buondelmonti wrote

36 Benjamin J. Slot, *Archipelagus Turbatus: Les Cyclades entre colonisation latine et occupation ottomane c. 1500–1718*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1982), 1:59–61.

that the inhabitants of Siphnos, chiefly women, were following the Latin rite despite their ignorance of Latin.[37]

## The Properties and Incomes of the Latin and Greek Churches

Two persistent myths regarding the Latin conquest of formerly Byzantine Greek lands are that the Greek Church lost all its property, and that it was all given to the incoming Latin Church. As will be seen, the Greek Church did retain property, while the appropriation of those properties taken from it was a bone of bitter contention between the Latin Church and the Latin secular powers, as was the payment of those ecclesiastical revenues known as tithes. In Cyprus, the Latin archdiocese of Nicosia received the two villages of Aphendia and Ornithi as well as tithes of eight Greek sees that now formed the new Latin archdiocese, while the three suffragan sees also received tithes and properties outright, the see of Famagusta receiving the village or *casale* of Kouklia for example. By the end of the 13th century the archdiocese of Nicosia had seven *casalia* acquired by donation or purchase, as well as incomes from another three. The Latin diocese of Limassol possessed three *casalia* by 1367 as well as some urban properties and incomes. The extent of the properties of Latin dioceses in Cyprus and Latin Greece was limited compared to those of the major cathedral churches in western Europe, although a letter of Pope Innocent III of 13 February 1209 confirming the properties of Bérard the Latin archbishop of Athens enumerated around 40 *casalia*, of which 25 belonged to the archbishopric and the remainder to the suffragan bishoprics. From the outset the nobles refused to pay the tithes, or at least to pay them in full, while the properties of the Greek Church confiscated after the Latin conquest, as well as those of the Byzantine emperor and secular lords, had been given to the Lusignan crown and the Latin nobles who came to settle in Cyprus, chiefly from Latin Syria.[38]

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37 Slot, *Archipelagus Turbatus*, 1:57–59; Wolff, "Organization," p. 43; Luttrell, "Smaller Aegean Islands," p. 153.

38 Coureas and Schabel, *Cartulary*, nos. 8 and 87; Coureas, *Latin Church 1195–1312*, pp. 11–31 and 47–55; Sophia Kalopissi-Verti, "Relations between East and West in the Lordship of Athens and Thebes after 1204: Archaeological and Artistic Evidence," in *Archaeology and the Crusades: Proceedings of the Round Table, Nicosia, 1 February 2005*, ed. Peter Edbury and Sophia Kalopossi-Verti (Athens, 2007), pp. 7–8; Jean Richard, "The Papacy and Cyprus," in *Bullarium Cyprium: Papal Letters concerning Cyprus*, ed. Christopher Schabel, 2 vols. (Nicosia, 2010), 1:16–17.

In Constantinople and Greece after the Fourth Crusade and the resultant Latin conquest, the problem was similar. Henry, the Latin emperor of Constantinople, proposed that one-fifteenth of the properties of the Greek Church taken by the Latin nobles should be given to the Latin Church and implemented this in an agreement with the Latin Church of 17 March 1206. This proportion was later increased to one-twelfth in 1217 and to one-eleventh in an agreement of 1219 that the Latin emperor Robert de Courtenay accepted in June 1221 and Pope Honorius III confirmed in March 1222.[39] Meanwhile in central Greece, the agreement of May 1210 at Ravennika concluded between the Latin prelates of the Kingdom of Thessalonica and of central Greece and the Latin secular lords of these regions, also agreed to by Tomasso the Latin patriarch of Constantinople and the emperor Henry, favoured the Latin Church even more. Under its terms the Latin lords agreed to restore to the Latin Church all properties, incomes and serfs attached to such properties taken from the Greek Church, remaining entitled only to the payment of the tax known as the *acrosticum*, the old Byzantine land tax. This agreement, covering the area north of the Gulf of Corinth and west of Makre, a town in Thrace, did not mention tithes, but in a revised form that Pope Innocent III confirmed on 23 January 1216 he inserted an additional clause stating that Latins and Greeks had to pay tithes in full in accordance with the relevant ruling of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, although the Greek Church was exempted from paying tithes on those properties that were in its possession before the time of the council. One observes that Pope Innocent III was instructing the Latins to pay tithes even before the council. In 1208 he instructed the duke of Athens and the nobles of Thebes, Euboea and Thermopylae to make their Latin and Greek subjects pay tithes and in 1209 he ordered the Latin patriarch of Constantinople to compel the Greeks to pay tithes on pain of ecclesiastical censure. In addition, the pope in 1216 ordered the terms of the Ravennika agreement to be applied to the Peloponnese.[40]

Latin lords both north and south of the Gulf of Corinth resisted the full implementation of this agreement. Sometime in 1216 Gervais, the Latin patriarch of Constantinople, excommunicated Geoffrey de Villehardouin, the prince of Morea, and Duke Otto de la Roche, and in 1218 the papal legate John Colonna likewise excommunicated them, a sentence confirmed on 21 January 1219 by Pope Honorius III. Although the pope instructed the Latin patriarch to absolve Geoffrey and the other excommunicated lords in March 1221, he later instructed his legate and the patriarch to delay granting absolution pending

39 Wolff, "Politics," pp. 255–74.

40 Coureas, "Church at Patras," pp. 151–52; Schabel, "Antelm the Nasty," pp. 110 and 114–15.

further instructions. On 15 March 1222 the pope wrote to Geoffrey expressing strong criticism over his refusal to implement the Ravennika agreement, and his lands were placed under sentence of interdict in addition to the excommunication his person was under since 1216. By late 1223, however, Geoffrey had accepted a modified version of the Ravennika agreement, agreeing to pay cash sums by way of compensation to churches up to the pass of Megara for possessions, incomes and goods they had lost from the time of his own excommunication in 1216 until 1223. This agreement did not settle disputes over property between the Latin archbishop Antelm of Patras and Geoffrey de Villehardouin and other Latin secular lords, first recorded in letters of Pope Innocent III written late in 1210 and still outstanding in 1224 under Pope Honorius III, the resolution of which is not known.[41]

In Cyprus the agreements of 1220 concluded at Limassol between the crown, the secular lords and the Latin Church, confirmed in 1223 by Pope Honorius III and discussed above with respect to the diocesan structure, also dealt with the issues of tithes and properties formerly belonging to the Greek Church. Pope Honorius' demand to Queen Alice and the lords of Cyprus that the Latin Church was to obtain all properties formerly belonging to the Greek Church and now in their possession was rejected outright. The secular lords won on this point, for in the final agreement of 1223 the Latin Church acknowledged their possession of all such properties. As regarded tithes, the Latin lords agreed in principle to pay them in full to the Church, but this was never implemented in full, and disputes over their payment continued into the mid-14th century. It should be noted that in Cyprus unlike Latin Greece and Europe in general the Latin Church never received tithes directly from the peasants' share of the crops, only from that of the feudal lords themselves and from free Greek and Syrian landowners, practices brought over from Latin Syria. Likewise, the properties of the Latin bishops and their cathedral chapters were not distinct in Cyprus, unlike western Europe or Latin Greece. Hence the papacy enjoyed a distinct advantage as regarded taxation on diocesan incomes in Cyprus during episcopal vacancies.[42]

These agreements on Cyprus also limited the numbers of Greek serfs entering the Church. The ease with which numerous Greek serfs had been taking

41 Schabel, "Antelm the Nasty," pp. 114–21; Claverie, *Honorius III*, pp. 136, 156, 164–65 and 177–79.

42 Coureas, *Latin Church 1195–1312*, pp. 11–21; idem, *Latin Church 1313–1378*, pp. 253–60, 268 and 285; Jean Richard, "Le diocèse de Limassol en 1367," in *Chypre sous les Lusignans: Documents chypriotes en archives du Vatican* (*XIV^e^ et XV^e^ siècles*), ed. idem. (Paris, 1962), p. 70; Claverie, *Honorius III*, p. 142.

holy orders, to the financial detriment of their lords who were thereby deprived of their labour, was restricted, so that henceforth no Greek serf could do so without the consent of his lord. When Latin bishops ordained a Greek outside his lord's domain they had to replace him, and even when Greeks left their place of origin on account of ordination they had to leave their families behind and be replaced. Those Greeks leaving the island to be ordained could be suspended by the Latin diocesan and recalled to their initial servitude by their feudal lords, and Greek bishops in Cyprus ordaining them without the permission of the feudal lord and the Latin diocesan were to be suspended from office. In the second agreement of 1222 confirmed in 1223 by Pope Honorius III limits were set on the number of Greeks becoming monks, with an upper limit placed on the number of Greek monks in each monastery. Monasteries exceeding the limit were to have their numbers reduced by the death or translation of the surplus monks, and could recruit new monks only when their number fell below the limit. Greek clergy were relieved of paying poll tax or of performing manual labour, two privileges providing an additional incentive to limit their numbers. The agreement also safeguarded those properties and charitable donations given to the Greek Church by Latin nobles from future confiscation, an important provision showing that the Greek Church did acquire new properties following the Latin conquest and that these were acknowledged and protected.[43]

Efforts to limit the number of Greek clergy were also undertaken in Latin Greece, once again for economic reasons. An agreement that Pope Honorius III concluded with Geoffrey de Villehardouin on 4 September 1223 decreed that two priests would serve villages with between 25 and 70 hearths, four those with between 70 and 125 hearths, and six those villages with over 125 hearths. Villages with less than 25 hearths would be served by priests in the nearest village. In Latin Greece Greek clergy were likewise exempted from payment of the poll tax and the performance of manual labour. Nonetheless, they had to pay the *acrosticum*, could not celebrate the divine offices without the consent of the Latin clergy, could not be ordained from the ranks of the laity or obtain promotion to holy orders over and above a predetermined number. These provisions suffered in the execution. Over a decade previously, in 1210, Archbishop Antelm of Patras had complained to Pope Innocent III of how despite rulings to the contrary the local lords still required Greek priests to perform manual duties and were preventing them from showing the due obedience to Latin prelates. In addition Latin clergy were forced to file claims for the restitution of church property in secular courts because Geoffrey de Villehardouin and

43 Coureas and Schabel, *Cartulary*, nos. 82–84 and 95.

the other Latin nobles did not distinguish between secular and ecclesiastical property seized during the Latin conquest, the latter referring to properties once held by the Greek Church, as appears from correspondence of Pope Innocent III in 1210. The Latin lords were accused of having granted churches, abbeys and prebends to clergy and laity without first consulting the Latin diocesans and of having had their own nominees ordained to vacant churches as canons, disregarding the competent authorities. This pope wrote again to Geoffrey and the Latin nobles of the Peloponnese over their retention of tithes and church property in 1213, ordering them to appear before a panel of Latin prelates over this issue and excommunicating them when they proved to be contumacious.[44]

Properties considered as belonging to the Latin Church were also arrogated by the nobles outside the archdiocese of Patras, and in May 1212 the pope wrote to Geoffrey requesting him to restore goods he had taken from the church of Corinth. In another letter of 23 May 1212 to the Latin archbishop of Thessalonica and the bishops of Sithonia and Karditsa he stated that Latins and Greeks were withholding properties the Latin Church was entitled to because they enjoyed proprietary rights, the so-called *ius patronatus*, over them. This meant that they retained administrative powers over properties donated to the Church, including the right to appoint an abbot or priest in the case of monasteries and churches subject to the *ius patronatus*. The pope had been informed of this by no less than seven Latin archbishops of Greece and their suffragans, and although he had initially assigned the recovery of such properties, previously belonging to the Greek Church, to the Latin archbishops of Thebes and Neopatras and to the bishop of Nezero he now included the addressees of his letter in this task so as to accelerate the process. The *ius patronatus* also existed on Rhodes, where a number of Greek churches are recorded as subject to it, and one notes that over 50 churches are recorded for the town and countryside of the island, of which only a handful were Latin. As regards the Venetian territories, the Ionian Islands, the Cyclades and Crete, only limited information on tithing, restrictions on the number of Greek clergy and the apportionment of properties belonging to the Greek Church following the conquest of these places is available. Nonetheless, it must have resembled broadly the situation on the Greek mainland and in Cyprus. The Benedictine nunnery of St Catherine in Candia, Crete, for instance is recorded as paying tithes of four hyperpers in 1316–17 as the first of three instalments.[45]

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44 Aloysius L. Tautu, ed., *Acta Honorii III et Gregorii IX*, PC/CICO (Rome, 1950), no. 115; Schabel, "Antelm the Nasty," pp. 110–13; Claverie, *Honorius III*, pp. 178–79.

45 Coureas, "Church at Patras," p. 155; Tsirpanlis, *Ανέκδοτα Έγγραφα*, pp. 100–11.

Information is available on the properties the Latin and Greek churches possessed in Crete and the Cyclades. In Crete as elsewhere the Latin Church appropriated certain Greek churches for its own use, and although as elsewhere in Greece it was urban-based it also possessed rural property. The Greek Church, however, continued not only to exist but to expand under the Venetian dominion. In 1226 Pope Honorius III defended the Greek monastery of Mt Sinai's extensive landholdings and incomes in Crete against the claims of both the Latin archbishop and secular Latin lords, while over 20 newly constructed Greek churches appeared in Candia's suburbs in the early 14th century. Among the rural properties of the Latin Church may be mentioned the *casalia* of the Latin patriarchate of Constantinople, reduced to titular status following the Byzantine re-conquest of 1261. Most of these *casalia*, located in central Crete, remained attached to the patriarchate throughout the period of Venetian dominion.[46] In the Cyclades the Latin archbishopric of Naxos had considerable revenues and numerous churches, including some serving both rites and on Tenos with its 20 Latin parishes the local Latin bishop enjoyed the incomes of a major fief. Less wealthy was the small Latin bishopric serving Kea, Kythnos and Siphnos, which had various rural properties. A similarly uneven picture emerges regarding the Greek secular church. As stated above, the Greek bishop of Naxos had a large income and Ekatompyliani, the principal church on the island of Paros, remained Greek after the Latin conquest. Yet the Latin cathedrals on Andros, Kythnos and Syros may well have been former Greek churches, while two ancient Greek churches on Naxos also became Latin.[47]

### The Latin and Greek Regular Churches

The Greek regular clergy, both before and after the conquest, consisted of monks and nuns living in monasteries. The concept of monastic orders was alien to the Greek Church, although the Latin clergy, at least after 1215, classified the Greek monks as belonging to the "Basilian Order" because they followed the rule of St Basil. The Latin regular clergy were more ramified, consisting not only of monks and nuns belonging to specific monastic orders, notably the Benedictines, the Cistercians, themselves reformed Benedictines, the Carthusians, the Crucifers and valetudinarian orders like that of St Anthony

46 McKee, *Uncommon Dominion*, pp. 105–06; Tsirpanlis, *Κληροδότημα*, pp. 176–248 and esp. 201 and 223; Claverie, *Honorius III*, p. 154; Nickiphoros I. Tsougarakis, *The Latin Religious Orders in Medieval Greece, 1204–1500* (Turnhout, 2012), p. 93.

47 Slot, *Archipelagus Turbatus*, pp. 58, 60 and 62.

of Vienne, but also of mendicants and members of the military orders. The four main mendicant orders established in the formerly Byzantine Greek lands were the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Carmelites and the Augustinian friars, who all came into existence during the 13th century.[48] The Military Orders of the Templars, the Hospitallers and the Teutonic knights also established themselves in these lands, although after the dissolution of the Templars in 1312 and the departure of the Teutonic Order for Prussia early in the 14th century only the Hospitallers remained on Rhodes, which they held until the Ottoman conquest of 1522, while on Cyprus they kept estates until the Ottoman conquest of 1570.

Like their secular counterparts, the Greek regular clergy suffered losses following the Latin conquest. On Cyprus Latin Benedictine monks fleeing from Antioch who established the monastery of the Holy Cross, *alias* St Paul's, on Stavrovouni in the diocese of Limassol may have displaced a Greek monastic community there. The Augustinian canons that later became Praemonstatensian canons regular establishing a community at Episkopia, later known as Bellapais, may have founded their establishment on a suppressed Greek bishopric. The Praemonstratensians also founded three establishments in Constantinople and Latin Greece, although there is little information on them. Their house in Constantinople was either St Nicholas of Varvar, which perhaps passed into their possession from the canons regular of the Temple, who had received it in 1209, or the small monastery of St Nicholas εν τη Βαρβάρα located to the north of the cathedral of St Sophia. In 1212 the Premonstratensians acquired the village of Hermocastron near Thebes, where they founded a house which was, however, short lived. Their third house, reportedly in Kalavryta near Patras, was founded sometime after 1218 when they occupied the Greek monastery of Hagia Lavra, although this is uncertain, given that the Cistercians may have occupied the monastery. Whatever the case, most of these Premonstratensian foundations occupied the sites of former Greek monastic houses.[49]

In Constantinople some of the colleges of secular canons were founded after 1204 on the premises of the famous Greek monasteries of the Holy Apostles, the Pantokrator (Almighty), Our Lady of Chalkoprateia and the Forty Martyrs. In Constantinople canons regular also took control of the former Greek monastery of St George of Mangana but quarrelled with the Hospitallers in around 1208 over the possessions of a hospital attached to the monastery. In 1209 the

48 Tsougarakis, *Latin Religious Orders*, pp. 35–261.

49 Coureas, *Latin Church 1195–1312*, pp. 187–88 and 200–01; Tsougarakis, *Latin Religious Orders*, pp. 268–70.

abbey of canons regular of the Temple, originally founded in the Holy Land in the early 12th century, was granted the Greek monasteries of St Nicholas of Varvar in Constantinople, the Holy Trinity in Athens, St Nicholas of Thebes, St Nicholas of Euboea and St Mary of Kleisura in Thermopylae, to which Latin priors were appointed. Latin secular canons replaced the Greek monks at the monastery of St Demetrius in Thessalonica, which Boniface of Montferrat donated to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. They quarrelled there with the canons regular of the Holy Sepulchre, another congregation founded in the Holy Land in 1114 and who received the basilica of St Demetrius in that city. In the Peloponnese the Augustinian canons regular received the abbey of the Holy Saviour located in the region of Messenia from Simon de Lagny and may have held this possession right up to the Ottoman conquest of 1460. Less successful apparently was the congregation of canons regular of St Rufus, installed in Patras under Pope Innocent III in around 1210. They were ejected by the secular canons of the church of Patras and it is uncertain if they were reinstalled in 1212 following a papal request to Prince Geoffrey de Villehardouin, for nothing more is heard of them.[50]

Latin communities of monks also moved to Greece. In 1207 Tomasso Morosini granted St George of Verlocopo to the abbey of Nonantola and Pope Innocent III asked the abbey to send out monks to take it over. Also in 1207 Duke Otto de la Roche of Athens brought Cistercian monks from Bellevaux to the Greek monastery of Daphni or Laurus in central Greece, although the reasons its previous Greek monks had abandoned it are not known. This Cistercian house, which the monks took possession of in 1211, lasted down to the 15th century, outliving most if not all Cistercian foundations in Greece, and several dukes of Athens were buried there. Meanwhile, in the Peloponnese Archbishop Antelm granted the Greek monastery of St Mary of "Ierocomata" near Patras, possibly a daughter house of Our Lady of Gerokomeio, to monks from Cluny in 1210, although the Templars claimed that he had wrongfully taken it from them. They did not succeed in recovering it, despite a judgement in their favour given by three papal judge-delegates some time before September 1211. The Greek abbey of Provata was also contested by Archbishop Antelm and the Templars, although in this case the papal judge-delegate, Archdeacon John of Andravida (Andreville) decided in Antelm's favour.[51]

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50 Tsougarakis, *Latin Religious Orders*, pp. 264–268; Richard, "Latin Church in Constantinople," pp. 51–53; Claverie, *Honorius III*, pp. 140–41 and 155–56.

51 Richard, "Latin Church in Constantinople," pp. 51–52; Tsougarakis, *Latin Religious Orders*, pp. 41–48 and 98–99; Schabel, "Antelm the Nasty," pp. 106–08.

A dearth of personnel, however, could stymie attempts to found Latin houses in the place of Greek ones, as when it was proposed to send Cistercians to man the abandoned Greek monastery of Rufinianae, with the Latin abbot of St Angelos of Pera opposite Constantinople eventually having to take his entire community there. Nonetheless, the Cistercians were especially active, although not always successful, in founding houses in Latin Greece. At the Greek monastery of Chortaïtis in the Kingdom of Thessalonica Boniface of Montferrat called in Cistercian monks, but they had to leave when the Greek monks resisted them, although this resistance was finally overcome, for in 1224 it was recorded as Cistercian. Yet twelve Cistercian houses were founded in Latin Greece in the first twenty years after 1204, chiefly in Constantinople and the Peloponnese, but also in Euboea and Crete. They included two dedicated to Our Lady at Isova and Zaraka in the Peloponnese, St Gregory *alias* Gergeri, although it is debatable if this was a Cistercian monastery as opposed to an estate, and St Mary of the Varangians in Crete, St Archangelos in Euboea and St Stephen, St Angelus, St Mary of Percheio, a nunnery, and Rufinianae in Constantinople. The majority of these houses had previously been Greek. A Cistercian house may also have been established at Patras before 1212 by the monks of the house of Hautecombe in Savoy. Other Cistercian houses in the Peloponnese included Pyrn near Monemvasia, probably a corruption of the Greek Prinikos, although this identification is uncertain, and St Mary de Verge near Modon. By the early 14th century, however, only Daphni was still functioning. St Mary in Crete seems to have been abandoned by 1340, and St Gregory, if it ever was a Cistercian house, continued to function perhaps until the Ottoman conquest, as did the various Cistercian houses founded in and around Nicosia in the early 13th century. The shortage of cultivable land in Greece, the absence of lay brothers to work available land and above all the collapse or contraction of the Frankish states by the end of the 13th century help explain the Cistercian failure in continental Greece.[52]

Greater longevity was enjoyed by the various Benedictine monasteries and nunneries founded in Nicosia and Famagusta in the course of the 13th century, as well as the Holy Cross mentioned above, the abbot of which was arrested by the Venetians in 1474 and eventually banished on account of

52 Richard, "Latin Church in Constantinople," pp. 52 and 55; Elizabeth A. R. Brown, "The Cistercians in the Latin Empire of Constantinople and Greece, 1204–1276," *Traditio* 14 (1958), 78–96 and 118–19; Schabel, "Antelm the Nasty," pp. 108 and 135; Jean Richard, "The Cistercians in Cyprus," in *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. Michael Gervers (New York, 1992), pp. 199–200; Coureas, *Latin Church 1195–1312*, pp. 191–99; idem, *Latin Church 1313–1378*, pp. 405–10; Tsougarakis, *Latin Religious Orders*, pp. 35–78.

his alleged complicity in a plot to overthrow Queen Caterina, the widow of King James II. A plan to take over the largest Greek monastery in Cyprus, St George of Mangana near Nicosia, was conceived in 1308 by Hayton of Corycos, an Armenian noble who had entered the Praemonstratensian monastery of Bellapais. In 1306, moreover, Pope Clement V had instructed the Latin bishop of Paphos to send Latins to the Georgian monasteries of St Savvas, Kellia and Lacrona near Yiallia on the north-west coast of Cyprus, founded in the late 12th century. Neither initiative was put into effect. One observes that even when Greek monasteries were granted to Latin religious establishments this did not invariably entail expulsion of the Greek monks. When the legate Cardinal Benedict donated the famous Greek monastery of Our Lady of Evergetes to the Benedictines of Monte Cassino it was stated that this donation should not result in the expulsion of the Greek monks. Likewise Cardinal John of Colonna did not dispossess the Greek monks of a monastery granted to the prior of the Pisans of Constantinople.[53]

Such donations were intended to secure additional incomes for Latin religious houses rather than to displace Greek monks by Latin ones, and their Latin priors' main task was to direct their surplus income to their own convents. This in itself, however, must have caused resentment on the Greeks' part, and in 1210 the clergy of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre complained to Pope Innocent III that the abbot and monks of the Greek monastery of St Luke in Phokis, central Greece, were disrespectful towards them. Some Greek monasteries, such as that of Akapnoi in Thessalonica or St Margaret of Agros and St George of Mangana in Cyprus, secured papal protection of their properties and serfs during the 13th and 14th centuries. The four abbeys and 17 monasteries mentioned in Pope Innocent III's letter of February 1209 as being under the jurisdiction of the Latin archbishop of Athens would have included Greek as well as Latin establishments and in 1218 Pope Honorius III placed some monasteries near Athens under his protection, including that of Hosios Meletios, the privileges of which Pope Gregory IX re-confirmed in 1236. Papal protection was also solicited by major Greek monasteries outside the former Byzantine lands but with estates within them, such as of St Theodore in Palestine and St Catherine on Mt Sinai, which possessed extensive holdings in Cyprus and Crete. In this respect parallels can be drawn with the Greek-rite monasteries of southern Italy and Sicily, notably that of the Holy Saviour located on the

53 Coureas, *Latin Church, 1195–1312*, pp. 314–16; idem., *Latin Church 1313–1378*, pp. 391–405; George Boustronios, *A Narrative of the Chronicle of Cyprus 1456–1489*, trans. Nicholas Coureas (Nicosia, 2005), §§ 206, 234 and 258 and note 375; Richard, "Latin Church in Constantinople," pp. 51–54; Claverie, *Honorius III*, pp. 183–86.

north-eastern tip of Sicily and its dependencies, which likewise solicited such protection and had judges conservators appointed to safeguard their rights from encroachment by Latin secular lords or prelates, from the 13th through to the 15th centuries.[54]

From the 1220s onwards the presence of the mendicant orders, with their missionary zeal that caused clashes with the Greek monks, made itself felt strongly. The Franciscans, established in Constantinople by 1220, were influential under the Latin Emperor John of Brienne (1229–37) who later joined the order and his successor Baldwin II, the last Latin emperor. They secured a number of holy relics from the city for King Louis IX of France and supported the Latin patriarch Giustiniani in his attempts to obtain sums of money from insubordinate clergy. When the Greeks regained the city in 1261 the patriarch left the Franciscan Anthony behind as his vicar. The Franciscans and Dominicans were instrumental in the negotiations for the union of the churches inaugurated under Pope Gregory IX in 1234, paying a visit to the court of Nicaea in January, where the Byzantine emperor John Vatatzes and the Greek ecumenical patriarch received them, although these negotiations were unsuccessful. After January 1234 these negotiations continued in Nymphaem, but broke up in acrimony. They reflected the earlier failure of the attempts of the Dominican friar Andrew to persuade a community of Greek monks established in Kantariotissa, Cyprus of the validity of unleavened communion bread. Whereas the Latins regarded both leavened and unleavened bread as acceptable the Greeks rejected the latter. The 13 monks were arrested, brought to Nicosia and incarcerated, tried in 1231 and then handed over to the secular arm and burnt at the stake. This martyrdom of the monks was a unique event in the Orthodox world. The news reached Emperor John Vatazes shortly before negotiations for the union of the two Churches began in Nicaea. Patriarch Germanos of Nicaea also mentioned it with bitterness in a letter he sent to Pope Gregory IX in 1232. In the Peloponnese, where the first recorded Dominican house dates from 1228, and that of the Franciscans from 1247, nearly 20 years

54 Richard, "Latin Church in Constantinople," p. 54; idem, "Un monastère grec de Palestine et son domaine chypriote: le monachisme orthodoxe et l'établissement de la domination franque," in *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Cypriot Studies*, ed. T. Papadopoulos and B. Englezakis (Nicosia, 1986), pp. 61–65, repr. in Jean Richard, *Croisades et États latins d'Orient* (Aldershot, 1992), XIV; Kalopissi-Verti, "Relations between East and West," p. 13; Coureas, *Latin Church 1195–1312*, pp. 288–89 and 313–14; idem, *Latin Church 1313–1378*, pp. 459–74; idem, "Papal Judge-Conservators among the Greek Clergy in Lusignan Cyprus, Southern Italy and Sicily in the Fourteenth Century," in *Sacri Canones Servandi Sunt*, ed. Pavel Krafl (Prague, 2008), pp. 313–23.

later, both orders ministered almost exclusively to the resident Latins, doing little to convert Greeks to Roman Catholicism.[55]

Notwithstanding their lack of success in converting Greeks, the mendicant orders in Latin Greece, including Carmelites and Austin friars who established themselves in Cyprus in the mid to late 13th century, made a notable contribution in the fields of learning, service to secular rulers and service to the papacy, both in diplomatic missions and in missionary work among non-Christians, with the two types of mission sometimes combined. Dominican and Franciscan missionaries such as Andrew de Longjumeau and John of Piano Carpini used Cyprus as a springboard in missions to the Mongols in the 1240s. In 1324, moreover, Pope John XXII granted King Hugh IV of Cyprus the right to keep by his side some Dominican, Franciscan, Augustinian and Carmelite friars to assist him in overseas missions, which perhaps included intelligence gathering as well as diplomacy and missionary work. Mendicant clergy also served as bishops in Greece, where in 1351 for instance the Franciscan John Raolceti was appointed bishop of Venetian Coron in the Peloponnese. Peter Corner, another Franciscan bishop of Coron, in 1382 presided over a congress of Latin lords of the Peloponnese and in 1387 he presided over a second such congress, this time as the Latin archbishop of Patras. Over 300 regular Latin clergy became archbishops or bishops in Greece between 1204 and 1500, of whom 129 were Franciscans, 111 Dominicans, 53 Augustnian friars and 22 Carmelite friars. The indigence of many Greek dioceses made such bishops, attached to the mendicant ideal of poverty, suitable choices, although the education and command of Greek among the Latin regular clergy also counted. On Cyprus the Dominican archbishop of Nicosia John del Conti was noted for his charitable activities while his Franciscan successor Helias de Nabinaux organised a provincial synod in 1340 in Nicosia in which the non-Latin Christian denominations, Maronites, Armenians, Jacobites and Nestorians as well as Greeks, accepted the fundamental articles of the Roman Catholic faith. On Crete the Dominican archbishop Alexander was instructed by Pope John XXII to have a Greek vicar appointed for the spiritual needs of the Greeks, as was done when Georgios Rampani was appointed for this purpose. Peter Philargis, an orphaned Greek rescued from a life of begging in Candia by a Franciscan, joined the order and briefly became one of the anti-popes from 1409 until 1410, the year of his death,

55 Robert Lee Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople and the Franciscans," *Traditio* 2 (1944), 213–28; Hussey, *Orthodox Church*, 213–216; Coureas, *Latin Church 1195–1312*, pp. 281–86; Lori F. Ranner, "Mendicant Orders in the Principality of Achaia and the Latin Communal Identity, 1204–1453," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 31.2 (2007), 157–69.

writing a commentary on Aristotle's *Sentences* that included a detailed explanation of Peter Auriol's position with regard to them.[56]

Mendicants were active in the fields of education. The Franciscan library in Candia housed nearly 200 manuscripts, mainly in Latin, as was recorded during an inventory made in 1417, while another one of 1448 recorded the existence of over 290 volumes. In 1370 the prior of the Augustinian monastery placed two Greek manuscripts in possession of the prior of the Greek monastery of Mt Sinai resident in Candia for the latter to sell them. Guy de Ibelin, a Dominican bishop of Limassol in Cyprus, possessed a library numbering 52 books on his death in 1367, while the Spanish Dominican Alfonso Buenhombre, resident in Famagusta between 1339 and 1342 translated works from Arabic into Latin by way of promoting missions to the East. The Dominican conversion of Byzantine intellectuals in Constantinople to Roman Catholicism in the 14th century, after the end of the Latin Empire, was a notable achievement. Furthermore, the Franciscans established a school of theology in Nicosia in the early 14th century. Their contribution to the visual arts also deserves mention. Following his appointment as archbishop of Patras the Franciscan Peter Corner had the long hall in his palace adorned with frescoes depicting the story of the fall of Troy. In Cyprus the Dominican archbishop John del Conti donated in 1325 an antependium to the cathedral of Pisa, where he had previously been archbishop, decorated with biblical scenes, notably a panel depicting the saints John the Baptist and John the Evangelist, the former attired as a friar and the latter as a bishop, an allusion to John's own double role as Latin archbishop and Dominican friar.[57]

The mendicants' activities as preachers earned them the gratitude of the Latin populations, and this was often expressed in their wills. Wills from 14th-century Cyprus record the bequests of Latins, especially merchants, to the individual members of the Franciscan, Dominican, Augustinian and Carmelite Orders in Nicosia and Famagusta, as well as to the houses of these Orders, although the last two orders were remembered less than the first two. In Venetian Crete the Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinians likewise

56 Coureas, *Latin Church 1195–1312*, pp. 229–35; idem, *Latin Church 1313–1378*, pp. 72–73, 304–23, 339–48, 433–34 and 444–45; Ranner, "Mendicant Orders in Achaia," pp. 164–65; McKee, *Uncommon Dominion*, p. 106; Christopher Schabel, "Peter of Candia and the Prelude to the Quarrel at Louvain," *Επετηρίς Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών* 24 (1998), 87–124; Tsougarakis, *Latin Religious Orders*, pp. 299–305 and 311–22.

57 McKee, *Uncommon Dominion*, pp. 120–21; Ranner, "Mendicant Orders in Achaia," p. 169; Coureas, *Latin Church 1313–1378*, pp. 290–98; Tsougarakis, *Latin Religious Orders*, pp. 116 and 203–10.

received such bequests and it is noteworthy that some of the testators were Greeks. They included members of the Latin rite, like Ioannes Ialina who made bequests to all three orders, perhaps among other things to exhibit their loyalty to the Latin rulers. In Patras the master cook Paul de Gondiano or "Mastropoulos" provided for the Franciscan house of St Nicholas Blatteros, a former Greek establishment, to inherit his property were his daughter Maria to die without heirs, although his name suggests mixed parentage. The Greek Stamatolos Spanopoulos also made a bequest to this house. This success as preachers, while securing the mendicants bequests, also brought them into conflict with the secular Latin clergy, especially over the issue of burial dues, of which the secular clergy were entitled to one-fourth. In August 1363 Pope Urban V authorised Archbishop Raymond de la Pradèle of Nicosia to censure members of mendicant or monastic orders admitting excommunicates or their corpses for burial, when the parish priests had refused to bury them, solely in order to obtain bequests from them as well as the fees attendant on their burial. Towards the end of the 15th century the Franciscan and Dominican friars on Crete and Chios also clashed with the Latin secular church, which accused them of infringing on their rights and depriving it of burial dues.[58]

### The Military Orders in Frankish Greece

The military orders were the third group of regular clergy, besides the monks and the mendicants, established in the previously Byzantine Greek lands. In Cyprus the Templars, who purchased the island from King Richard I in 1191 only to return it to him following Greek revolts when they tried to impose new taxes, acquired properties from at least the beginning of the 13th century, and by 1210 also possessed the castle of Gastria north of Famagusta. The Hospitallers, arriving there just after 1198, when Pope Innocent III asked them to contribute to the defence of the island, had properties in the diocese of Limassol by May 1203. Possibly they constructed the castle of Saranda Kolones in Paphos, modelled on their castle at Belvoir in Palestine, although there are also strong grounds for ascribing its foundation to the Byzantines. The Templars came into conflict with the crown, with King Hugh III destroying Templar properties in 1279 when this order supported Charles of Anjou, a rival claimant to

58 Coureas, *Latin Church 1195–1312*, pp. 224–29; idem, *Latin Church 1313–1378*, pp. 336–39, 352–53, 370–71, 380 and 382–85; McKee, *Uncommon Dominion*, pp. 60, 72, 107–12 and 121; Ranner, "Mendicant Orders in Achaia," p. 158; Tsougarakis, *Latin Religious Orders*, pp. 113–16, 119–20, 128–29, 180,184 and 244.

the throne of Jerusalem. Conflict with the secular Latin Church over paying tithes was resolved on the basis of two agreements stipulating the payment of fixed cash sums annually, one with the Templars in 1261 and another with the Hospitallers in 1255. Following the fall of Acre both these Orders transferred their headquarters to Cyprus, developed naval arms and tried without success to co-ordinate attacks on the Muslims with the Mongols.[59]

The restrictions King Henry II imposed on them as regarded acquiring properties caused resentment, and in 1306 the Templars supported the conspiracy of his brother Amaury. This did not stop him from arresting them, however, in 1307 on the receipt of papal instructions. They were put on trial in May 1310, shortly before King Henry's restoration with Hospitaller assistance in the autumn of that year, and despite the favourable testimony given for them they were incarcerated in 1311 in the dungeons of Keryneia. The Hospitallers benefited from the Templars' dissolution in 1312, gaining all the order's Cypriot properties and thereby becoming one of the largest landowners in Cyprus, but following their conquest of Rhodes in around 1309 they moved there. The Teutonic Order, always much smaller than the other two in Cyprus, moved to Prussia in the same period. During the 14th century these two orders simply maintained estates in Cyprus from which they drew incomes, those of the Hospital, however being considerable. The English order of St Thomas of Canterbury, first recorded in Cyprus sometime after 1272, maintained its headquarters there until the late 14th century. The last reference to a commander of St Thomas of Canterbury in Cyprus was in 1367 and in 1379 the head of its London house declared himself head of the whole order. It is not known when the Teutonic Order ceased to have a presence in the island. As for the Hospitallers, they maintained estates and incomes in Cyprus, which after 1473 came increasingly under Venetian control, until the Ottoman conquest of 1570.[60]

In Latin Greece itself the establishment of military orders was more uneven. The donation by the Latin Emperor Baldwin I of one-fourth of the duchy of

59 Coureas, *Latin Church 1195–1312*, pp. 121–37 and 155–69; Coureas and Schabel, *Cartulary*, nos. 89 and 91; Alain Demurger, *The Last Templar: The Tragedy of Jacques de Molay Last Grand Master of the Temple*, trans. Antonia Neville (London, 2005), pp. 95–138; James Petrie, *Crusader Castles of Cyprus, the Fortifications of Cyprus under the Lusignans: 1191–1489* (Nicosia, 2012), pp. 319–57; Anthony Luttrell, "The Hospitallers in Cyprus after 1291," in *Acts of the I International Congress of Cypriot Studies* (Nicosia, 1972), pp. 161–71, repr. in idem, *The Hospitallers in Cyprus, Rhodes, Greece and the West, 1291–1440* (Aldershot, 1979), II.

60 Coureas, *Latin Church 1195–1312*, pp. 137–55, 171–72 and 178–81; idem, *Latin Church 1313–1378*, pp. 416–24; Luttrell, "Hospitallers in Cyprus," 167–71.

Neokastro in central Greece to the Templars and of the port of Attaleia in southern Asia Minor to the Hospitallers, both locations on the pilgrim route to Jerusalem via Asia Minor, remained a dead letter. The Hospitallers, however, who had possessed a hotel in Constantinople prior to the Fourth Crusade now received a house in the Kingdom of Thessalonica and used it as a springboard in their attempt to create a domain in Thessaly, where in 1210 they seized the castle of Gardiki from the Latin bishop of Larissa to whom it had been assigned, refusing to return it notwithstanding an appeal the bishop had submitted to Pope Innocent III. At around the same time the Templars acquired the castles of Ravennika and Lamia in Thessaly, but after siding with the Lombards against the Latin emperor Henry of Hainaut the latter seized these castles. In Thebes the church of Hagia Photeine, a monastic church outside the walls, was likewise granted to the Templars, who renamed the church St Lucia, a Latin translation of the Greek Hagia Photeine.[61] The Templars came into conflict with members of the Latin secular clergy, and in 1210 the Latin bishop of Kitros knocked the chalice out of a Templar's hand while he was administering the last rites to a brother of the order. The numerous complaints the Templars submitted to Pope Innocent III reflect their unpopularity in Greece. Nonetheless the Templars, the Hospitallers and the Teutonic knights all received estates in the Peloponnese, where Geoffrey de Villehardouin granted all three orders territories the equivalent to four knights' fees.

The Teutonic Order, established in Greece on the initiative of Berthold de Katzenelnbogen, a German participant in the Fourth Crusade who became regent of the Kingdom of Thessalonica on the death of Boniface of Montferrat, acquired a house at Mostenitsa near Coron in 1209, but is recorded in 1237 as having sufficient resources only for defending Chlemoutsi castle. Geoffrey de Villehardouin, who as its owner intended to assign its defence to them, stated in the relevant document that the whole convent should reside there "if it is necessary for the defence of the castle". It had also acquired a church in the diocese of Amyclae before 1222, but there is no further mention of it. The order fought against the Byzantines in the Peloponnese when Andronikos Asen was campaigning in the Alpheios valley after 1316, the preceptor of their order dying while defending the castle of St George in Elis in around 1320. In 1324 Nicholas, preceptor of the Teutonic knights at Mostenitsa, and the Hospitaller commander John des Baux were summoned to appear at Glarenza with other vassals of the Principality of Achaea for a campaign against the Byzantines. The Teutonic knights maintained a presence in Greece until around 1500. The Templars, as mentioned above, entered into disputes with Archbishop Antelm

61 Richard, "Latin Church in Constantinople," pp. 52–53; Lock, *Franks*, pp. 233–36;

of Patras over the abbeys of Ierocomata and Provata, and did not succeed in gaining possession of either, although a decision in their favour had been reached over the former abbey.[62]

An attempt to create a new military order was made in the Latin Empire. This was the Order of St Sampson, originating from a Byzantine hostel of that name in Constantinople. Its constitution was approved in 1208 by the papal legate Cardinal Benedict of Santa Susanna and confirmed by Pope Innocent III, who placed the order under papal protection. The Latin Emperor Henry granted it the fortress of Garella near Apros in Thrace and the order was present in the Latin Empire down to its destruction in 1261. Although most of its properties were in Constantinople and the surrounding area it also possessed estates in Hungary and a house at Douai, which the Latin bishop of Thessalonica had granted it. It never truly developed as a military order, however, and Pope Honorius III only granted it a dispensation to use the weapons and horses granted to it in 1222, when the Greek Despotate of Epirus conquered the Latin Kingdom of Thessalonica and the very existence of the Latin Empire was under threat. In 1309 their possessions in the Peloponnese were placed under the Hospitallers.[63] The latter was the only order active militarily in Greece and the Mediterranean. They conquered Rhodes from Byzantium in around 1309, acquired Templar properties in Achaea and Crete following the Templars' dissolution in 1312 and the Templar fortress of Sykamino in Attica, although the house of Brienne acquired the remaining Templar lands in central Greece. The Hospitallers actively combated Turkish piracy, both alone and in conjunction with other Christian states in the Mediterranean, Venice, Lusignan Cyprus, the papacy and Byzantium, in a series of naval alliances formed in the first half of the 14th century. The culmination of these alliances' success was the capture of Smyrna in 1344. Despite internecine quarrels and mismanagement of funds sent to pay the garrison, the Latin Christians were able to hold

62 Schabel, "Antelm the Nasty," pp. 106–08; Alan Forey, *The Military Orders from the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Basingstoke, London, 1992), p. 39; Angold, *Fourth Crusade*, pp. 134–35; Lock, *Franks*, pp. 235–36 and 238–39; idem, "The Military Orders in Mainland Greece," in *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. Malcolm Barber (Aldershot, 1994), pp. 336–38; Hubert Houben, "Intercultural Communication: The Teutonic Knights in Palestine, Armenia and Cyprus," in *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean*, pp. 143 and 157; idem, "La Quarta Crociata e l'Ordine Teutonico in Grecia," in *The Fourth Crusade Revisited*, ed. Pierantonio Patti, Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storici: Atti e Documenti, 25 (Vatican City, 2008), pp. 202–14.

63 Richard, "Latin Church in Constantinople," p. 53; Angold, *Fourth Crusade*, p. 135.

onto the city, placed under Hospitaller administration after 1374, until 1402 when Timur Leng conquered it.[64]

Less successful was Hospitaller intervention in Latin Greece a few years later. In 1376 Queen Joanna of Naples leased the Latin Principality of Achaea, which was under attack from Turkish pirates, to the order for five years, in return for an annual rent. The Hospitaller commander of the Peloponnese sent two mercenary companies to protect Achaea but on the expiry of their contract in 1379 they began seizing territories for themselves. An expedition to the Peloponnese led in 1377 by the Hospitaller Grand Master Juan Fernández de Heredia was likewise unsuccessful, capturing Lepanto in central Greece but then suffering defeat at Arta by the Albanians. The Hospitallers successfully fought off Mamluk attempts to conquer Rhodes in the 1440s, sent two galleys to assist Venice in their failed defence of Euboea against the Ottomans in 1470 and successfully withstood the Ottoman siege of Rhodes in 1480. In 1522, however, the Ottomans under Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent successfully besieged and conquered Rhodes and the order, forced to evacuate the island, eventually established itself on Malta in 1530. With its departure from Rhodes ended the presence of Latin military orders in Greece.[65]

## The Latin and Greek Churches' Contribution to Literature, Architecture, the Visual Arts and the Phenomenon of Cross-Acculturation

The Latin Church in Greece produced few men of letters. Among them was the Flemish Dominican William of Moerbeke who participated in the Second Council of Lyon in 1274 and became the Latin archbishop of Corinth in 1278. He had visited Nicaea, Constantinople and Thebes, the Dominican house of which was a centre of scholarship, in 1260 and aimed to translate Aristotle's works and certain later Greek commentators from Greek into Latin. Among

64 Norman Housley, *The Avignon Papacy and the Crusades, 1305–1378* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 23–49; Coureas, *Latin Church 1313–1378*, pp. 97–132; Lock, "Military Orders in Mainland Greece," p. 337; Anthony Luttrell, "The Hospitallers of Rhodes Confront the Turks: 1306–1421," in *Christians, Jews and Other Worlds: Patterns of Conflict and Accommodation*, ed. Philip F. Gallagher, (Lanham, 1988), pp. 80–100, repr. in Anthony Luttrell, *The Hospitallers of Rhodes and their Mediterranean World* (Aldershot, 1992), II.

65 Anthony Luttrell, "The Principality of Achaea in 1377," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 57 (1964), 340–45, repr. in idem, *The Hospitallers in Cyprus*, XXII; Helen Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitaller* (Woodbridge, 2001), pp. 53–67.

those translations that he completed are those of Alexander of Aphrodisias and Aristotle's *De Partibus Animalium*, accomplished while he was in Nicaea and Thebes respectively. On leaving Greece for Italy in 1274 he transported numerous Greek manuscripts with him. Assisting at the Second Council of Lyon in 1274, he was bishop of Corinth from 1277 until his death in 1286. Also noteworthy in this context was a Latin cleric never resident in Greece, Robert Grosseteste, who became bishop of Lincoln in 1235. He gathered a circle of scholars around him to assist in the translation into Latin of Greek theological works, and among the Greeks in this circle were Robert Grecus and Nicholas Grecus, the latter being a clerk connected to the abbey of St Albans, which presented him to the church of Datchet in Buckinghamshire in 1239. Nicholas became a canon in Lincoln in 1246. It was Grosseteste who inspired Roger Bacon to produce a Greek grammar in the 1270s and to stress the importance of Greek patristic writings in theological studies.[66]

A noted patron of literary activity in Latin Greece as well as a literary figure in his own right was the Catalan Juan Fernández de Heredia, the Hospitaller Grand Master of Rhodes from 1377 to 1396, when he died having surpassed the age of 90. He took advantage of the existence of classical manuscripts, together with the availability of scribes knowing both classical Greek and the Romance languages on the island of Rhodes to have a series of translations of classical Greek works done into the Romance languages. Under his direction and encouragement the Greek Demetrios Kalodikes, who originated from Thessalonica, first translated Plutarch's *Lives* from classical into Modern Greek. It was then translated from Modern Greek into Aragonese by the Dominican Bishop Nicholas of Drenopolis, a titular see. This bishop was probably Catalan or Aragonese, but he may have been Italian, in which case the possibility exists that Heredia's scribes translated his text into Aragonese. Other works translated from classical Greek into Aragonese included sections from the works of Thucydides and Zonaras. In addition, Justinus's abridgement of the Macedonian histories of Trogus Pompeius, the *Historiae Philippicae*, was translated into Latin. For the history of medieval Greece, however, Heredia's most valuable contribution was his own *Libro de los fechos et conquistas del principado de la Morea*, completed in October 1393 and covering the period from 1197 to 1377. Although based on a version of the *Chronicle of the Morea* already existing in French, Greek and Italian, it made notable alterations to it through the use of western sources, such as the chroniclers Villani, Ernoul and Baudoin

66 Lock, *Franks*, pp. 299–301; Tsougarakis, *Latin Religious Orders*, pp. 177 and 209.

d'Avesnes. Strangely enough, one of the chronicles not used was Muntaner's own chronicle of the Catalan conquest of central Greece.[67]

On Crete the Greek clergy played a leading role in teaching Greek and more specifically in training their pupils to read Greek ecclesiastical manuscripts. In 1317 the priest Michael Pedhiotes undertook to instruct Manuel the son of Vasilis Kharokopos how to read church manuscripts in one year and later in this century Ioannes de Rodo arranged for his brother Nicholas to learn how to read from a Greek priest. In 1387 the priest Demetrios Corner took as his student Niccolò the son of Giorgio Abramo, who may have been a Venetian, undertaking to teach him how to read secular and religious works. Greek learning seems to have involved the lection of exclusively religious texts, since being able to read the Psalter was a prerequisite for ordination in the Greek Church. Some western saints such as Saints Francis of Assisi and Bartholomew are included in the iconographic programmes of Greek churches in Crete, but an influx of anti-Unionist Greek clergy from Byzantine lands in the first half of the 15th century is reflected in two dedicatory inscriptions painted in 1436 and 1445 and found in two small Cretan churches commissioned by Greek Cretan priests. Both these inscriptions, mentioning the penultimate Byzantine emperor John VIII Palaiologos in their dating, proclaim clearly the allegiance of these priests to Byzantium. One observes that the school founded by way of a bequest by the Uniate cleric Cardinal Bessarion of Trebizond on his estates outside Candia, with the object of affording Greeks instruction in the Roman Catholic faith, was neither popular nor successful. Established in 1462, it ended up simply providing a source of income to impecunious Uniates by the time of the Ottoman conquest of 1669.[68]

Interesting examples of fusion of Latin and Greek elements are found in the architecture of medieval Greece and Cyprus. Gothic architecture in Cyprus enjoyed a flowering in the 13th century, when the cathedral of the Holy Wisdom in Nicosia and the monastic church of the Praemonstratensian abbey of Bellapais near Keryneia were built. In the first half of the 14th century the new Gothic cathedral of St Nicholas of Famagusta was built for the town's

67 Anthony Luttrell, "Greek Histories Translated and Compiled for Juan Fernández de Heredia, Master of Rhodes, 1377–1396," *Speculum* 35 (1960), 401–07, repr. in idem, *The Hospitallers in Cyprus*, XX; Teresa Shawcross, *The Chronicle of Morea: Historiography in Crusader Greece* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 38–39 and 265–66.

68 McKee, *Uncommon Dominion*, pp. 119–20; Kalopissi-Verti, "Relations between East and West," p. 20; David Jacoby, "From Byzantium to Latin Romania: Continuity and Change," in *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean*, p. 25; Tsirpanlis, *Κληροδότημα*, pp. 126–29 and 166–75.

greatly increased population, as well as the cloisters of Bellapais and a number of other churches in Nicosia and Famagusta, built in the Gothic style and, especially in Famagusta, to serve the needs not only of Latin Christians but of non-Latins, such as Nestorians, Armenians and Greeks. The church of St George of the Greeks in Famagusta constitutes an outstanding example of the blending of Gothic and traditional Byzantine architectural elements. In a rural context the churches built in the Cypriot villages of Kiti, Galata, Kakopetria, Pelendri and elsewhere contain architectural features, icons and murals combining stylistic features of the western, Byzantine and eastern Christian iconographic traditions, as does the royal chapel at Pyrga constructed in the early 15th century. The Gothic architecture found in Cyprus is unparalleled in its extent and scale not only in Latin Greece but throughout the Eastern Mediterranean, although with the exception of the abbey of Bellapais the extant examples are concentrated in the cities of Nicosia and Famagusta.[69]

In Latin Greece the church of Our Lady the Paregoritissa in Arta, built between 1294 and 1296 by the Despot of Epirus Nikephoros I, presents a fusion of Byzantine and Italian traditions perhaps unique in the Greek world of the time. When the Greek monastery at Daphni in central Greece was granted to the Cistercians the latter rebuilt the outer narthex, replacing the rounded arches of the façade with pointed ones. In Thebes the church of Our Lady of Lontzia, a Greek corruption of the Italian "loggia", served as the Latin cathedral church. It survives to this day as the cathedral church of Thebes and two seated lions at the base of the episcopal throne executed in the western style date from the Latin period. A pair of iron tongs used to stamp the Host and a smaller pair of bronze tongs used for distributing it to the congregation, recently unearthed near this cathedral, bear witness to the practice of the Latin rite in Thebes. Yet Latins could not only patronise but also found Greek churches. Sir Anthony le Flamenc founded a church dedicated to St George at Karditsa in Boeotia on his estates, using local craftsmen. This church, which was intended to contain his tomb, also served as the monastic church of a monastery inhabited by Greek monks. The not infrequent place-name Frangoklissia found throughout Greece and Cyprus testifies to churches built or at least used by Franks. The church of Omorphe Ekklesia on the island of Aegina, built in 1289,

69 Philippe Plagnieux and Thierry Soulard, "La cathédrale Sainte-Sophie," "La cathédrale Saint-Nicolas," "L'abbaye de Bellapaïs," and "La cathédrale Saint-Georges des Grecs"; Jean-Bernard de Vaivre, "La chapelle royale de Pyrga," in *L'Art gothique en Chypre*, ed. Jean-Berard de Vaivre and Philippe Plagnieux (Paris, 2006), pp. 121–60, 190–238 and 286–304; Anne-Marie Weyl Carr, "Art," in *Cyprus: Society and Culture, 1191–1374*, ed. Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Christopher Schabel (Leiden, 2005), pp. 285–328.

boasts iconographical features associated with crusader art. The homonymous church in Athens, constructed in the late 13th century, blends traditional Byzantine and western features. Its cross-in-square type, building techniques and the iconographical lay-out of the main church follow Byzantine norms, but the ribbed cross-vaults of the chapel are Gothic, while the iconography of the narthex features a Cistercian monk and several unidentified western saints, a unique feature for a Greek church built in Latin occupied parts of Greece.[70]

One arguably unique example of cross-acculturation in the field of canon law occurred in the early 14th century, when the so-called Greek Laws, surviving in ms. Paris 1391, were compiled for use in the Greek ecclesiastical court of Paphos. They contained a complete collection of the laws, mainly concerning family and private law, to be applied by members of this ecclesiastical tribunal together with a series of procedural models. This collection was partially derived from sources of Eastern Roman law such as the *Procheiron*, the *Synopsis basilicorum maior*, the legal works of Michael Attaleiates and the *Ecloga*. Of the ten fascicules those with odd numbering contain Cypriot regulations while those with even numbering contain extracts of the *Epitome legum* compiled in around 920. Nonetheless the compiler of these laws was seemingly influenced by the western as well as the Byzantine legal traditions, namely by the Latin *summae* circulating throughout western Europe from the 12th century onwards and which reached Cyprus in the wake of the Latin conquest of 1191. In addition, the totality of the rubrics of Roman canon law composed in the Latin East by John of Ancona in around 1265–68 exerted influence on the compiler of this collection.[71]

In discussing cross-acculturation one major question is to what extent Greeks embraced the Latin form of Christianity and vice-versa. As seen above, in some of the islands of the Cyclades the Latin rite was embraced by a significant section of the population, to the extent that a native Latin clergy came into existence. In general, however, the Latin Church in the formerly Byzantine Greek lands recruited its members from western Europe, with the proportion in Lusignan Cyprus for instance being around two-thirds from overseas. There

70 Paul Magdalino, "Between *Romaniae*: Thessaly and Epirus in the Later Middle Ages," in *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean*, p. 89; Kalopissi-Verti, "Between East and West," pp. 10–12 and 18–20.

71 Dieter Simon, ed., *Zyprische Prozessprogramme* (Munich, 1973), pp. 1–10; Nicholas Coureas, trans., *The Assizes of the Lusignan Kingdom of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 2002), pp. 42–45; Gilles Grivaud, *Entrelacs Chiprois. Essai sur les livres et la vie intellectualle dans le royaume de Chypre, 1191–1570* (Nicosia, 2009), pp. 137–39.

are instances of converts from the Greek rite to the Latin. Salient examples are the Syrian Melkite Thibaut de Belfarage in Cyprus, a favourite of Queen Eleanor who was later executed, and whose death the 15th century Cypriot chronicler Leontios Makhairas regarded as divine punishment for his desertion of the Greek rite.[72] In 15th-century Crete the Dominican friar Simon of Candia, a native of Crete, was active in proselytising people to the Latin rite, and among the Greek clerics of the late 14th and early 15th century working on Crete to promote adhesions to the Latin rite were Maximos Chrysoberges, Demetrios Cydones and Manuel Calecas. In Rhodes the Dominican Andreas Chrysoberges, a Greek convert to Roman Catholicism and archbishop of the island from 1431 until 1447, worked assiduously to promote the Latin rite. Fluent in both Latin and Greek, he preached numerous sermons in Greek with the consent of Pope Eugenius IV, and Greek replaced Latin in the celebration of the divine offices in the Latin churches of the town of Rhodes, presumably so as to facilitate conversion from the Greek rite to the Latin. One successful instance of conversion was Constantine Habibi, whom this pope praised for having left the Greek rite for the Latin after attending numerous sermons conducted by Andreas Chrysoberges. Habibi, whose name betrays his Syrian origin, was however, a servant of the archbishop, who emancipated him in 1438, although he continued to serve his former master at least until 1445, something which suggests that his motives for embracing the Latin rite were not wholly disinterested.[73]

The opposite phenomenon, of Latin Christians crossing over to the majority Greek rite, or even of Greeks who had adopted the Latin rite subsequently reverting to the Greek rite, was encountered far more frequently in formerly Byzantine Greek lands under Latin rule. As early as 1251 Hugh of Fagiano, the Latin archbishop of Nicosia, published regulations on Cyprus forbidding Greeks who had been confirmed and married according to the Latin rite, as well as their descendants, from receiving any sacraments in future according to the Greek rite on pain of excommunication, unless it were for reasons of dire necessity. In 1353 Archbishop Philip de Chamberlhac of Cyprus decreed that persons of the Greek and Latin rite wishing to be joined in matrimony had to be married in a Latin Church and had to raise their children as Latins, that persons of these rites could only receive the sacraments from priests of

72 Coureas, *Latin Church 1313–1378*, pp. 63–66, 181–82 and 443–44; Leontios Makhairas, *Recital concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus entitled 'Chronicle'*, ed. and trans. Richard M. Dawkins, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1932), 1:§§575–79.

73 Tsirpanlis, *Κληροδότημα*, pp. 42–51; idem, *Ανέκδοτα Έγγραφα*, pp. 211–13; Giorgio Fedalto, ed., *Acta Eugenii IV*, PC/CICO, (Rome, 1965), nos. 730 and 1323.

their own rite but that Latin priests could nonetheless administer the sacrament of confirmation to Greeks wishing to cross over to the Latin rite. These rulings, clearly promulgated with the aim of preventing Latins from crossing over to the Greek rite while encouraging the opposite process, failed in the long run. In 1418 Pope Martin V observed that the Latins of Cyprus were following the Greek rite, had abandoned Latin customs and were making no distinction between Latin and Greek churches. In the same year the Venetian Senate observed apropos of Crete that the Latin clergy had abandoned the villages and fortified settlements of Crete, on account of receiving neither incomes nor donations, as a result of which Roman Catholics were availing themselves of the services of Greek priests for the rites of baptism and for funerals. A similar situation prevailed in the Peloponnese. On 1 October 1322 Pope John XXII wrote to the titular Latin patriarch of Constantinople and to the archbishop of Patras, stating how it had come to his notice that Latins and their families there had been partaking of Greek ecclesiastical sacraments and attending Greek Church services, as well as making offerings to these churches.[74]

Nor was the attraction of the Greek Church to Latins confined to the lay population. In southern Italy, under Latin rule since the late 11th century, Latin clerics sometimes bypassed the rules of celibacy of their own church by marrying after receiving lower orders, transferring to the Greek rite and continuing in the married state after Greek bishops had consecrated them into the higher clerical orders. Statutes passed at the synod held in 1284 at Melfi decreed that such clerks refusing to renounce their marriage would thenceforth not be admitted into higher clerical orders unless they could furnish irrefutable proofs that both their parents were Greek. The ineffectiveness of these statutes is illustrated by the fact that as late as 1570 the archbishop of Otranto was complaining about how Latins hardly able to read Greek had been married in accordance with the Greek rite and were living together with their wives and children. Felix Faber, the Dominican friar visiting Cyprus in 1480 and once again in 1483, observed a similar phenomenon there, observing with indignation that "Many Latin priests go over to the Greek rite, and presume to take wives, but they wish at the same time to enjoy the privileges of Latin priests, in which they have no part".[75] Apparently the attraction of the Greek Church for Latins in Greece and even further afield was greater than the attraction the Latin Church exerted on the Greeks.

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74 Schabel, *Synodicum*, pp. 154–55 no. 6 and 268–71; Claudine Delacroix-Besnier, *Les Dominicains et la Chrétienté grecque au XIV^e^ et XV^e^ siècles* (Rome, 1997), pp. 74–75; *Acta Ioannis XXII*, no. 63.

75 Herde, "The Papacy and the Greek Church," pp. 238–39; Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria*, p. 41.

In concluding this survey of the relations between the Latin and Greek Churches in former Byzantine territories passing under Latin rule, one recalls the words of the Venetian merchant Marino Sanudo. Born just before 1270 in Venice into an old and influential family whose members included Marco Sanudo, the conqueror of the Cyclades in the wake of the Fourth Crusade, he travelled extensively throughout the Greek-speaking world and the Eastern Mediterranean. In describing the Greeks' attitude towards their Latin overlords in his *Istoria di Romania*, written between the years 1324 and 1337, he made the following observation:

> In the islands of Cyprus, Crete, Euboea (Negroponte), Rhodes and other islands and in the principality of the Morea, even though these places have been placed under the dominion of the Franks and are subject to the Church of Rome, nonetheless virtually all the population is Greek and inclined towards this sect and their hearts gravitate towards Greek practices, and should they be able to demonstrate this freely they will do so.[76]

76 *Marino Sanudo Torsello, Ιστορία της Ρωμανίας: Istoria di Romania*, ed. and trans. Eutychia Papadopoulou (Athens, 2000), pp. 3–8 and 166–69.

CHAPTER 6

# The Economy of Latin Greece

*David Jacoby*

## Political Developments after 1204

The Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204 opened the way to several closely related developments.[1] It furthered the political and territorial fragmentation of the Byzantine Empire and the establishment of a fairly large number of Latin political entities on former Byzantine soil, most of which existed for more than two centuries. In turn, the creation of these entities promoted Latin immigration and settlement in the former Byzantine territories on a scale and along patterns unknown before the Fourth Crusade. The fall of Constantinople and economic developments in the West also generated a re-orientation and restructuring of the Eastern Mediterranean trading networks. The conjunction of these processes had a major, long-term impact on the economy of Latin Greece, the nature and evolution of which varied widely. Indeed, within that region the differing political regime, judicial system, and social structure of the Latin entities were among the factors responsible for distinctive features of their respective economy.

Two fairly well-documented political entities established in the early 13th century warrant particular attention, in view of their large economic resources, their functions in the Mediterranean trade systems, and the fairly

* This chapter is largely based on my previous research. In order to shorten the notes, I limit bibliographical references as far as possible to recent publications, in which the reader will find further references to primary sources and earlier studies.

1 For this section, see David Jacoby, "After the Fourth Crusade: The Latin Empire of Constantinople and the Frankish States," in *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire, c. 500–1492*, ed. Jonathan Shepard (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 759–78. See also Guillaume Saint-Guillain, "Les conquérants de l'archipel: l'Empire latin de Constantinople, Venise et les premiers seigneurs des Cyclades," in *Quarta Crociata: Venezia—Bisanzio—Impero Latino*, ed. Gherardo Ortalli, Giorgio Ravegnani, Peter Schreiner (Venice, 2006), pp. 125–237; idem, "Comment les Vénitiens n'ont pas acquis la Crète: note à propos de l'élection impériale de 1204 et du partage projeté de l'empire byzantine," *Travaux et Mémoires*, 16 (2010) [= *Mélanges Cécile Morrisson*], pp. 713–58. I do not deal here with Chios, under Genoese rule for 1305 to 1329 and from 1348 to 1566, Rhodes, ruled by the Hospitallers from 1309 to 1522, or Corfu, Venetian from 1386 to 1797. These islands require separate investigations.

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abundant sources illustrating their economy: the centralised Venetian empire and the Frankish Principality of the Morea in the Peloponnese. Venice laid the foundations of its maritime empire in 1207, when it began the conquest of Crete and occupied Coron and Modon, two ports in the south-western Peloponnese. In 1211 it obtained property in the main city of Euboea, Euripos, called Negroponte by the Latins, a name also used for the island itself. Venice gradually extended its property in the city in the following years, and by 1256 had managed to merge its scattered urban possessions into a compact quarter enjoying an exterritorial status. A second stage of Venetian expansion took place in the last decades of the 14th century, when Venice extended its domination over the whole of Euboea, several cities and lordships in the Peloponnese, some islands of the Aegean, and Corfu.

In the Venetian territories conquered in the early 13th century the state retained the ownership of the land, even after granting it to individuals. In addition, Venice strictly maintained the public nature of judicial and fiscal authority as exclusive prerogatives of the state, like Byzantium. Estates remaining in the hands of some Greek archons, members of the local Greek elite, enjoyed a different status. Venice also displayed flexibility by respecting legal custom in the territories it annexed in the Peloponnese and in the Aegean in the second half of the 14th century.

The Principality of the Morea was the largest among the lordships created in non-Venetian territories. Vassalage and fiefs entailing military service provided the backbone of its social hierarchy and political structure. Judicial and legislative authority and the right of taxation were privatised, yet only higher and middle-ranking noblemen exercised them. The return of Byzantium to the Peloponnese in 1262 compelled Prince William II de Villehardouin to seek the support of King Charles I of Sicily, who extended his rule over the Frankish Morea after the prince's death in 1278. The direct and indirect domination of the king's successors over the principality, which continued for more than a whole century, affected only marginally its political regime. Other non-Venetian lordships adopted similar feudal or quasi-feudal institutions. The impact of the differing political and institutional superstructures upon the economy of the political entities will be examined below in due course.

## Latin Settlement and the Redistribution of Resources

Two intertwined processes promptly followed the Latin conquest, wherever it took place: first, Latin immigration and settlement; secondly, the confiscation

and redistribution of urban and especially rural resources, the most important components of which were land, the peasantry, and public rights of taxation.[2]

Prior to 1204 Latin settlement in the Byzantine provinces was limited to merchants residing in a few urban centres. After the Fourth Crusade it swiftly expanded in Latin Greece, the social and geographic origin of the settlers was more varied, and their geographic distribution far more extensive. Western knights and their retinue hailing from Capetian France and neighbouring lordships settled in the territories of continental Greece, while others from northern and central Italy established themselves in the Aegean islands they had conquered. They were later joined by their kinsmen and other members of the knightly class from their lands of origin. The quest for landed fiefs was the main incentive prompting their settlement in Latin Greece. They resided in castles and fortified mansions in the countryside or in the main cities of feudal lordships, as in Thebes and Corinth. Other knights permanently lived in the major city located in the vicinity of their fiefs, such as Negroponte, Naxos or Patras. Some had a secondary residence in Andravida, Glarenza, Modon or Coron. The strong political links existing between the Kingdom of Sicily and the Frankish Morea after 1278, when the principality came under the rule of Charles I, stimulated the immigration of knights from southern and central Italy to the Peloponnese.[3]

Venice implemented a highly structured and institutionalised immigration policy in Crete in order to consolidate its rule in the island. From 1211 to 1252 it settled three small groups of Venetians liable to military service, in return

2 This section is largely based on the following studies of mine: "Italian Migration and Settlement in Latin Greece: The Impact on the Economy," in *Die Kreuzfahrerstaaten als multikulturelle Gesellschaft. Einwanderer und Minderheiten im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*, ed. Hans E. Mayer (Munich, 1997), pp. 97–127, repr. in David Jacoby, *Byzantium, Latin Romania and the Mediterranean* (Aldershot, 2001), IX; idem, "Changing Economic Patterns in Latin Romania: The Impact of the West," in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy P. Mottahedeh (Washington DC, 2001), pp. 197–233, repr. in David Jacoby, *Commercial Exchange across the Mediterranean: Byzantium, the Crusader Levant, Egypt and Italy* (Aldershot, 2005), IX; idem, "Rural Exploitation and Market Economy in the Late Medieval Peloponnese," in *Viewing the Morea: Land and People in the Late Medieval Peloponnese*, ed. Sharon E.J. Gerstel (Washington DC, 2013), pp. 213–75.

3 On Italian migration to Latin Greece, see also Angeliki Tzavara, "The Italians in 13th Century Frankish Morea: Some Reflections on Old and New Sources," in *Liquid and Multiple: Individuals and Identities in the Thirteenth-Century Aegean*, ed. Guillaume Saint-Guillain and Dionysios Stathakopoulos (Paris, 2012), pp. 173–93; Charalambos Gasparis, "Great Venetian Families outside Venice: The Dandolo and the Gradenigo in 13th-Century Crete," in ibid., pp. 55–74.

for land granted by the state. The first group of military settlers included merchants who had previously traded in Crete. The others were also clearly aware of the agricultural and pastoral resources of the island. In Crete some of them combined trade with the holding of military tenements.[4]

Trade, banking and the exercise of crafts induced a far larger number of Latin commoners, mostly Italians, to settle in the main ports and some inland cities of Latin Greece. Their heaviest concentration occurred in Candia. Only a small number of them settled in the Cretan countryside to engage in land cultivation and the raising of animals. Venice's rule over Crete, Modon, Coron, and a quarter in the city of Negroponte prompted the concentration of Venetians in these areas, yet Venetians also settled in Patras, Glarenza, Argos and Nauplia. The political connection between southern Italy and the Principality of the Morea from 1278 onward fostered commercial exchanges between these regions and induced merchants and bankers active in the kingdom to extend their business to the principality. A number of Sienese and Florentine merchants and bankers operating in Glarenza and members of a few prominent Venetian families engaged in trade obtained fiefs from the princes of the Frankish Morea in the second half of the 13th and in the 14th century. The conquest of the duchy of Athens by the Catalan Company in 1311 was followed by immigration from Aragonese territories and by the establishment of economic ties with them.[5] These various factors account for the diversity of the Latin population settled in Latin Greece and the complexity of western involvement in the region's economy.

Latin lords as well as the Venetian government encouraged Latin settlement in order to consolidate their rule, yet economic considerations were also of major importance in that respect. The collapse of centralised Byzantine control over specific branches of trade and manufacture in 1204, among them silk, brought about a striking departure from Byzantine economic attitudes, policies and practices. The political and territorial fragmentation of Latin Greece created a climate of competition between Latin lords. In order to increase their

4 David Jacoby, "La colonisation militaire vénitienne de la Crète au XIII$^{e}$ siècle: Une nouvelle approche," in *Le partage du monde: Échanges et colonisation dans la Méditerranée médiévale*, ed. Michel Balard and Alain Ducellier (Paris, 1998), pp. 297–313, repr. in David Jacoby, *Latins, Greeks and Muslims: Encounters in the Eastern Mediterranean, 10th–15th Centuries* (Farnham, 2009), IV.

5 David Jacoby, "L'état catalan en Grèce: société et institutions politiques," in *Els Catalans a la Mediterrània oriental a l'edat mitjana*, ed. Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol (Barcelona, 2003), pp. 79–101, repr. in David Jacoby, *Travellers, Merchants and Settlers across the Mediterranean, Eleventh-Fourteenth Centuries* (Farnham, 2014), X.

financial gains and fiscal revenue they adopted various measures to attract settlers and merchants, stimulate trade and shipping through their ports, enable direct access to local producers, markets and fairs, and enhance foreign purchases of local goods.

The extent to which land and peasants were confiscated and allotted to Latin settlers varied from one region to another. It depended upon several factors: the circumstances leading to the submission of the local population, either based on agreements with the Latin leaders or imposed by force; the presence of Greek archons remaining in the conquered territories and retaining their property, whether partly or entirely, as in the Frankish Morea, Negroponte and Crete; the size of property previously belonging to the Byzantine state, members of the imperial family, or other absentee lay and ecclesiastical landowners based in Constantinople; finally, the extent of the property which Latin rulers or Venice decided to grant. In Venetian Crete the state retained under its direct authority the city and district of Candia, as well as the latter's rural workforce. It appears to have acted similarly in the territories of Coron and Modon. In any event, the developments just mentioned put an end to the dominant social role of the local Byzantine elite, severely curtailed its involvement in the rural economy and the marketing of its products, and eliminated it from the sponsorship of manufacture.

There were also external factors affecting the economy of Latin Greece. The losses inflicted upon the infrastructure of Constantinople by widespread fires and warfare in 1203 and 1204 were compounded by the exodus of population from all walks of life, including the Byzantine imperial court, the social elite, and craftsmen. As a result, Constantinople's role as a major consumption centre was sharply reduced, and its manufacturing of elite products such as silks ceased. The political fragmentation of former Byzantine territories further undercut the city's economic centrality. After 1204 it was merely the capital of a reduced territorial entity. There was no flow of cash and goods to Constantinople, whether in the form of fiscal revenue or self-supply of elite households from their provincial estates. The Latin emperors of Constantinople were chronically impoverished, and the purchasing power of the Latin settlers did not offset the consequences of large-scale depopulation. Constantinople's economic contraction was only partly overcome in the last two decades of Latin rule over the city, which lasted until 1261.[6]

6 David Jacoby, "The Economy of Latin Constantinople, 1204–1261," in *Urbs capta: The Fourth Crusade and its Consequences*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou (Paris, 2005), pp. 195–214, repr. in Jacoby, *Travellers, Merchants and Settlers*, VII.

In these circumstances, surpluses exported from the territories of Latin Greece to Constantinople before 1204 had to be partly re-directed toward other markets. The need for a re-orientation of trade and shipping networks occurred precisely in a period witnessing a rise in western demand for specific commodities produced in Latin Greece, namely foodstuffs, especially grain, cheese, wine and salt, as well as industrial raw materials such as cotton, silk and colourants. This western demand was generated by demographic expansion, a rise in purchasing power and living standards, as well as a growth in industrial production and an increase in the volume and value of goods available for exchange. These processes, already well underway in the 12th century, gained momentum in the following period and had a decisive impact on the economy of Latin Greece. Soon after 1204 they contributed to a major shift in the orientation of this region's economy. Instead of being mainly geared toward Constantinople and the internal Byzantine market, as before 1204, it rapidly became inserted within the patterns of the western supply system. This shift was decisively enhanced by Venetian presence and economic activity in the region, discussed below. By 1261, when Byzantium recovered Constantinople, the process had become irreversible, despite the renewed expansion of the city's economy in the following period. To be sure, Latin Greece benefited from the intensification of trade in Constantinople and the Black Sea in that period, yet the West, especially Italy, remained henceforth its main trading partner.

## The Rural Economy: The Workforce

In Latin Greece land was the backbone of the economy, as in the preceding Byzantine period.[7] It was the main source of commodities, wealth, and taxation. The nature, continuity, and intensity of rural exploitation largely depended upon the availability of an adequate workforce and demographic fluctuations in the countryside, the management of large estates, and the selective use of natural and manmade resources. The attitude of the large landowners toward rural exploitation was of paramount importance in that context, as most land was in their hands and their social dominance was likely to have economic implications.[8] Several non-rural factors also impacted on the

7 For this section, see Jacoby, "After the Fourth Crusade"; idem, "Italian Migration"; idem, "Changing Economic Patterns"; idem, "Rural Exploitation".

8 Throughout this study I use "landowner" in contrast to "villein", peasant or "leaseholder", regardless of whether the land was owned or held in fief.

economy, namely, the exercise of crafts and manufacturing, market demand, as well as the structure, operation and range of trade, transportation, and distribution patterns.

Regardless of the differing political and legal systems existing in the territories of Latin Greece, a major change occurred after the Latin conquest in the legal status and social condition of the Byzantine peasant, called *villanus* or villein by the Latins. In feudalised regions the privatisation of state authority turned him into a fully dependent peasant. His hereditary subjection to the landowner was far more rigorous than in the Byzantine period, and his legal capacity in the handling of landed property more restricted. He was tied to the land, was transferred together with it, and the landowner could move him at will to another location. The villein paid taxes and performed labour services, or these were commuted into cash payments. Fugitive villeins could be reclaimed by their landowner. A change in their status required a formal act of manumission, as for slaves. Venice adopted the same principles and policies as applied by the Franks with respect to the social and legal status of the peasantry. However, as Byzantium, it distinguished between villeins subject to individual landowners and others to the authority of the state. Whatever the case, their enfranchisement required the state's approval.

The stability, contraction, and expansion of the workforce were a constant concern of landowners in all political entities and a top priority of the state in Venetian territories. The Latin conquest was largely conducted in swift campaigns that do not seem to have affected the operation of the rural economy. Later, however, intermittent warfare in the 1270s between Frankish and Byzantine forces in Euboea must have inflicted some damage upon the countryside.[9] Around the same time piratical raids on some islands of the Aegean resulted in the abduction of peasants. More severe disruptions in the exploitation of rural resources took place during the 13th- and 14th-century Greek rebellions in Crete, especially between 1287 and 1299. In all these instances, though, the disturbances were circumscribed to specific localities or areas of the island, peasants either fleeing or being moved to new locations in which they contributed to the extension of cultivation. Land in Latin Greece appears to have been only temporarily abandoned by peasants and herdsmen as a result of warfare.

Conditions changed for the worse in several coastal areas and islands of the Aegean from the early 14th century onward, once the Turks of Asia Minor began their maritime forays, which occasionally resulted in severe damage and

9 On military operations, see also Michael Angold, "Michael VIII Palaiologos and the Aegean," in Saint-Guillain and Stathakopoulos, *Liquid and Multiple*, pp. 33–37.

local depopulation. On the other hand, territories shielded from their activity, such as Crete and inland regions in continental Greece, benefited from an influx of refugees. Despite localised population losses, the extension of cultivation into marginal land in the Peloponnese seems to reflect population pressure, increasing market demand for food, and the availability of an adequate workforce. The import of iron ploughshares from Venice to the Peloponnese in the 1330s, which must have been primarily intended for the extension or intensification of grain cultivation, points in the same direction. The eagerness of Latin knights, merchants and bankers to obtain landed estates from feudal lords in the Frankish Morea and from Venice in the latter's territories is also indicative of a growing rural population. The acquisition of rural land appears to have been considered a good investment. In sum, various indicators point to demographic growth until the Black Death of 1347–48, although it possibly slowed down from the early 14th century.

Disease resulted in population losses and peasant mobility on a much larger scale than warfare and piracy, with long-term repercussions. The Black Death caused a general demographic slump, aggravated by recurrent bouts of plague in the following period. In continental Greece the downward trend was compounded by Byzantine, Albanian and especially Turkish military incursions, political instability, and economic disruption. However, rural population losses varied widely from one locality to the other. Epidemics were often transmitted along navigation routes. As a result, ports and their hinterland were particularly affected, while settlements situated along the main routes followed by invaders suffered most from military incursions. The killing, abduction and massive flight of inhabitants, the loss of livestock and the destruction of other property often inflicted severe and prolonged disruptions of rural exploitation in specific regions. The settlement of Albanians on abandoned land in the southern Peloponnese, authorised by the Venetian authorities in the late 14th and in the 15th century, clearly points to depopulation. Significantly, after the Black Death demographic contraction and diminishing returns in marginal lands induced stewards in charge of large estates to alter the exploitation mode of these tracts or entirely abandon their cultivation. It has been argued that demographic losses in Crete were partly offset by the import of slaves. To be sure, slaves were occasionally put to work in the countryside, yet they remained a marginal factor with respect to villeins in its exploitation, since most of them, whether male or female, lived in urban households.

Peasant mobility, whether spontaneous or triggered by warfare, piracy or disease, was a permanent phenomenon in Latin Greece. It determined the degree of continuity in rural exploitation. Not surprisingly, therefore, landowners sought to attract peasants by various incentives, such as partial, temporary

or permanent tax exemptions and even land and housing, in order to enlarge the workforce in their estates. The continuous quest and fierce competition for labour, common to all the territories of Latin Greece, intensified in the period of demographic contraction following the Black Death. Mobility enlarging the rural workforce was backed by the rulers of political entities and by Venice. From 1312 to 1322 the emperors Andronikos II and Michael IX allowed the settlement of peasants from Latin and other foreign territories in the Byzantine Morea and granted them tax exemptions. In 1396 the prince of Frankish Morea requested the return of peasants who had moved from the principality to the Venetian territories of Coron and Modon, and three years later Venice took measures to convince the villeins of Argos who had fled the Turkish forces in 1397 to return from neighbouring Byzantine and Frankish territories. The territorial fragmentation in continental Greece encouraged greater mobility in the proximity of political boundaries. Once peasants crossed these boundaries, the lengthy diplomatic negotiations between political entities that followed enhanced their chances to evade return or to obtain concessions from their landowners. Despite the Greek rebellions mentioned above, Crete appears to have enjoyed a greater stability of rural labour than the Peloponnese or the Aegean islands. Some peasants managed to leave Crete, yet most of them moved within the island.

## The Rural Economy: Patterns of Market-Oriented Exploitation

The fragmentation and redistribution of large estates in favour of the Latins throughout Latin Greece soon after the conquest did not alter the nature of the rural economy, although they affected its operation, examined below.[10] In the short term the remaining Greek archons and the new Latin landowners as well as the peasantry were eager to ensure a smooth transition from Byzantine to Frankish or Venetian rule. The preservation of the Byzantine economic infrastructure in the countryside and the continuity of its exploitation were vital for the peasants' subsistence, whereas the primary concern of the Frankish lords and Venice was the rapid resumption of tax collection, indispensable for the consolidation of their rule. Continuity in rural exploitation was furthered by the integration of Greeks at various levels of the Venetian and non-Venetian administrations established soon after the conquest, as chancery scribes, surveyors, customs agents, or in other capacities. They were familiar with local

10 For this section, see Jacoby, "Italian Migration"; idem, "Changing Economic Patterns"; idem, "Rural Exploitation".

rural management and Byzantine taxation and capable of ensuring communication with the local population. Fiscal surveys, called *catastica*, were drafted in Greek for more than a whole century after the conquest in the Venetian territories of Coron and Modon, and the use of Greek in this respect continued as late as the second half of the 14th century in the Frankish Morea.[11] The preservation of Byzantine administrative, fiscal and legal institutions and practices is illustrated by the structure and operation of large estates in the 14th-century Frankish Morea, by state legislation and administration in Venetian territories, as well as by numerous agricultural and pastoral contracts drafted in Crete, which abundantly use Greek terms.

The diversified environment in large areas of Latin Greece enabled varied and complementary economic activities. Rural exploitation was based on polyculture and polyactivity. There was continuity in the patterns of land and water uses, crops and types of cultivation, animal breeding and pastoral activity, as well as in the production of wine, cheese, wool and silk. Land use combined cereal cultivation, viticulture, the growing of olive and other fruit-bearing trees, as well as livestock breeding and transhumant pastoralism. Harsh winter conditions in mountainous areas drove shepherds and their large flocks to the plains. In the Peloponnese limited grazing areas also compelled them at times to cross political boundaries. Rural exploitation extended to woodland and scrubland, which yielded a large variety of products: timber, firewood, pitch, pine-resin, some of which used in the production of resinous wine, charcoal, acorns serving as pig-fodder, tannin-rich acorn-cups and galls used in tanning, the costly kermes yielding a vermilion colourant applied in the dyeing of textiles, as well as cattle-food and wild game. Wetlands, lakes, marshes, rivers, fishponds and saltpans offered further resources.

The large estates of the Frankish Morea included the landowner's demesne land and small peasant holdings. Continuity prevailed in the forms of their exploitation. The availability or scarcity of labour was not the only factor determining the modes of exploitation of demesne land. The use of a single mode or the combination of several ones varied from one estate to the other, in relation to the size and location of the land, the nature and quality of soil and crops, and specific local conditions. Large tracts of demesne land such as the *massaria* or *zevgilatio*, a large seigniorial farm, were generally farmed by peasants

11 David Jacoby, "Multilingualism and Institutional Patterns of Communication in Latin Romania (Thirteenth-Fourteenth Centuries)," in *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean 1000–1500: Aspects of Cross-Cultural Communication*, ed. Alexander D. Beihammer, Maria G. Parani and Christopher D. Schabel (Leiden, 2008), pp. 27–28, 43–48.

owing corvée, the privatised compulsory labour service formerly owed to the Byzantine state, or else by hired workers. Grain was often grown in the *massaria*, several of which existed, were established, or were planned in various locations of the Frankish Morea in the 14th century. The corvée represented an important economic factor, especially when the peasants worked with their own oxen. The landowner anyhow maintained some beasts of labour for the farming of his seigniorial land by villeins who had no oxen, whether in the framework of their corvée or as hired workers.

Vineyards, olive groves, other fruit-bearing trees and vegetable gardens were included both within the peasants' holdings and seigniorial land, like grain fields. For the exploitation of vacant peasant holdings and especially for small scattered or isolated tracts of land or the latter's extension, large landowners and urban dwellers concluded various lease contracts with their own villeins, those of other landowners, or recently arrived fugitives. The *appactuatio*, a lease lasting up to 29 years, was the most common contract in that respect. The *hemiseia* contract called for the division into equal shares between landowner and cultivator of newly planted trees and vines once they bore fruit, the grower's rights being upheld as long as cultivation continued while the landowner retained ownership of the land. Other short-term agreements were based on the payment of rent by the growers. These contracts enhanced the growers' motivation and generated increased yields. The *soccida* was an association between the owner of a herd and a peasant offering his labour to raise animals entrusted to him for a specific period, in return for a payment in kind or cash. It was partly related to cheese production. These various profit-sharing ventures are attested for the Frankish principality and the Venetian territories of Crete, Coron and Modon. The peasants engaging in them sought to supplement the income deriving from their own villein's holding or other resources.

Despite various manifestations of continuity, a partial restructuring at the basic level of management and exploitation was unavoidable after the Latin conquest. This appears to have been especially the case in estates owned by Constantinopolitan landlords before the Latin conquest. Their fragmentation into smaller units and the division of their work force among new landowners must have often prevented the upholding of large-scale compulsory labour services. Yet there was also a tendency to replace services and so-called gifts owed by the peasants with cash payments, in particular in Crete where the state-granted military tenements were at best moderate-sized. Commutation was sometimes applied even when a fairly large labour force was available, as in the late 13th century at Lombaro, the village held by Andrea Corner, which

included 33 peasant households before it was hit by the Greek rebellion of the late 13th century.[12] In the Frankish Morea commutation was implemented only when the peasants could not carry out their labour service. Its monetary equivalent was generally 5 hyperpyra and represented a substantial portion of the total seigniorial revenue, mostly between 30 and 40 per cent. The adoption of a uniform rate, regardless of whether the villeins had oxen of their own or not, was obviously an accounting device simplifying the exaction of the payment and the evaluation of the estate's revenue. Significantly, for most villeins' households in the Frankish Morea the value of the corvée in cash was superior to that of the *acrosticum* or *telos*, the basic tax owed by these fiscal units. Commutation was a convenient device saving the cost of supervision and the need to coerce peasants to fulfil their obligations, while enabling the hiring of labourers likely to work more efficiently. Hired workers were employed for limited periods of time in the exploitation of various resources. They were paid in cash or in kind, in which case they sometimes received one half of the produce obtained by their work. While exploiting their peasant holding some villeins in the Frankish Morea were partially or totally exempt from taxes and entirely from the corvée because they performed other services, like those serving as archers at Krestena. However, these fiscal advantages did not improve their socio-legal status, since they remained villeins.

## Improved Management and Exploitation in the Rural Economy: The Italian Contribution

It is still widely believed that the Byzantine elite was adverse to trade until the 14th century.[13] The production of olive oil in the Peloponnese and its commercialisation before the Fourth Crusade contradict that proposition. By the early 11th century the great provincial landowners perceived the changing consumption patterns and the widening and more diversified demand within Byzantine society and were aware of the benefit to be gained from a market-oriented exploitation of their estates. The role of the archons of Sparta as middlemen and wholesalers marketing both their own oil and the produce of their peasants implies that they had a vested interest in the growing of olive

12 Spyridon M. Theotokes, ed., *Θεσπίσματα της Βενετικής Γερουσίας, 1281–1385* [*Statutes of the Venetian Senate, 1281–1385*], 2 vols. (Athens, 1936–37), 1:47–48, no. 12, document of 1307 listing losses in income as a result of the rebellion. Commutation did not imply a change in the legal status of the dependent peasant.

13 For this section, see above n. 2.

trees as a cash-generating activity. They must have encouraged its extension, both on their own demesne and on the peasants' land. The prospect of a good income from oil sales must have also induced peasants to plant and cultivate olive trees and to sell as much oil as possible, rather than consume it all, while resorting instead to cheaper substances such as animal fat in the preparation of food and wax in lighting. There is good reason to believe that the market- and export-oriented attitude of the archons of Sparta reflects the mentality of many large landowners throughout the empire in the 12th century.[14] The development of the silk industry in western Byzantium from the 11th century onward, based on the production of raw silk by peasants, reflects yet another aspect of market-oriented approach and activity among the empire's elite.[15]

In view of the large degree of continuity in the structure and operation of the rural economy and the market-oriented approach of Byzantine landowners, one may wonder to what extent the Frankish and Venetian occupation of former Byzantine territories impacted upon the exploitation of rural resources. As noted above, merchants and bankers from central and southern Italy and some Venetians obtained fiefs in the Frankish Morea. Following the extension of the rule of Charles of Anjou, king of Sicily, over the principality in 1278 the number of Italian fiefholders grew substantially. Some of them settled in the Morea, while others resided in the Kingdom of Naples and employed Italian stewards in the management of their estates. Both landowners and stewards shared a market and export-oriented approach to rural exploitation. They relied upon the Byzantine agrarian and social infrastructure of the countryside, yet displayed flexibility in response to changing circumstances. Based on the rich experience they had gained in Italy, they sought ways to improve management and enforce seigniorial authority to take full advantage of human and animal labour. In addition, they carried out various investments and adopted a more selective exploitation of soils, a concentration on grain cultivation and cash crops, the introduction of new types of culture, and more advanced farming methods to achieve a rise in output and revenue. The stewards possibly stimulated the diffusion of iron asymmetric ploughshares. The raising of buffaloes enabled a better and faster ploughing of soils, including heavier ones as in some relatively well-watered areas of Elis in the Peloponnese.

The approach of the Italian fiefholders and their stewards are perfectly illustrated by the 14th-century surveys of some feudal estates of the Frankish

14 Jacoby, "Rural Exploitation," pp. 234–39.

15 David Jacoby, "Silk in Western Byzantium before the Fourth Crusade," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 84/85 (1991–92), 452–500, repr. in idem, *Trade, Commodities and Shipping in the Medieval Mediterranean* (Aldershot, 1997), VII.

Morea. Shortly before 1354 Jacobo Buzuto from Brindisi, chief administrator of the fiefs held by Niccolò Acciaiuoli, restored vineyards and renewed the operation of salt pans that had been neglected. Nicola de Boiano, in charge of the estates of Marie of Bourbon in 1361, recorded disagreements and litigation with other feudatories with respect to her assets and rights, and took firm action to regain whatever had been lost. He expressed his dissatisfaction with the performance of several of Marie's officers in charge of local affairs and removed them, as well as those exceeding their competence, and replaced them with trustworthy and experienced men. He intended to find leaseholders who would resume the cultivation of land abandoned by villeins put to flight by Turkish incursions. In one village he realised that a specific plot of seigniorial land was unsuitable for the growing of wheat, and decided that it should be converted into a vineyard. Aldobrando Baroncelli, whose family had close connections with other Florentine families settled in the Kingdom of Naples, served in Greece from 1379 to 1382 at least as agent for Angelo and Lorenzo Acciaiuoli. In 1379 he promised to increase the yield from the village of Sperone, which belonged to Lorenzo, by the proper use of beasts of labour and seeds.

The Italian landowners and stewards devoted particular attention to intensive cultivation relying on manure and irrigation and to the introduction of new cash crops. Irrigation had already been practiced in the Byzantine period,[16] yet appears to have been extended after 1204. It is attested in 1118 for cotton and vegetable cultivation in Crete and for gardens and orchards in the bishoprics of Athens and Negroponte in 1209, thus shortly after the conquest. Cistern and well water was used for small pieces of land, yet irrigation was mostly based on the diversion of streams. In Crete both cotton and flax cultivation in the early 14th century was based on irrigation.[17] Great landowners could more easily than peasants take advantage of the water flowing through their land or along the latter's borders and muster the large resources needed for the building and maintenance of expensive watering systems. In the Frankish Morea irrigation was particularly applied to seigniorial land. The feudal fragmentation of landholding and the absence of a strong central authority in that region must have hampered the large-scale exploitation of water resources, achieved in Venetian-ruled Euboea and Crete.[18]

16 Alan Harvey, *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire, 900–1200* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 127–33; Maria Gérolymatou, "La gestion de l'eau dans les campagnes byzantines (8e–15e siècle), " *Revue des Études Byzantines* 63 (2005), 195–205.

17 Theotokes, *Θεσπίσματα*, 1:47–48, no. 12.

18 For Crete, see also Charalambos Gasparis, *Η γη και οι αγρότες στη μεσαιωνική Κρήτη, 13ος –14ος αι.* [*Land and Peasantry in Medieval Crete, 13th–14th Centuries*] (Athens, 1997), pp. 105–10.

Both manure and irrigation were used in 1337 in the farming of a garden in the plain of Elis, in the Peloponnese. Irrigated orchards in 14th-century Crete grew cherries, marasca or sour cherries, pomegranates, peaches, pears, lemons and thick-skinned citrons, while sour oranges grew in 1354 on demesne land at Petoni in northern Messenia, in the Peloponnese, thanks to the initiative of a seigniorial manager. Citrus growing appears to have been introduced in Latin Greece around that time, yet still remained fairly limited around 1400. By 1450, however, citrons and oranges were being exported from Coron and Modon in larger amounts.

Cotton growing was also a cash crop introduced by Italian landowners and stewards into Latin Greece. By 1307 Crete was already shipping its cotton to Venice. Cotton cultivation in the Frankish Morea is securely documented for the first time in 1365, when it appears to have been already practiced for some time around Corinth and Argos. Cotton was also grown in the countryside of Coron and Modon, as well as in Negroponte and Corfu. The introduction of cotton cultivation and its stimulation in the Cycladic island of Santorini was a deliberate policy initiated in the second half of the 14th century by the Italian dukes of the Archipelago. In 1362 the duchess Fiorenza Sanudo sold in advance the total annual yield of the three following years to two Venetian merchants. Several cotton sales by the island's rulers are documented in the following decades.[19]

The Italian estate managers in the Frankish Morea also took steps to increase production and storage facilities and enhance the commercialisation of surpluses. Jacobo Buzuto, already mentioned above, reported in 1354 to the landowner, Niccolò Acciaiuoli, that he had recently built a new tower in Krestena, in fact a large and complex structure serving as a major administrative and production centre. It included an oil press, a wine cellar and an oven, in addition to numerous rooms.[20] The construction of a wine cellar at Grizi was suggested, because the village produced large quantities of wine that could easily be conveyed to the market. On the other hand, the sale of wine produced at Petoni was seriously hampered because the village was isolated and land transportation was difficult. Therefore it would be wise to keep this wine for the use of the landowner and his family. An additional fish-pond was envisaged for Pilla. In 1361 Nicola de Boiano reported that because of mismanagement wine, salt,

19 Jacoby, "Rural Exploitation," pp. 260–63; Guillaume Saint-Guillain, "Les ducs de l'Archipel et le coton de Santorin (fin XIV^e^–début XV^e^ siècle)," in *Bisanzio, Venezia e il mondo franco-greco (XIII–XV secolo): atti del colloquio internazionale organizzato nel centenario della nascita di Raymond-Joseph Loenerz o.p., Venezia, 1–2 Dicembre 2000*, ed. Chryssa A. Maltezou and Peter Schreiner (Venice, 2002), pp. 365–94.

20 Jacoby, "Rural Exploitation," p. 241.

and a large volume of acorn-cups from the previous year's yield had remained unsold. These commodities had presumably not reached a port in time to be shipped by the autumn convoys returning to Venice. Aldobrando Baroncelli found in 1379 that much wine was getting spoiled at Santo Archangelo because of the absence of a wine cellar, and decided to build one, while at Andravida he improved the operation of a mill for which he bought a grinding stone.

There is yet another aspect of the Italian agents' activity in Latin Greece deserving close attention: they were highly experienced in business administration. In 1361 Nicola de Boiano was unable to gather reliable information about the management of Vostitsa and concluded that he had to compile a new survey of the estate. In 1379 Aldobrando Baroncelli emphasised that the report he was presenting was systematic, detailed and comprehensive, which indeed it was. He listed separately revenue and expenditure, item by item, and computed them; in addition, he recorded the assets in deposit. He twice alluded to an account book, in which he must have used a sophisticated method of daily accounting. The nature of that book is suggested by the work of the Italian officer who in 1365 established the yearly financial balance of the lordship of Corinth belonging to Niccolò Acciaiuoli. His registration and compilation included double-entry book-keeping in an advanced form, receipts and expenditure being displayed on opposite pages. This bilateral form was common at that time in Italian mercantile and banking companies, some of which operated in Latin Greece, as noted below.

The Italians thus introduced into Latin Greece innovative methods in the exploitation and management of agricultural and other resources. Non-Italian barons and knights as well as Greek feudatories of the Frankish Morea were in close touch with them. They met at their lord's court or with their lord's Italian stewards, several of them had houses in the ports of the Frankish Morea and the neighbouring Venetian territories, and they conducted business with Italian traders and bankers.[21] As a result, they must have increasingly adopted the market and export-oriented practices introduced by the Italians.

Venice's policies in Crete also impacted on rural production. The state's interest was already illustrated by the charter which Doge Pietro Ziani delivered in 1211 to the first military contingent sent to Crete.[22] One of the provisions of that charter deals with state control over wheat exports, aimed at

21 David Jacoby, "The Encounter of Two Societies: Western Conquerors and Byzantines in the Peloponnesus after the Fourth Crusade," *American Historical Review* 78 (1973), 891–902, repr. in idem, *Recherches sur la Méditerranée orientale du XII^e au XV^e siècle: Peuples, sociétés, économies* (London, 1979), II.

22 Jacoby, "La colonisation militaire."

ensuring adequate supplies to the city of Venice. Later in the 13th century the Cretan authorities imposed on the Latin military settlers and Greek archons quotas of wheat, which they undertook to buy from them at state regulated prices determined each year according to the anticipated yield. This disposition was advantageous to landowners, since it ensured a convenient marketing, a rapid payment in cash, partly in advance of delivery, and a guaranteed price floor even in case of overflow due to good harvests. Prices appear to have been slightly on the rise in the second half of the 13th and again in the second half of the 14th century. It is likely that the state's quotas stimulated grain cultivation. There was also a free grain trade in Crete, though exports were controlled by the state and restricted to Venice, Venetian territories overseas, and other destinations when authorised. In addition to its regulation of the wheat trade, the Venetian government established in 1279 a salt monopoly in Crete, and two years later imposed a new overall salt policy requiring all ships to carry salt on their return voyage to Venice and sell it to the state.

However, in Crete as elsewhere in Latin Greece, market demand was a major factor impacting on rural exploitation. Especially foreign demand with the prospects of higher income stimulated shifts in the nature and volume of production. Wine from the region of Monemvasia, called malvasia by the Latins, was undoubtedly the most appreciated brand among those exported from the Peloponnese, as attested from the early 13th century. Malvasia vine-stocks were introduced into Crete in the 1330s or somewhat earlier. By 1342 the island was already producing malvasia wine equal in quality and taste to the Monemvasia brand.[23] Moreover, growing foreign demand stimulated a substantial expansion of vineyards and wine production in Crete at the expense of grain cultivation. From the mid-14th century onward wine, especially malvasia, replaced grain as the major Cretan export item and made a substantial contribution to the Cretan economy.[24]

### Processing and Commercialisation of Rural Produce: Large Landowners as Middlemen

An important aspect of estate management, especially well documented for the Frankish Morea, deserves particular attention. Many large landowners owned oil presses, mills, silk workshops, wine cellars and taverns generally

23 Jacoby, "Rural Exploitation," pp. 253–54.

24 Mario Gallina, *Una società coloniale del Trecento: Creta fra Venezia e Bisanzio* (Venice, 1989), pp. 135–38.

not recorded among the peasants' assets. These facilities were operated either by the landowners' officers or leased in return for a payment in kind. Clearly, in their estates large landowners maintained a monopoly on oil pressing, the milling of grain, some stages in the processing of raw silk, and the sale of wine, preventing peasants from erecting, owning or operating processing or marketing facilities, except in return for a fee. The peasants used the landowners' facilities, whether spontaneously or under the landowner's pressure, in return for a payment in cash or kind.[25] The same pattern prevailed in Crete, where the mills were property of the landowners and a component of military tenements held from the state.[26] In contrast, in the absence of large estates in the Venetian territories of Coron and Modon oil pressing and the oil market were open to competition.[27]

Rural surpluses in Latin Romania were partly conveyed to nearby rural or urban markets and fairs by producers, whether landowners, peasants, herdsmen or craftsmen, who sold their own produce or else delivered them to a specific customer, in accordance with a contract between them. Some producers also acted as middlemen between their peers and markets. In 1328 a few Greek peasants from Venetian Messenia sold in Coron their own silk cocoons, as well as others bought in the neighbouring Frankish Morea. Peasants wishing to avoid the time-consuming and, therefore, costly transport of small amounts of products to distant markets or fairs and sale there relied on professional merchants and carriers collecting them in the countryside.[28] Some large landowners also acted as middlemen in the commercialisation of rural commodities. In addition to surpluses from their own demesne, they also sold the produce of their dependent peasants and even of other peasants. Some of that produce derived from taxes, payments for leases, or fees in kind collected for the use of the landowner's facilities. More importantly, many peasants found it more convenient to sell to large landowners the produce that they wished to market. A similar pattern may be assumed for the produce of small estates. Large landowners could collect and acquire large quantities of goods and mus-

25 Jacoby, "Rural Exploitation," pp. 241, 246–48, 251–52, 270. Peasants also stored their wine in the landowners' wine-cellars for maturation and preservation, presumably in return for a payment. For silk processing, see David Jacoby, "Silk Production in the Frankish Peloponnese: The Evidence of Fourteenth Century Surveys and Reports," in *Travellers and Officials in the Peloponnese: Descriptions—Reports—Statistics, in Honour of Sir Steven Runciman*, ed. Haris A. Kalligas (Monemvasia, 1994), pp. 51–53, repr. in Jacoby, *Trade*, VIII.

26 Gasparis, *H γη*, pp. 97–105, and Theotokes, *Θεσπίσματα*, 1:47–48, no. 12.

27 Jacoby, "Rural Exploitation," p. 241.

28 Ibid., pp. 271–72.

ter transportation facilities more easily than individual peasants. They could also take advantage of their standing and authority to acquire from their own or other villeins, at imposed prices, the products they wished to market. Such a practice may have been fairly common when they had agreed to deliver at a given time specific amounts of products to a private customer, to a merchant, or to the state with respect to wheat in Crete. Venetians and other Latin settlers holding fiefs in Crete often sold the cheese they bought from their Greek villeins, in addition to the produce of their own flock. In 1279 and 1280 Pietro de la Caliva of Candia made advance payments for the exclusive right to purchase the entire yield of sheep cheese and wool from some fiefholders and their villeins holding land in the area of Sitia, in eastern Crete.[29] In 1381 Ioannes Laskaris Kalopheros, a fiefholder in the Frankish Morea, sold in Modon around 950 kilograms of raw silk representing the production of more than 550 peasant households, clearly not only silk produced by his own villeins.[30] The lords of Santorini acted as sole middlemen between local cotton producers and foreign merchants, selling the entire yield from their island. The maintenance of this role was furthered by the maritime isolation of Santorini.[31] There is no evidence regarding the commercialisation of the peasants' or the landowner's cotton in the Frankish Morea, yet we may postulate a pattern similar to the one attested in Santorini.

Large landowners acted as middlemen in the particular pattern of commercialisation of some specific commodities, namely currants, acorn-cups and kermes. Currants, dried small black and seedless grapes, grown in Corinthia and the regions of Argos and Nauplion were used as sweeteners. The yield was fairly small, there was a high foreign demand, and this was primarily an expensive export-oriented commodity. As a rule the landowners exercised a monopoly over purchases from their own villeins, and the overlord, the duke of Athens and the lord of Argos and Nauplion over all the produce of his respective lordship. The landowners and the overlord took advantage of their monopolistic standing as sole purchasers to impose standard sale prices, regardless of the annual yield or market conditions, whereas supply and demand were at play at the stage of commercialisation, which involved export. The two-tier monopsony ensured large profits both to the large landowners and to the overlord. The strict channelling of currants attested in the second half of the

29 David Jacoby, "Cretan Cheese: A Neglected Aspect of Venetian Medieval Trade," in *Medieval and Renaissance Venice*, ed. Ellen E. Kittel and Thomas F. Madden (Urbana, 1999), pp. 52–53, repr. in Jacoby, *Commercial Exchange*, VIII.

30 Jacoby, "Changing Economic Patterns," pp. 217–18.

31 Saint-Guillain, "Les ducs de l'Archipel."

14th century in the feudal lordships of the Frankish Morea was taken over by Venice when it got hold of Nauplion in 1389 and Argos in 1394.

There is good reason to believe that the two-tier purchase monopoly had been inherited from Byzantium, since it is also attested in the Byzantine Morea for acorn-cups and kermes.[32] Found without investment in cultivation, both were collected for industrial use. Tannin-rich acorn-cups, called *valania* by westeners, served as tanning and dyeing agents. Kermes (*coccum ilicis L.*), called *grana* by westeners, yielded a high-quality, solid vermilion dyestuff obtained from the pregnant female kermes parasite, once it was dried and crushed. The parasite settles on the holly oak, an arborescent bush common practically in the entire Peloponnese, as well as in Boeotia and Euboea. The collection of kermes called for a substantial input of labour, the substance was available in limited quantities, and it was in high demand in western textile manufacturing centres. We do not know whether the purchase monopoly also existed in the islands of Cerigo and Cephalonia, both of which exported kermes.[33]

### Monetisation in the Rural Economy

It has been suggested that Italian trade contributed to a monetisation of the economy in the 12th-century southern Peloponnese, in a more advanced form than in other Byzantine provinces.[34] The extent of this process remains an open question in the absence of adequate evidence. The documentation for Latin Greece in the post-conquest period is far richer. The firm insertion of the region within the Eastern Mediterranean trading system contributed to the infusion of liquid capital into the economy of Latin Greece, including into its rural sector. The Florentine mercantile and banking companies of the Bardi, Peruzzi and Acciaiuoli and some Sienese companies engaged in exports and in the transfer of funds financing warfare and conspicuous consumption until the mid-14th century. Glarenza, Corinth, Thebes and Negroponte functioned as financial markets, and individual Venetian and Greek bankers operated in Coron and Modon.[35] There were no banking companies operating in Crete.

32 Jacoby, "Rural Exploitation," pp. 257–60, 263–67.

33 For which see Jacoby, "Changing Economic Patterns," p. 225.

34 Cécile Morrisson, "L'ouverture des marchés après 1204: Un aspect positif de la IV$^{e}$ croisade?," in Laiou, *Urbs Capta*, pp. 219–20.

35 See Jacoby, "Italian Migration," pp. 106–18; Jacoby, "Changing Economic Patterns," pp. 225, 231.

Italian merchants and bankers handled more cash than the Greeks before 1204 and had easier access to peasants and landowners than in that period. Transactions regarding agricultural and pastoral products were often based on sale credit, in the form of anticipated payment for the delivery of an agreed amount of produce at a specific date or within a specific period. Only local inhabitants used this financial tool, too risky for merchants in transit. With its concealed loan, it favoured the creditor who was in a position to exert pressure on the producer, in need of cash, and obtain from him favourable prices.[36] There were also loans to individuals and, collectively, to village communities.[37] Taxes, lease payments and wages in the rural sector were delivered in cash or kind, or else in a conjunction of both. The commutation of compulsory labour service always entailed payments in cash. Export-oriented rural products were sold in return for cash. Monetisation spread through the countryside from ports such as Candia, Corinth, Patras, Glarenza, Modon and Coron serving as maritime outlets of these products. Its extension in the rural economy is also illustrated by finds of stray and excavated coins in villages, as in Elis. Especially hoards accumulated over long periods may suggest to some extent the pace and degree of that process.[38]

### Channelling and Destinations of Rural Produce

Important and wide-ranging changes occurred in the channelling and destinations of agricultural and pastoral surpluses produced by the confiscated estates of large absentee landowners based in Constantinople.[39] Before 1204 these surpluses were either shipped to the capital for self-supply, sold at nearby markets, or donated to ecclesiastical institutions. The Latin conquest severed the link to Constantinople. A portion of the surpluses had to be redirected toward the new Latin landlords and their retinues established on their estates or in nearby cities, while the remainder was transferred to markets and fairs in the region in which they were produced.

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36 See Jacoby, "Cretan Cheese," pp. 51–54.

37 David Jacoby, "New Evidence on the Greek Peasantry in Latin Romania," in *Porphyrogenita: Essays on the History and Literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in Honour of Julian Chrysostomides*, ed. Charalambos Dendrinos, Jonathan Harris, Eirene Harvalia-Crook and Judith Herrin (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 239–56, repr. in Jacoby, *Latins, Greeks and Muslims*, X.

38 Jacoby, "Rural Exploitation," pp. 227–73, passim. See also Julian Baker, 'Money and Currency in Medieval Greece', in the present volume, pp. 217–54, especially 248–54.

39 For this section: Jacoby, "Changing Economic Patterns," pp. 213–16.

On a more general level, the patterns of Latin settlement and economic activity generated some significant changes in the location and relative importance of markets and fairs. Existing commercial routes were partly deflected to new courses and destinations. Fairs must have been quite common before the Fourth Crusade in the territories conquered by the Latins, yet changing circumstances induced landowners to transfer existing fairs to new locations or to establish new ones yielding revenue on their estates. The annual fair of St Demetrius, held inland at some distance from Glarenza, was presumably of Byzantine origin. Attested in 1338, it was the most important of the fairs documented in the 14th-century Frankish Morea. Venetian merchants attending it were supposed to return with their goods to Glarenza within eight days after its conclusion, in time to meet Venetian state galleys and other ships returning to Venice.

In Venetian territories all rural products channelled by land and by sea to cities, regardless of their ultimate destination, were to be sold and taxed at urban markets supervised by the state. In Crete the maritime transportation of these products was directed toward the main ports of the island, namely Candia, Canea, Rethymnon and Sitia. Two late 13th-century customs lists record taxes levied at the land gate and in the harbour of Candia. The weighing or measuring of goods was carried out by state-appointed officials in the presence of state assessors, who also acted as official brokers. Similar practices existed in Coron and Modon.[40] In these circumstances, it is rather unlikely that rural fairs should have survived in Crete or that any subsisted outside the cities of Coron and Modon in the exiguous territories of Venetian Messenia.

## Industrial Activities in Urban Centres: Tanning and Silk Weaving

Two industrial activities carried out in Latin Greece, tanning and the manufacture of silk textiles, were of particular importance since they were export-oriented. Tanning was practiced on a large scale in Candia, Negroponte, Modon and Coron, cities enjoying an abundant supply of skins.[41] It was a major occupation among Jews.[42] Venice was the main destination of the exported hides.

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40 Jacoby, "Cretan Cheese," pp. 54–55.

41 Jacoby, "Rural Exploitation," p. 265, n. 472, and p. 268; numerous documents on tanning in Modon and Coron: Konstantinos N. Sathas, ed., *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au Moyen Âge*, (Μνημεία Ελληνικής Ιστορίας) 9 vols. (Paris, 1880–90), 4:33–186, passim.

42 David Jacoby, "The Jewish Communities in the Social Fabric of Latin Greece: Between Segregation and Interaction," in this volume, pp. 255–87. On trade in hides and tanning

The silk industry in the western provinces of Byzantium was market-oriented from its establishment in the 11th century. Local archons appear to have been the driving force behind its launching and development in Thebes, Corinth, as well as in the islands of Euboea and Andros, in response to growing demand for high-grade silk textiles in the empire, especially in Constantinople. All these centres produced samite, a rather heavy, strong and glossy silk cloth. The Latin conquest put an end to the role of the archons in the manufacturing and marketing of silks. They were replaced by western entrepreneurs and merchants, among them Genoese attested in Thebes around 1240. Production in this city continued until the late 14th century, as illustrated by its samites recorded in western inventories. Negroponte and Andros shipped their silk textiles to Venice in the second half of the 13th century. According to an unpublished commercial manual completed in Florence around 1320, kermes-dyed samites were also being exported from Thebes, Negroponte and other localities of Latin Greece to Egypt, yet we do not know how long this trade continued. Corinth may still have manufactured silks by 1303, yet production must have definitely ceased in 1312, following the attack and looting of the city by the forces of the Catalan Company established in the Duchy of Athens. Satin and a variety of samite were produced at Patras around 1430.

Soon after the Latin conquest Italian merchants gained access to silk fibres produced in Latin Greece. Their supply to the expanding silk industries of Lucca and Venice appears to have been more profitable than the sponsoring and financing of manufacturing of silk textiles in Greek silk centres. Growing exports of raw material may have restricted to some extent the latter's production capacity. More importantly, the ability of Greek weavers to compete with high-grade silks produced in Italy gradually declined. The silk workshops of Latin Greece appear to have upheld Byzantine tradition, both in the nature and quality of their textiles. This continuity ensured them a share of domestic and foreign markets in the 13th and, to a lesser degree, in the 14th century. In the long run, however, lack of adaptation to new fashions and innovative technologies developed in Italy in the 14th century weakened their ability to withstand the fierce competition of the silk industries of Venice and Lucca.[43]

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in Crete and Jewish participation in these activities, see also Mario Gallina, "Un aspetto poco noto dell' economia veneto-cretese: Il commercio delle pelli nella seconda metà del Trecento (dai registri notarili candioti)," *Thesaurismata* 39/40 (2009/10), 57–89.

43 Jacoby, "Silk in Western Byzantium," pp. 452–500; David Jacoby, "Silk in Mediaeval Andros," in *Captain and Scholar: Papers in Memory of Demetrios I. Polemis*, ed. Evangelos Chrysos and Elizabeth A. Zachariadou (Andros, 2009), pp. 137–50; David Jacoby, "Genoa, Silk Trade and Silk Manufacture in the Mediterranean Region (ca. 1100–1300)," in *Tessuti, oreficerie, miniature in Liguria, XIII–XV secolo*, ed. Anna Rosa Calderoni Masetti, Clario Di

Along high-grade textiles some weavers in Latin Greece engaged in the domestic production of small silk pieces such as girdles, hoods, veils and kerchiefs. These pieces may have been included in the attire of local wealthy women, yet did not satisfy their taste for luxury.

The absence of high-grade textile manufacture in Latin Greece partly explains the continuous import of Flemish and Italian woollens and Italian silks, including velvets. Yet changes in lifestyle, taste and fashion also account for the purchase of costly imported textiles by affluent Latins, Greeks and Jews in 14th and 15th-century Crete, despite heavy taxation and sumptuary laws restricting luxury consumption.[44]

## Regional Shipping Patterns

The focus of research upon long-distance Mediterranean trade in the later Middle Ages has generated a skewed perception of the function of the Aegean as being merely a transit region. This Eurocentric perspective has led to the neglect of short and medium-range regional traffic, despite the latter's major economic function. This traffic is inadequately documented, except for Crete. The sources nevertheless reveal that many Greeks based in the islands or coastland areas of Latin Greece engaged along with Latins in short or medium-range journeys and assumed a large share of regional maritime traffic.

This traffic, carried out by small and middle-sized vessels, followed three patterns. The quest for basic food supplies, livestock, raw materials, semi-finished and finished products or, alternatively, the marketing of indigenous surpluses induced local inhabitants or foreigners to engage in direct bilateral exchanges with specific territories. On the other hand, cabotage and tramping were aimed at the small-scale collection and distribution of goods, as well as the loading and unloading of passengers, whether in the same island or main-

Fabio and Mario Marcenaro (Bordighera, 1999), pp. 16–24, 29–31, 37–39, repr. in Jacoby, *Commercial Exchange*, XI; David Jacoby, "The Production of Silk Textiles in Latin Greece," in *Τεχνογνωσία στη λατινοκρατούμενη Ελλάδα* [*Technology in Latin-Occupied Greece*] (Athens, 2000), pp. 22–35, repr. in Jacoby, *Commercial Exchange*, XII.

44 David Jacoby, "Candia between Venice, Byzantium and the Levant: The Rise of a Major Emporium to the Mid-Fifteenth Century," in *The Hand of Angelos: An Icon-Painter in Venetian Crete*, ed. Maria Vassilaki (Farnham, 2010), pp. 38–47. Incidentally, changes in diet, cooking and eating habits in Latin Greece have been postulated to explain changes in the consumption of Italian ceramics in Latin Greece: Joanita Vroom, "The Morea and its Links with Southern Italy after AD 1204: Ceramics and Identity," *Archeologia Medievale* 38 (2011), 409–30.

land region or at neighbouring insular and continental points. Cabotage and tramping are well illustrated by Venetian compensation claims submitted to Byzantium in 1278 and 1324, by Genoese claims shortly before June 1294, and especially by notary charters and Venetian official documents. These traditional types of traffic always fulfilled a major function in maritime trade, especially in the Eastern Mediterranean with its numerous islands. They involved mixed cargoes and indigenous as well as imported commodities. The latter were partly re-exported to finance purchases abroad.

Direct sailings are illustrated by shipments of grain and other commodities from Crete to the Peloponnese in the 13th and 14th centuries. The compensation claims submitted by Venice to Byzantium in 1278 record the import of a large variety of goods to Negroponte both from Aegean islands, namely Andros, Naxos and Crete, and continental ports in a region of the Balkans extending between the Peloponnese and Thessalonica, Makre on the Aegean coast of Asia Minor, and even more distant locations of the Eastern Mediterranean such as Cyprus and Acre. Attacks on ships between Crete on the one hand, the islands of Naxos and Seriphos and the Peloponnesian ports of Modon and Glarenza are also mentioned. Fourteenth-century commercial contracts reveal that small ships leaving Candia, the capital of Venetian Crete, often anchored at Sitia or Mirabello, also along the northern coast of the island, in order to load between 15 and 30 metric tons of cheese produced around these localities. The vessels stopped for two days at Paphos and again at Limassol, on the southern coast of Cyprus, to enable sales, and proceeded to Famagusta. Unsold Cretan cheese was re-exported, in 1306 to Ayas in Cilician Armenia, and in other instances to Egypt. In 1369 a vessel engaged in cabotage on its return voyage from Attaleia, on the southern coast of Asia Minor, anchored in Rhodes, Keryneia on the northern coast of Cyprus, Paphos and Limassol, before reaching Famagusta.[45]

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45 David Jacoby, "The Eastern Mediterranean in the Later Middle Ages: An Island World?," in *The Late Medieval Eastern Mediterranean World: Between Byzantines and Turks*, ed. Jonathan Harris, Catherine Holmes and Eugenia Russell (Oxford, 2012), pp. 100–03; Guillaume Saint-Guillain and Oliver Schmitt, "Die Ägäis als Kommunikationsraum im späten Mittelalter," *Saeculum: Jahrbuch für Universalgeschichte* 56 (2005), 219–20; Silvano Borsari, *L'Eubea veneziana* (Venice, 2007), pp. 84–88; Mario Gallina, "La navigazione di cabotaggio a Creta nella seconda metà del trecento (dai registri notarili candioti)," *Thesaurismata* 38 (2008), 23–102; Charalambos Gasparis, "The Trade in Agricultural Products in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Regional Sea Routes from Thirteenth to Fifteenth Century," in *Handelsgüter und Verkehrswege. Aspekte der Warenversorgung im östlichen Mittelmeerraum* (*4. bis 15. Jahrhundert*), ed. Ewald Kislinger, Johannes Koder and Andreas Külzer (Vienna, 2010), pp. 93–104.

The complex web of regional short and medium-range trading and shipping of the Eastern Mediterranean displayed basic continuity with respect to the Byzantine period in its orientations, communication networks, and ranges, despite the Latin conquests of the early 13th century. Foodstuffs and some other commodities partly remained within the Aegean region itself, such as some raw silk for the local manufacture of textiles. However, a partial restructuring of networks occurred as a result of a change in the economic orientation of the region, especially pronounced in the territories conquered by the Latins. As noted above, instead of being largely geared toward Constantinople and the internal Byzantine market, Latin Greece rapidly integrated within the patterns of the western trading system. Still, the 14th and 15th centuries witnessed the intensification of wine and cheese exports from the Aegean space to Constantinople and beyond, to the Black Sea, especially from Crete, partly in response to increasing demand in Ottoman and Mongol territories. These exports partly financed growing western purchases of grain, oriental luxury silks, gems and spices, as well as raw silk, hides and wax. A growing volume of Cretan wine and cheese was also dispatched to Alexandria in the 14th and 15th century, the merchants returning with spices.[46]

Industrial commodities, such as silk, cotton and kermes, were mostly or even exclusively conveyed to major transit and transhipment stations within the region in order to be dispatched to western industrial centres. Cabotage ensured the collection of these commodities and the distribution of foreign goods. However, commodities were also shipped directly from production sites or ports in which they had been collected to their western destinations, namely Constantinople, the Black Sea, Cyprus, the Mamluk countries, or Tunisia.

In addition to demand and supply, examined so far, political factors also impacted upon the channelling of goods, shipping patterns, and maritime lanes in the later Middle Ages. The rivalry between Venice and Genoa in long-distance trade and shipping resulted in the fragmentation of the Eastern Mediterranean and especially the Aegean along political lines. Each of the two maritime powers consolidated its dominance over specific waterways and maritime spaces, Venice on the western and Genoa on the eastern Aegean, a process completed by the mid-14th century. The two maritime powers promoted the development of their own transit and transhipment stations, whose

46 Gasparis, "The Trade in Agricultural Products," pp. 128–29, 138–47; David Jacoby, "Creta e Venezia nel contesto economico del Mediterraneo orientale sino alla metà del Quattrocento," in *Venezia e Creta: atti del convegno internazionale di studi*, ed. Gherardo Ortalli (Venice, 1998), pp. 85–87, 97–100.

infrastructures and services furthered the mobility of passing merchants, ships, and goods. These stations also owed their significant development to the range of their residents' economic operations and to the settlement of immigrants attracted by their economic functions.[47]

The partial re-orientation of trade from Latin Greece toward the West resulting from a spontaneous shift was significantly enhanced by Venice's protectionist measures and state supervision favouring Venetian citizens in trade and shipping. These citizens enjoyed preferential custom rates, and Venetian carriers benefited from a virtual monopoly on maritime transportation to Venice, since returning merchants were compelled to ship their goods exclusively on board Venetian ships. In addition, specific commodities were to travel exclusively on board state galleys, in service since the early 14th century, unless the authorities issued other instructions.[48] The Venetian government imposed a strict calendar of navigation between Venice and other ports, especially with respect to state galleys and private ships returning from the Eastern Mediterranean, in order to prevent an overflow of merchandise and a slump in prices on the Venetian market.[49]

### Trans-Mediterranean Navigation Lanes and Major Ports

The main waterway linking western ports to those of the Eastern Mediterranean hugged the Peloponnese, from where it split into several branches. One of them proceeded via Negroponte and Thessalonica, another via Candia and the southern Aegean to Asia Minor, while still another led directly to Chios to reach Constantinople. Ships leaving Italy for Egypt sailed across the southern Aegean to Rhodes and proceeded from there along the shore of Asia Minor and the Levant, although open-sea navigation along Crete to Cyprus, the Levant and Egypt became increasingly common from the second half of the 12th century onward. Ships joining Constantinople to the Levant and Egypt hugged the coast of Asia Minor and took advantage of the numerous Aegean islands along the way. The geographic and natural parameters determining navigation in the Aegean remained stable over the centuries. However, the conjunction of

47 Jacoby, "Changing Economic Patterns," pp. 226–29.

48 On Venetian state galleys: Doris Stöckly, *Le système de l'incanto des galées du marché à Venise* (*fin XIII^e–milieu XV^e siècle*) (Leiden, 1995).

49 Jacoby, "Changing Economic Patterns," p. 222.

political and economic factors generated some major shifts in shipping routes and in the relative importance of ports in the course of the 13th century.

Venetian Candia, Modon, Coron and Negroponte warrant particular attention. While their functions as transit stations in the Aegean have drawn some attention, their contribution to the economy of Latin Greece itself has been largely overlooked. These ports fulfilled multiple functions. They collected produce from their respective hinterland, distributed imported commodities, and served as warehouses, transhipment stations and markets for goods in transit. They supplied provisions, equipment, ship maintenance and repairs to local and passing vessels. Besides handling goods in transit, resident merchants acted as middlemen and provided information in complex trading business ventures between several regions. They furthered the commercialisation of rural and industrial products by their acquaintance with marketing opportunities, trading networks and transportation patterns. Their transactions involved money-changing, banking, credit operations, and transfers of capital partly achieved by investment in maritime trade. Commercial activity in major ports of transit was particularly intensive in specific periods of the year, in close connection with the seasonal navigation patterns in the Mediterranean. State resources were invested in ships engaged in surveillance and the protection of convoys, naval warfare, piracy, and the recruitment of sailors, archers and crossbowmen, the latter especially in Crete.[50] To these we may add the building and enlargement of arsenals, as in Coron, Modon, Negroponte and Candia, as well as repeated improvements in harbours which, although not always successful, ensured a flow of public money collected as taxes back into the local economy, instead of being siphoned off to Venice. Cumulatively the functions of the major ports generated large-scale employment and a substantial injection of cash in the local economies, which was reinvested in the rural sector, trade, shipbuilding, transportation, other services, construction, or in individual consumption and the bolstering of social standing.

Following its conquest in the early 13th century, Candia's strategic location at the juncture of major east-west and north-south navigation lanes in the Eastern Mediterranean, its harbour, and its function as administrative capital of Venetian Crete furthered its role as sole Cretan port of call integrated within the long-distance trade and shipping networks of the Eastern Mediterranean. Its function was further boosted by the fall of the Frankish states in the Levant in 1291 and the papal ban of that year on supplies to Mamluk Egypt and Syria, which generated a restructuring of shipping routes in the Eastern

50 Jacoby, "Changing Economic Patterns," p. 229.

Mediterranean. Candia became the major stopover and transhipment station for Venetian ships involved in bilateral exchanges with Cyprus and the Levant. The resumption of direct trade between the West and Egypt in 1345 undercut to some extent its role as transit station for around 30 years, although the city served as port of call for the Venetian state galleys sailing between Venice and Alexandria and returning with spices and other costly goods.

Following the Genoese occupation of Cypriot Famagusta in 1374, which lasted until 1464, Venetian ships increasingly avoided that city and, as a result, Candia assumed again major importance as transit and transhipment station and as collecting and distribution centre for goods travelling between Venice on the one hand, Alexandria and Beirut on the other. The Venetian government furthered Candia's function as main intermediary between Venice and the Levant by fiscal measures. The temporary storage of goods in Candia enabled several sailings between the city and Egypt or Syria during the navigation season, and thus the shipping of a larger volume of merchandise. The state galley line from Venice to Cyprus was suspended from 1373 to 1445 and, instead, a new galley line carrying out three voyages a year from Candia to Beirut was established in the winter of 1373–74.

Candia also served as transit station between Constantinople and the Western Mediterranean. Beginning in the 13th century it became an important market and distribution centre for slaves imported from the Black Sea and the Aegean, who were shipped to Italy, southern France, and the Iberian Peninsula. Instead of sailing directly from Venice to Constantinople, goods were sometimes transhipped in Candia. Cretan cheese and wine, the most lucrative Cretan exports, were distributed throughout the Aegean, as well as to Constantinople, the Black Sea and Egypt, Cretan wine reaching even Flanders and England. Candia also fulfilled major functions in the Venetian naval defence system. Galleys were constructed and repaired in its arsenal. It was a base for the outfit, manning and provisioning of Venetian ships protecting commercial vessels and fighting enemy fleets, corsairs and pirates. In 1455 the self-conscious Cretan elite proudly proclaimed that "the city of Candia is another city of Venice in the east". This statement reflects Candia's rise as a major emporium, which reached a peak in the first half of the 15th century.[51]

Modon and Coron, which together formed a single administrative unit of the Venetian overseas empire, shared many economic features. Their economy was entirely export-oriented. Their rich rural hinterland produced abundant olive oil and wine and they were important tanning centres. They served also

51 For the last three paragraphs: Jacoby, "Creta e Venezia," pp. 77–106.

as maritime outlets of a much larger rural region extending into the Frankish Morea, and exported a large variety of commodities including cotton, silk, acorn-cups and kermes. It is not excluded that the malvasia wine sailing in 1415 and 1444 respectively from Modon and Coron to the Black Sea had been produced from grapes grown close to the two Venetian ports, rather than in Byzantine Laconia. By the 15th century the shipping of wine from the two ports to Venice was carried out each year in September by the *nave da Modon da le vendeme*, "the grape harvest vessels from Modon." In the 14th century Venetian protectionist policies and the extension of Venetian economic domination in the western Aegean gradually reduced the share of Byzantine Monemvasia in maritime trade. The city became increasingly dependent upon Modon and Coron for long-distance exports and financial dealings.[52] Intense traffic linked the two ports to Crete and many other islands. Situated in the south-eastern Peloponnese at the juncture of the Ionian and Aegean Seas, they also served as transit and transhipment stations along one of the busiest navigation routes crossing the Mediterranean. As bases of Venetian naval forces and as observation and surveillance points they fulfilled a strategic role in the assertion and consolidation of Venetian supremacy in the western Aegean. In 1375 the Venetian Senate considered that the two cities were the *oculi capitales communis Venetiarum*, the "major eyes of the Commune of Venice".[53] Modon was also a transit station for pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Pilgrims drinking malvasia wine in Modon in the late 15th century considered it superior to Cretan malvasia.

The city of Euripos, called Negroponte by the Latins, was already an active port of call and trading station along the waterway linking Italy to Constantinople before 1204.[54] Venice's outpost in the city, established in 1211, rapidly stimulated the urban economy. In the course of the 13th century Negroponte became an important commercial and maritime crossroads. In addition to exporting Euboean products, namely silk, silk textiles, wine, honey and grain, it acted as warehouse for the collection, distribution, transit and transhipment of goods brought in from the mainland and numerous ports in

52 Jacoby, "Rural Exploitation," pp. 236–72, passim; Gasparis, "The Trade in Agricultural Products," pp. 102–03.

53 Venice, Archivio di Stato, Senato, Deliberazioni, Misti, reg. 35, fol. 11r.

54 Ralph-Johannes Lilie, *Handel und Politik zwischen dem byzantinischen Reich und den italienischen Kommunen Venedig, Pisa und Genua in der Epoche der Komnenen und der Angeloi* (*1081–1204*) (Amsterdam, 1984), pp. 119–20.

the Aegean.[55] Negroponte's role as financial market is illustrated by the Sienese banker who in 1310 financed the military campaign of Gauthier V of Brienne, duke of Athens.[56]

The consolidation of Negroponte's function within the trans-Mediterranean trading system, which began in the second half of 13th century, was decisively furthered by Venetian trade in the city and Venice's increasing political domination in the western Aegean. This development occurred at the expense of Thessalonica, the decline of which generated by economic factors was already obvious by 1301. In that year Venice inaugurated the annual sailing of state galleys to Constantinople. Significantly, the galleys anchored on the way at Negroponte and bypassed Thessalonica, both on the outbound and on the return voyage.[57] Small and medium-sized vessels ensured Thessalonica's connection to the long-distance maritime traffic passing through Negroponte. Thessalonica's commercial role was further restricted by 14th-century political and military developments in the city itself and in the Balkans. Significantly, the Florentine galleys sailing to Constantinople from 1436 also anchored at Negroponte and bypassed Thessalonica, which by then was in Ottoman hands.[58]

## Conclusions

The economic evolution of Latin Greece in the late Middle Ages was generated by a conjunction of geo-political developments both within and outside the region, as well as by the constant interplay between micro and macro-economic factors and between private initiative and political powers. In the 13th century the economy of Latin Greece swiftly geared itself to growing western demand. While ensuring the continuity of the Byzantine rural

55 David Jacoby, "La consolidation de la domination de Venise dans la ville de Négrepont (1205–1390): Un aspect de sa politique coloniale," in *Bisanzio, Venezia e il mondo franco-greco*, 151–87, repr. in Jacoby *Latins, Greeks and Muslims*, IX; David Jacoby, "The Demographic Evolution of Euboea under Latin Rule, 1205–1470," in *The Greek Islands and the Sea*, ed. Julian Chrysostomides, Charalambos Dendrinos and Jonathan Harris (Camberley, 2004), pp. 131–79, repr. in *Travellers, Merchants and Settlers*, IX; Borsari, *L'Eubea veneziana*, pp. 77–133.

56 Jacoby, "Italian Migration," pp. 109–10.

57 Except from 1424 to 1430, when Venice ruled over the city.

58 David Jacoby, "Foreigners and the Urban Economy in Thessalonike, c. 1150–c. 1430," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 57 (2003), 103–07, 111, 114, repr. in Jacoby, *Latins, Greeks and Muslims*, VII.

infrastructure, Italian landowners, stewards, merchants and bankers, mostly settled in coastal cities, implemented structural changes in the exploitation and management of rural resources and in the marketing of export-oriented surpluses. Coupled with these changes, the growing monetisation of the economy decisively stimulated an increase in agricultural and pastoral productivity and output. The growing supply of services brought about an additional infusion of liquid capital. As a result, Latin Greece experienced a free flow of cash and an ever stronger economic interaction between its rural sector, the cities, and maritime trade. The gradual consolidation of Venetian economic domination in the western Aegean decisively contributed to the intensification of local, regional and trans-Mediterranean commerce and shipping.

CHAPTER 7

# Money and Currency in Medieval Greece

*Julian Baker*

*To the memory of Anastasios Tzamalis*

## Introduction: Definition and Method of a Monetary History

The subject matter of this study is money, which may be defined as a measure of value with which wealth is stored and exchanged. Much of the money available in medieval Greece, as with most pre-modern societies, was represented by minted coinage ("currency"). Medieval Greece was a highly monetised society, in the sense that a large percentage of the population handled and used coins in a variety of ways on a regular basis. Arguably more money, that is to say more higher value coins, and perhaps even more coins in general, were available in medieval Greece than in earlier Byzantine times or during the early modern period, and coins may have changed hands more frequently. On the other hand, credit, which was very significant in parts of the contemporary medieval West, though known in medieval Greece,[1] would have played virtually no role there in increasing the money supply, and most importantly would not have been able to alleviate the later medieval bullion crisis. Also the roles played by metals other than coins as currency (ingots, tokens, jettons) would have been negligible, while plate, jewellery, and the like, could function as storage of wealth but less so as currency, and these are known especially from wills rather than from the material record.[2] This essay is therefore to a large extent concerned with coinage.

The numismatic data offer the modern observer a sample of this coinage. This evidence has a number of aspects: issues and their denominations and designs ("types") are known from the extant specimens, which are kept in public and private collections, sold at auction, or freshly found in the soil. These coins can be subjected to different analyses, epigraphic, iconographic, stylistic, or metallurgical, or through the original dies which produced them

1 See the contribution of David Jacoby to the present volume.

2 For some Byzantine sources in this regard, see Maria Parani, "Byzantine Jewellery: The Evidence from Byzantine Legal Documents," in *Intelligible Beauty: Recent Research on Byzantine Jewellery*, ed. Chris Entwistle and Noël Adams (London, 2010), pp. 186–92.

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("die study"). Coins found in specific contexts, either concealed in bulk for later retrieval ("hoards"), or lost fortuitously ("stray" or "single" coin finds), add another analytical dimension. This archaeological record includes locally-produced as much as imported coins. These data need to be viewed in political, military, social and economic contexts, to which they are closely related.

A lot has to date been achieved in the numismatic groundwork required towards a monetary history of medieval Greece. An essay such as the present one would not be the right place to publish new archaeological data or to weigh up at great length the denominations or datings of monetary issues, nor to create a critical apparatus. Instead, I have decided to offer a narrative which is greatly informed by the progress made in publications of the last couple of decades, while anticipating also other materials and analyses to be presented shortly.[3] After defining the geographical, political and economic parameters of this essay, I have opted to present the subject matter in five stages: first, I will discuss the state of research on typology and archaeology; then I will assess separately the coin finds and the indigenous coinage production of medieval Greece; this will lead to a diachronic overview of coin usage; and last, in lieu of a summary, I will seek to extrapolate wider historical implications from these data.

## Geographical Parameters

Greece underwent very distinctive monetary developments during medieval times, which sets this period apart from the previous and successive Byzantine and Ottoman phases (before 1204 and after 1460 respectively). In many respects, however, Greece partook in general (western) European trends,[4] bearing in mind nevertheless Greece's rather exceptional position, initially regarding its Byzantine heritage, then as a colonial construct, and lastly as a troubled outpost both of the Byzantine and Latin worlds.

While the chronological limits of the present study are clear enough, the territories which have been chosen bear some explanation. At the beginning of the 13th century the entire Aegean area still relied heavily on Byzantine-style copper and gold coinages which were minted at Constantinople, Thessalonica and Nicaea/Magnesia. In the further course of the Middle Ages a few higher-quality western coinages became available in all of these territories, whether they were ruled by Latins, Byzantines, Slavs, or Turks, particularly Venetian

3 Notably in my forthcoming book *Coinage and Money in Medieval Greece 1200–1430*.

4 The standard account of the medieval Latin monetary tradition is given in Peter Spufford, *Money and its use in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1988).

silver grossi, and Venetian and Florentine gold coinages. The impact of Ottoman coins remains, on the other hand, difficult to measure and may have been marginal until quite late in the period under consideration, even in the northern and eastern parts of the Aegean. Apart from these general trends, the lands bordering on the Aegean Sea can be divided into three distinctive monetary spheres. The east (Anatolia), which includes the islands of the Dodecanese, Chios, and Lesbos, was eventually marked by the usage of Rhodian-Neapolitan, Genoese colonial, and beylik coins. In the north (Macedonia and Thrace) the monetary system continued to revolve around Byzantine issues, now of the Palaiologan emperors, supplemented by those of the Serbian and Bulgarian states. The monetary system in the west (central Greece, the Peloponnese, the Cycladic islands, Crete), the area which may be termed Greece proper ("Hellas"), was initially marked by imported European coins, then by indigenous coins of the same western tradition, and finally Venetian colonial coins. Between central Greece and Macedonia lie intermittent areas, namely Epirus and Thessaly. Thessaly is altogether badly documented and would be marginal to any monetary history as far as the evidence currently stands, but has been included here since it was closest in character to central Greece. The monetary developments in the Ionian region between the Gulf of Corinth and the city of Durazzo, and further north, have been relatively well studied. This area belonged essentially to both of the monetary spheres which have been described, the Greek and the Macedonian, while partaking also in a third monetary region which may be termed "Dalmatian", centred on the cities of Ragusa and Cattaro, but also very heavily dominated by the Serbian and Venetian empires. A part of Epirus should be included in the present discussion because it was a primary area of Greek denier tournois circulation, contributing after a certain point (later 1320s/early 1330s) to this coinage with the important issue from the Arta mint in the name of John II Orsini. It would, however, make sense to include Epirus only up to a certain geographical limit, roughly speaking to the line between the cities of Valona and Berat, thereby limiting ourselves to the confines of what contemporaries would have termed Romania, beyond which lay Albania and Sclavonia.[5] The period and area which have been delineated for this article will in its further course be referred to as "medieval Greece".

5 Alain Ducellier, *La façade maritime de l'Albanie au moyen âge: Durazzo et Valona du XI^e^ au XV^e^ siècle* (Thessalonica, 1981), xiii; Oliver Jens Schmitt, *Das venezianische Albanien (1392–1479)* (Munich, 2001), p. 49, n. 6.

## Political and Economic Parameters

In the Byzantine and Latin traditions alike, the production of coinage was the prerogative of the empire or prince. The same political authorities also attempted to control the monetary specie otherwise available in their domains, for instance older or foreign coins. The enforcement of coins was usually achieved through the systems of taxation, which acted as filters. All the authorities in the territories under discussion supported coinage for very similar reasons. Coinage was required to levy direct and indirect taxes and thereby to ensure the smooth flow of revenue into the coffers of state. The minting process in itself also produced revenue, by retaining a percentage of the metal which entered the mint. The states needed to meet certain expenditures with coinage: state salaries were paid, mercenaries were employed, public works were instigated, and so forth. There was usually a close symbiosis of land owning and commercial interests with those ruling elites who determined monetary policy. In this way, the latter became sensitive to the need for good coinage. The ideal state of affairs, whereby copious and well-controlled stocks of coinage were in constant production and circulation, could naturally not always be achieved. Old and sub-standard coins, or indeed outright counterfeits, were prevalent, and coinage in Greece followed bullion movements, which were partially beyond the rulers' power. Adverse economic or strategic developments could seriously undermine monetisation. The states and their rulers were occasionally themselves responsible for producing and disseminating bad quality coinage, for short term gains, often in military contexts.

## The Coinages of Greece: Typology and Archaeology

The 19th-century studies of Gustave Schlumberger and Pavlos Lambros, Nicolò Papadopoli, and even of Félicien De Saulcy, are still useful today.[6] In these early years, medieval Greek coins benefitted from being included in more general treatments of crusader coins. Hoards and excavation finds of such coins were published sporadically in the 19th and earlier 20th century,[7] also from areas away from southern Greece.[8] The same coins were also subjected to

6 For works and authors referred to in this section, see the bibliography appended to this volume. The importance of these older studies has also been underlined by Metcalf in 1993.

7 See for instance the contributions by Caron, Cox, Cumano, Lord Grantley, and Lenormant.

8 See the hoards published by De Petra, De Vogüé, and Schwabacher.

metallurgical analyses.[9] Later Byzantine numismatics specific to the Greek area was slow to develop and began in a sense with the publication of a hoard from Arta.[10] Other monetary traditions which became relevant to medieval Greece—Venetian, French royal and feudal, English, Chiot, and Serbian—were by contrast well served with reasoned catalogues.[11] By the time of World War II and its immediate aftermath some important bodies of excavation coins had become available.[12] The 1960s and 1970s saw a remarkable surge of activities by David Michael Metcalf, who worked on the typology, chronology, and circulation of the main denier tournois series, looked at the production and circulation of the petty denomination issues of Athens and Achaea, and wrote also on the earlier phase of imported French tournois and English sterling pennies. This attention to Latin-style coinages, combined with his parallel work on coins of the Byzantine tradition (see below), laid the foundations for the Greek chapters in his seminal book *Coinage in the Balkans*, later revised as *Coinage in South-Eastern Europe*. Other names worth mentioning for these years are those of Demetrios Artemis, Arthur Seltmann, and Drosos Kravartogiannos, who published widely on finds and types of medieval Greek coins.

Michael Metcalf also investigated in great detail the Byzantine-style copper/billon and gold coinages of the 12th/13th centuries, particularly from Greek finds. This paved the way for the identification of very significant imitative and counterfeit coinages, that is to say coinages which had in the past been considered to be of the Komnenian emperors, but which are now attributed to various 13th-century authorities. The most significant contribution has been in this respect Michael Hendy's, who first postulated in 1969 the existence of large-scale billon trachy emissions at Latin Constantinople and Thessalonica, and in the second Bulgarian empire.[13] Subsequent publications, particularly of Greek

9 By Anastasios Konstantinos Chrestomanos, "Ανάλυση αρχαίων νομισμάτων" ["Analysis of Ancient Coins"], *Journal international d'archéologie numismatique* 8 (1905), 115–20.

10 Harold Mattingly, "A Find of Thirteenth-Century Coins at Arta in Epiros," *Numismatic Chronicle* ser. 5, 3 (1923), 31–46.

11 See the works of Nicolò Papadopoli Aldobrandini for Venice, Louis Ciani and Faustin Poey d'Avant for France, L.A. Lawrence for England, Domenico Promis for Chios, and Sime Ljubić for Serbia.

12 For Ancient Corinth, see the bibliography of Alfred Raymond Bellinger, Katherine M. Edwards, and J.M. Harris. For the Athenian Agora, that of Josephine P. Shear and Margaret Thompson. Sparta: Arthur Maurice Woodward. Eutresis: Hetty Goldman. Orchomenos in Arcadia: Gustave Blum and André Plassart. Delphi: Ioannes Svoronos.

13 His original findings were largely repeated 30 years later in Michael F. Hendy, *Alexios I to Michael VIII 1081–1261* (Washington DC, 1999) [= Alfred Raymond Bellinger and Philip

material, have called into doubt some of these attributions.[14] For instance, the existence of a Latin mint at Thessalonica has been rejected, and the entire so-called "Bulgarian" series has been re-christened as "Faithful Copies". Nevertheless, the resolution of these outstanding controversies is of much greater importance for the monetary history of Macedonia, Thrace, Bulgaria, Constantinople, and western Anatolia, than it is for that of Greece proper. No billon trachea of the early 13th-century imitative varieties, with the exception of some counterfeits,[15] were produced there, and the widespread circulation of issues of Constantinopolitan mintage was largely confined to the first decade of the 13th century.[16] The gold coinage of Latin Constantinople in the name of Emperor John III Vatatzes (1221–54), which has been identified with good confidence only relatively recently by Ernest Oberländer-Târnoveanu, was all the more important in Greece.[17] At the lowest denominational level, counterfeit

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Grierson, eds., *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, 4].

14 See for instance the expositions of Michael Metcalf, "The Peter and Paul Hoard: Bulgarian and Latin Imitative Trachea in the Time of Ivan Asen II," *Numismatic Chronicle* ser. 7, 13 (1973), 144–72; idem, "Byzantinobulgarica: The Second Bulgarian Empire and the Problem of 'Byzantine Imitative' Trachea before and after 1204," *Numismatic Circular*, 81, 11 (1973), 418–21; idem, "The Value of the Amorgos and Thira Hoards as a Test Case for the Interpretation of Sub-Byzantine Trachea in the Years around 1204," *Νομισματικά Χρονικά* 8 (1989), 49–59; idem, "Faithful Copies and a Hoard Containing Neatly-Clipped Trachea," in *Χαρακτήρ. Αφιέρωμα στη Μαντώ Οικονομίδου* [*Character: A Dedication to Manto Oikonomidou*] (Athens, 1996), pp. 177–83; idem, review of DOC IV, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 160 (2000), 396–401; idem, "Mint-Activity in Byzantine Thessaloniki," in *Το νόμισμα στο Μακεδονικό χώρο* [*Coinage in Macedonia*], ed. Polyxeni Adam-Veleni (Thessalonica, 2000), pp. 171–82. There are also contributions by Manto Oikonomidou and Ioannes Touratsoglou on the subject, and the joint opinion of the Athens Numismatic Museum is expressed in Mina Galani-Krikou, Ioannes Touratsoglou and Io Tsourti, *Συλλογή Ηλία Κάντα: Βυζαντινά Νομίσματα* [*Collection of Elias Kantas: Byzantine Coins*] (Athens, 2000). With regard to Serbian finds, see the work of Dobrila Gaj-Popović.

15 Orestes H. Zervos, "An Issue of Irregular Copper Coins of the Early Thirteenth Century from Corinth," *Νομισματικά Χρονικά* 26 (2007), 91–93.

16 Many of the Greek hoards of Byzantine-style coins are now fully published in Mina Galani-Krikou et al., *Σύνταγμα Βυζαντινών "Θησαυρών" του Νομισματικού Μουσείου* [*Collection of Byzantine Hoards of the Numismatic Museum*] (Athens, 2002).

17 Ernest Oberländer-Târnoveanu, "Les hyperpères de type Jean III Vatatzès-Classification, chronologie et évolution du titre (à la lumière du trésor d'Uzun Baïr, dép. de Tulcea)," in *Istro-Pontica: Muzeul Tulcean la a 50-a aniversare* (Tulcea, 2000), pp. 499–561.

tetartera of southern Greece dating to the 13th century have been known for a long time, but more clearly defined only in the last years.[18]

The billon trachy coinages of the Byzantine successor states in Nicaea and Thessalonica during the first half of the 13th century are comprehensively, if not always entirely correctly, treated in the work of Hendy. The same considered also the rare but interesting trachea of the Byzantine Arta mint, although his extremely conservative approach to what might and might not be accepted as a genuine issue of that mint will necessitate revisions in the light of countersuggestions and the archaeological data.[19] Whatever the precise identity and number of types, the overall shape of the trachy coinage of Michael II Komnenos Doukas of Epirus at Arta (who ruled *c.*1236 to 1266–68) is now fairly well understood. The coinage of the Palaiologan empire (post-1259/1261) has also been treated with much more attention in recent decades, and the grand synthesis in *DOC* V offers a comprehensive overview.[20] With regard to the billon trachea of Emperor Michael VIII, a string of three to four Epirote hoards, which have been the attention of Touratsoglou,[21] are particularly noteworthy. The other main discovery in late Byzantine coinage which affects medieval

18 See in the last instance Julian Baker and Alan Stahl, "Coinage and Money in the Morea after the Fourth Crusade," in *Viewing the Morea: Land and People in the Late Medieval Peloponnese*, ed. Sharon Gerstel (Washington DC, 2013), pp. 153–84, and various contributors to the Argos conference in May 2011 (in respect to which see especially the summary given in Julian Baker and Mina Galani-Krikou, "Δυτικός μεσαίων στην Πελοπόννησο" ["The Western Middle Ages in the Peloponnese"], in *Το νόμισμα στη Πελοπόννησο. Πρακτικά της ΣΤ΄Επιστημονικής Συναντήσης, Άργος 26–29 Μαίου 2011*, [*Coinage in the Peloponnese: Proceedings of the Sixth Scientific Meeting, Argos 26–29 May 2011*] (Athens, forthcoming).

19 The principal protagonists in this debate have been Simon Bendall, Manto Oikonomidou, and Petros Protonotarios.

20 Philip Grierson, *Michael VIII to Constantine XI 1258–1453* (Washington DC, 1999) [= Alfred Raymond Bellinger and Philip Grierson, eds., *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, 5]. See also Cécile Morrisson and Simon Bendall, "Monnaies de la fin de l'empire byzantin à Dumbarton Oaks: Un catalogue de référence," *Revue Numismatique* 157 (2001), 471–93.

21 Touratsoglou published both the Arta 1983 and the Ioannina hoards: the second of these studies offers a synthesis which relies however on dates of concealment which are too late (1274, instead of about a decade earlier). See Ioannes Touratsoglou, "Θησαυρός άσπρων τραχέων 1983 από την Άρτα" ["The 1983 Hoard of Trachea from Arta"], *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 36 (1981), A΄, 209–26; and idem, "Ο θησαυρός 'Ιωαννίνων' άσπρων τραχέων" ["The Ioannina Hoard of Trachea"], *Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών* 32–34 (1999–2001), 237–50.

Greece has been the identification of a tornese issue of Manuel II Palaiologos (1391–1425) at a Lakonian mint.[22]

In the wake particularly of Metcalf's initial publications, work on the Latin-style coinages of medieval Greece has gone in a number of directions. Most fundamental has been the continued investigation of the typologies of the main series of deniers tournois, and the publication of coin finds. Distinguished contributions were made by Anastasios Tzamalis, news of whose passing reached me during the writing of this article. Within the Athens Numismatic Museum, Eirene Varoucha had published a hoard of English coins from Crete, and Mina Galani-Krikou was to write widely on coin finds and types, for instance on the Venetian grosso, on Epirus, or on miscellaneous numismatic finds, notably from the urban excavations in Thebes. Coins from the American excavations in Ancient Corinth have also been systematically published since the late 1960s.[23] From the late 1980s onwards, as work on the so-called Frankish Complex began, such material has come to the fore in large quantities and in the resulting publications Orestes Zervos has made full use of the recent typological advances, as much as adding his own insights into many of the series, particularly counterfeit tetartera, the petty denomination issues of Achaea, and counterfeit deniers tournois. Also in the 1980s, inspired by the arrival in New York of a particularly large hoard of Venetian torneselli from the island of Euboea, Alan Stahl began his investigations into this particular currency. Since then, he has published widely on the numismatics of the later medieval Aegean, as much as on the mint of Venice itself. Hoards of medieval Greece keep being published, for instance from Corinth, Messenia, Patras and Larissa, the Roman Agora in Athens, and Naxos,[24] while excavated coins from larger and smaller sites have been treated in recent decades.[25] Medieval jettons from ancient Corinth have also been accurately identified by Saccocci and Vanni,

22 Julian Baker, "A Coinage for Late Byzantine Morea under Manuel II Palaiologos (1391–1425)," *Revue Numismatique* 162 (2006), 395–416.

23 See Charles K. Williams and Joan Fisher in *Hesperia*, 40–49 and 53 (1970–1976 and 1984) and Charles K. Williams and Orestes Zervos in *Hesperia*, 51–66 (1982–1997).

24 Respectively by Julian Baker, Nikos Kontogiannis, David Michael Metcalf, Julian Baker and Mina Galani-Krikou, and Lord Stewartby.

25 For Glarenza see the contribution of Demetrios Athanasoulis and Julian Baker. Pylos in Elis: John E. Coleman. Tigani: Nikolaos B. Dandrakis. Sparta: Roger Bland. Hagios Stephanos: Richard Janko. Zaraka: Julian Baker. Nemea: Robert C. Knapp and John D. MacIsaac. Isthmia: Timothy E. Gregory. Kenchreai: Robert L. Hohlfelder. Argos: Julian Baker. Andros in the Cyclades: Nikos Kontogiannis. Various sites in Athens: Fred Kleiner and Julian Baker. Panakto in Boeotia: Sharon E.J. Gerstel et al. Doliani in Epirus: Julian Baker and Gariphalia Metallinou.

although some of the monetary functions which have been ascribed to such objects in the 14th century are doubtful. In neighbouring Albania, site finds and hoards are now known from a number of locations, thanks to the older publications by Hëna Spahiu and Damian Komata, and more recent excavations conducted under the direction of Skënder Muçaj. Medieval Greek coins have been extensively published also from other countries/areas, and this has become a significant stream of enquiry.[26] Within Greece, a number of regional medieval monetary surveys have been attempted.[27] A recent survey by Penna of money in the 13th-century Peloponnese provides a comprehensive account of hoards of Byzantine-style coins, but largely leaves aside single finds and coins of a western tradition. Finally, mention must be made of different kinds of studies: one was another attempt, in the wake of Galani-Krikou's article, at explaining the presence of Venetian grossi in Greece;[28] the second was a consideration of one of the smaller mints (Neopatras) based on a corpus of all extant specimens and a die study conducted by Baker and Galani-Krikou. In addition to this plethora of individual studies on types, hoards and excavation finds, for more comprehensive treatments scholars nevertheless either have to continue referring back to the 19th century works mentioned above, Metcalf's and Tzamalis' books of 1979 and 1981 respectively, or Metcalf's publication of the Ashmolean collection (1995), or indeed the 1994 book by Alex G. Malloy and his collaborators. In this sense, some of the foreign coinages which circulated in Greece have received newer and more reliable standard references.[29] Around 2004, the anniversary of the Fourth Crusade spurned

26 We should mention some of the more significant publications on western Europe by Duplessy; on Italy by Lucia Travaini, Benedetto Carroccio and Daniele Castrizio, Angela Degasperi, and Julian Baker; on different parts of the southern Balkans by Todor Gerasimov, Jordanka Jurukova, Turan Gökyıldırım, Jean-Michel Saulnier, and Vangelis Maladakis, and on the Levant by Julian Baker.

27 On the Cyclades by Julian Baker; on Thessaly and east central Greece by Baker, by Nikolaou, and by Baker and Galani-Krikou; on Epirus and west central Greece by Galani-Krikou and by Laiou. On Elis in the Peloponnese: Athanasoulis and Baker.

28 Ioannes Touratsoglou and Julian Baker, "Byzantium of the Venetians, Greece of the 'grossi'," in *Bisanzio, Venezia e il mondo franco-greco* (*XIII–XV secolo*)*: atti del colloquio internazionale organizzato nel centenario della nascita di Raymond-Joseph Loenerz o.p., Venezia, 1–2 Dicembre 2000*, ed. Chryssa A. Maltezou and Peter Schreiner (Venice, 2002), pp. 203–33.

29 For all south Italian coins found there, see Philip Grierson and Lucia Travaini, *Medieval European Coinage. 14 Italy* (*III*) (*South Italy, Sicily, Sardinia*) (Cambridge, 1998); for Campobasso, specifically the work of Giuseppe Ruotolo, *Le zecche di Campobasso e*

writers to assess its significance also in monetary terms.[30] More recently there was a conference at Dumbarton Oaks on the Latin Morea which resulted in a contribution on money,[31] and another in Argos in May 2011 on coinage in the Peloponnese.[32] Finally, as part of a large-scale project on Italian mints, the main mints of medieval Greece were considered in the colonial section with the justification that they were ultimately under the authority of the Angevin crown of Sicily (Naples).[33] Our state of knowledge of the numismatic sources relating to money in medieval Greece is therefore such that we are now in a much better position than merely a generation ago to integrate these with the historical sources and the general historiography of this area, which has itself progressed enormously in recent years.[34]

## Coin Finds of Medieval Greece[35]

Coins of medieval Greece have been found individually or as hoards. These finds are reflections of contemporary coin usage, but at a remove, and the

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*Sansevero* (*1461–1463*), (Termoli, 1997). Further, Serbia: Vujadin Ivanišević; Chios: Andreas Mazarakis; France: Jean Duplessy; England: Jeffrey P. Mass.

30 See the three contributions by Cécile Morrisson, Cécile Morrisson and Pagona Papadopoulou, and Lucia Travaini.

31 Baker and Stahl, "Morea".

32 The proceedings will contain many precious contributions on medieval coin finds. The new and old evidence was summarized in the keynote address, Baker and Galani-Krikou, "Δυτικός μεσαίων στην Πελοπόννησο".

33 See the individual lemmata of Baker in Lucia Travaini, ed., *Guida per la storia delle zecche italiane medievali e moderne* (*fino all'Unità*) (Rome, 2011).

34 Unfortunately, despite its promising title, I cannot recommend the contribution by Georgios Ploumidis, "Η νομισματική αγορά κατά τη λατινοκρατία" ["The Money Market under Latin Rule"], *Σύμμεικτα* 9 (1994), 265–78.

35 Hoards of medieval Greece have been listed in Alex Malloy et al., *Coins of the Crusader States, 1098–1291*, (New York, 1994); David M. Metcalf, *Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East in the Ashmolean Museum Oxford*, 2nd ed. (London, 1995), and, regarding coins of the Byzantine tradition now in the Athens Numismatic Museum, Galani-Krikou et al., *Σύνταγμα*. There are no comprehensive inventories of single finds. See, in this regard, merely the extensive but now outdated discussion in David M. Metcalf, *Coinage in South-Eastern Europe 820–1396* (London, 1979), and, for the Peloponnese, Baker and Stahl, "Morea". All other, more up-to-date information on both hoards and single finds needs to be gathered from the bibliography discussed in the last discussion and listed at the end of this volume.

evidence needs therefore to be treated with some circumspection. The great majority of the coins which are available to us would have been lost unintentionally, either dropped or misplaced during everyday activities, or not recovered from their places of storage. In order to be useful to modern science these coins need to be available in good quantities, from a good mix of contexts and geographical positions, published according to adequate standards. These conditions are only partially met for the medieval Greek context.

Beginning our analysis with single finds, coins are available from a large number of locations. They are usually the result of archaeological investigations, and are therefore subject to the kind of considerations which have motivated excavations in Greece. By contrast, there are very few single coins gathered more haphazardly from the open countryside, and there is nowhere near blanket coverage for the territory under consideration here. The most prolific, specifically medieval excavations which have produced coins have been conducted at Glarenza in Elis and at the Frankish Complex at Corinth, followed by much lower-key enterprises on Andros, at Panakto in Boeotia, or the monastery of Zaraka in the north-east Peloponnese. The most typical form of specifically medieval investigation by the archaeological authorities in Greece and Albania concerns the restoration of medieval structures, usually churches or castles, which produce exceedingly small numbers of coins. A number of representative examples may be given, for instance churches at Pantanassa in Epirus, Tigani in Mani, Riganokampos near Patras, or Ballsh in Albania. The medieval Albanian fortresses of Berat and Kanina have also yielded coin finds. There are overviews for these kinds of data for Greek Epirus and Elis specifically, given respectively by Oikonomidou/Galani-Krikou and Baker. Looking now at archaeology which either has a diachronic focus, or which is more specifically interested in the Bronze Age or classical past of Greece, many more examples can be found. First and foremost amongst these are the American excavations at the Athenian Agora, and in Ancient Corinth, which have produced literally thousands of coins dating 1200–1460. The evidence from these two sites is of utmost importance for our knowledge of medieval Greek coin usage, but it can also significantly skew the picture. Of secondary importance are the data from a number of urban contexts, which have been gathered through a combination of targeted and rescue excavations: Arta, Sparta, and Argos. The following classical sites have also yielded smaller numbers of medieval coin finds: Delphi, Nemea, Messene, Troizina in the Argolis, Tenos, Akraiphnion in Boeotia, and, in Albania, Apollonia and Butrint. By contrast, there are virtually no or very insufficient single data from some of the most significant settlements of medieval Greece, Mistra, Patras, Coron-Modon, and Chalkis/Negroponte.

Single data bring us in touch with the specie used most prolifically in everyday contexts. A constant feature of all the sites is the existence of a low grade form of monetisation, constituted by copper and billon coins of the Byzantine tradition, which were either minted in the 12th-century empire, in the successor states in the Balkans and Anatolia in the 13th century, or eventually copied in Greece itself. This tradition was continued in a sense by the so-called petty denomination issues of Athens and Achaea in the middle of the same century, and then later on by a mass of counterfeit tournois and torneselli, or low value issues of the same denominations produced in the first half of the 14th century by the Catalans in Thebes and John II Orsini at Arta, or at Byzantine Mistra or Monemvasia at the turn of the 15th century. Above this constant mass of low grade coins, we can discern different generations of higher quality silver-based currencies. Tournois of the main Greek mints (Glarenza, Thebes, Naupactus) of the 13th and 14th centuries, and their successors, the torneselli of the mint of Venice (from 1353), were available throughout the analysed area. More specific was the circulation pattern of English sterling pennies and French deniers tournois in the earlier part of the 13th century. These were mostly limited to mainland Greece, the Peloponnese, and the islands. Epirus and Thessaly, by contrast, had a larger inclination towards the more valuable Venetian silver grosso in the same period. From the third and fourth decade of the 14th century, the smaller Venetian soldino, in many respects used as a substitute for the Greek tournois and the English sterling, gained some prominence at more southerly sites. The importance of the single find data—in addition to identifying the lowest form of monetisation which would otherwise be rather elusive—lie in allowing us to chart the proportions in which these silver-based coinages circulated, and the injections and subtractions of specie into and from circulation. There is a clear peak of indigenous Greek production around 1300–20, and money was very plentiful until about a decade or two later; and then again by around 1400 a lot of the Venetian tornesello currency had been introduced to Greece, and maintained a good presence for another 20 years at least. By contrast, the provision of better quality coinage was much more sporadic and haphazard in the 13th century. To judge by the record of stray finds, the main political authorities of Greece in the period after *c.*1250 operated on the whole a tight control over the main silver coinages, and culled specie as much as injecting it. Because they are so plentiful, stray finds can also allow us to chart the historical fates of the sites in which they were found, in demographic or economic terms. Athens as a whole is thereby identified as the most consistent of all the known Greek locations, with a smooth transition from Byzantine to Frankish times, and going strong through the Burgundian, Catalan, and subsequent phases of its history. The other significant observation

regards Sparta, which, apart from a downturn in the central medieval period, remains impressively active until the early 15th century. Other Peloponnesian sites show obvious contractions, Zaraka as the result of its abandonment by the Cistercian monks in the later 13th century; Corinth in 1312 as the result of a Catalan raid; Argos a bit later, threatened by an early Turkish wave; and even Glarenza, whose 15th-century phase may not have been as fully developed as that of nearby Patras, for which no numismatic data are extant. In the eastern mainland, there is a decidedly mixed picture. Thebes, Eutresis, and the ancient city of Krisa near Delphi (modern Chrisso) all ran smoothly from the 12th into the 13th century, but petered out dramatically around 1300. The evidence from the first of these is particularly disturbing since it affects a city which is usually considered of utmost importance even in the Catalan period. Perhaps its main area of activity which, even in the 13th century, may no longer have been the so-called Kadmeia, shifted to a position which has yet to be investigated. There are clear signs, for instance at Delphi and Panakto, that it was precisely in the early 14th century that new areas were opened up to habitation and economic exploitation.

Hoards complement the picture of coin finds. More than 200 hoards can be assembled for the period and area of consideration. Again, these are often the product of archaeological investigations, and there is a heavy emphasis on the usual sites of Athens and Corinth, Sparta and Argos, Thebes and Arta. Also modern habitation and the kinds of activities it brings with it will often produce hoards, and there are concentrations around Ioannina, Larissa, Agrinio, and Patras. Even the smallest archaeological investigation, also if its main target is the classical period, can produce a medieval hoard. Countless examples can be provided for this, from Eleusina and Delphi on the mainland, to Epidauros, Troizina, and Berbati in the Argolis, and Nemea and Messene in the remainder of the Peloponnese, to cite just a few. Many hoards—about 50 per cent of the total—have been found by private people in the more or less open countryside, that is to say away from any modern or contemporary habitation. These finds have been handed over to or confiscated by the authorities, or they have found their ways onto the antiquities market and have sometimes entered international collections. This material is of great statistical importance since it overcomes the historical vicissitudes of single locations, and it also underlines the pervasive nature of coin hoarding in the period concerned. Hoards are easier to find than single pieces and they provide their finders with a much greater impetus to either try to sell off illegally, or to declare. Further, once in the safekeeping of a collection or auction house, such hoards present a much more attractive prospect of study and publication than badly preserved single finds. For all of these reasons, in addition to those already cited in

relation to single finds, there is in our record a much larger emphasis on hoards rather than on single finds, and this situation misrepresents contemporary usage: although coin hoarding would have been a common phenomenon in medieval Greece, the exchange of single coins of different denominations and values, counted in tale, would have occurred on an everyday basis in town and country.

There are a number of ways of classifying coin hoards, one being by date of concealment. The *c.*200 coins concealed *c.*1204–1460 divide into a number of units. An impressive number of hoards (about 40) was concealed in the decade *c.*1200–10. For much of the remainder of the 13th century there was a rather low level of hoarding, followed by an augmentation in the rates around 1300, and then by a heavy concentration around *c.*1311 (nearly 20 hoards). The years down to mid-century saw generally higher, steady hoarding, with a small cluster before 1350. Subsequently, hoarding rates remained constant if slightly reduced to about 1420, when hoarding apparently ceased almost completely. There are only three hoards which date positively to the period 1423–70. These hoards contain a large spectrum of coinages, whose relative values for the different periods are not always known. Nevertheless, based on the sporadic evidence which we do possess, and on the intrinsic properties of the coins themselves, they can all be matched in an approximate fashion to a single value system, a form of hyperpyron of account, of which there were a number in medieval Greece. The theoretical hyperpyron used in this exercise is closest to the continental hyperpyron of Thebes/Negroponte, valued at 100 tournois/torneselli, 25 sterling pennies/soldini, and 10 grossi. In this way the *c.*200 hoards can be classified according to their values. There are nearly 40 hoards which contain in excess of 10 of these hyperpyra, which is a substantial sum, if not within the highest reaches of some of the recorded yearly payments (for instance salaries of top officials) which can be encountered in the public and private sectors.[36] By far the most valuable hoard was the early 13th-century Agrinio 1978/1979 of gold hyperpyra, with an estimated value of 469 hyperpyra, followed by Elis 1964 (tournois and soldini of *c.*1356, 259 hyperpyra); Cephalonia (mostly soldini and torneselli of *c.*1410, 202 hyperpyra); Thebes 1967 (mostly gigliati to the 1320s, in excess of 100 hyperpyra); Euboea (Venetian gold ducats to 1355–56, 93 hyperpyra). High values could be reached in the different periods, and through a number of different denominations. In fact, some of the most valuable hoards date relatively late and are composed

36 Cécile Morrisson and Jean-Claude Cheynet, "Prices and Wages in the Byzantine World," in *Economic History of Byzantium* (Washington DC, 2002), pp. 815–78. In this study, as in many similar studies, different hyperpyra are freely combined.

of lower-value coinages such as soldini and torneselli. In a much earlier phase, the 1220s–40s, exemplified by the cited hoard from Agrinio, there was a wave of hyperpyron hoarding which also produced valuable assemblages. By contrast, the first decade of the 13th century was the period in which the values of hoards were the most modest. Great values could be achieved in the most advanced and sophisticated areas of medieval Greece, for instance in the western Peloponnese, but also in rather less populous and integrated stretches of Epirus and Thessaly. This underlines some of the difficulties inherent in the interpretation of hoarding patterns.

More so than the single finds, coin hoards can pinpoint the leading currencies of medieval Greece in the different periods under analysis and, through the negative evidence, those currencies which were relegated to a secondary role. Initially, Byzantine-style copper tetartera, billon trachea, and to a more limited degree electrum trachea, were dominant. Gold hyperpyron coins of 13th-century production represented a second level of monetisation. In the period 1204–50s, in quick succession, English sterling pennies, French deniers tournois, and Venetian grossi were introduced to Greece, and usually mixed in hoards with these same hyperpyra. At the same time, hoarding of the lower denominations of the Byzantine tradition largely ceased. In mid-century there was a very brief wave during which the new petty denomination issues of Latin Greece were hoarded, followed by a longer period in which the only hoarded specimens were Greek silver-based deniers tournois and grossi (about 1270–1310). The medieval Greek coinage system was by far the most regular and stable in exactly these years. The two currencies can be seen as an integrated system, although they could also function independently from one another and were kept apart in some hoards. The grosso currency largely consisted of Venetian specimens, which were supplemented, in the years around 1300, by some Serbian grossi which were treated on a par. Around 1310 new silver currencies were added to this mix: French gros tournois, Sicilian pierreali, and gigliati of Naples-Provence. These might have managed to integrate themselves into the existing structures to a certain degree, as is suggested by some hoards, although others show the parallel functioning of numerous systems. The small Venetian soldino, by contrast, managed a smooth introduction to the tournois system from the 1330s onwards, as we can witness from mixed hoards. The tournois system itself faced a serious challenge by the complete discontinuation of its issue in Greece (sometime in the years before or after 1350). Its designated successor, the tornesello of the Venice mint, nevertheless had obvious teething problems in being accepted in Greece, due to its inferior intrinsic value. In this way, throughout much of the second half of the 14th century, there were three silver-based systems in place, exemplified by different

combinations in the extant hoards, of tournois, soldini, and torneselli, which were to varying degrees kept apart or integrated. To these need to be added the Venetian and Florentine gold currencies (the ducat and florin), which first appeared in Greece in moderate quantities in mid-century, and did not mix with the other coinages. Despite of all the resistance, and the alternative coinages which remained available for some time, after 1400 the hoards of Greece were almost totally dominated by the tornesello. During the 14th century one occasionally finds hoards which contain merely one issue or coinage which were otherwise avoided as objects of thesaurisation. These are invariably inferior coinages and it remains difficult to assess what functions these coinages and their hoards might have performed. The coins in question are counterfeits of the Catalan Company, produced probably in quick succession to the 1311 conquests at the Thebes mint; further, coppery tournois in the name of John II Orsini from the Arta mint (minted around 1330); and lastly tornesi in the name of Manuel II Palaiologos at a Lakonian mint, minted perhaps just before the turn of the 15th century. We know, nevertheless, from the record of single finds and very occasional glimpses in the hoards, that the general mass of inferior issues—older stock of the Byzantine tradition, Frankish petty denomination issues, counterfeits, etc.—was still very much available until the end of the medieval period, especially in urban contexts. To judge by the hoards, these coinages were very seldom used in conjunction with the silver-based, let alone gold, coinages. This very clear dichotomy between a lower and a higher level of monetisation recreates, if according to different parameters, the late Roman and Byzantine coinage systems of copper and gold currencies. Indeed, the quantities of coins gathered from medieval contexts at Corinth or Athens remind one more of the situation in the 6th century, or during the Macedonian and Komnenian dynasties, rather than of any contemporary sites in Italy, France or England.

## Coin Production of Medieval Greece[37]

Money in medieval Greece was more often than not constituted by coinages which were not of Greek production. Nevertheless, before embarking on an overview of all coins, the topic of the next discussion, it will be of some

37 The coinages produced in Greece are best considered through the discussions in Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient Latin*, (Paris, 1878–1882; repr. Graz 1954), brought up to date in Metcalf, *Ashmolean* and by Julian Baker, "Arta", "Caritena", "Chiarenza", "Chio", "Corfù", "Corinto", "Damala", "Lepanto", "Leuca", "Nasso", "Negroponte", "Neopatra",

interest to isolate those moments when coins were produced within the territories under consideration here. There were different kinds of monetary production in medieval Greece. I will apply terms such as "official" issue or "counterfeit" loosely, since such definitions are very difficult to prove either way. There is nevertheless one clear division into issues which bear unanimously the identity of their issuers, and others that do not.

Beginning the analysis with the first of these categories, the first coinage issue in question are the billon trachea of Arta in the name of Despot Michael II Komnenos Doukas. According to the latest opinion there were two separate and distinctive issues, in the 1230s and/or 1240s, and from 1249. All in all, these were small, although they may have held a relatively high profile for a decade or two in the area between Arta and Ochrid. At the time that Artan coinage came to end, two centres within our area began to produce coinage more or less simultaneously, namely Thebes and Corinth. The lordship of Athens and the principality of Achaea took the bold step of issuing coins at these respective mints, with a probable secondary Achaean minting operation on Euboea. These coins, which resemble low quality pennies, may have been issued according to diverse standards and as different denominations (possibly two). They are nevertheless all termed "petty denomination issues" since much work remains to be carried out specifically in this regard. It is difficult to ascribe the precedence in minting this coinage to either of these states, although it is certain that the first issues pre-date 1249. Even if the initial thrust in conceiving these coinages still needs to be established, it appears that they were mostly deployed and moved around in military contexts, the Achaean venture in the Levant and the war between Achaea and Athens during most of the 1250s. This phase of minting at Athens and Achaea probably ended in 1258/59. For about a decade vast numbers of coins were therefore emitted by the Achaean and Athenian mints. These issues were present in good quantities especially in the eastern Peloponnese, in Atticoboeotia, and on Euboea. Petty denomination issues had a long afterlife as a form of petty cash, as already described here above, especially in urban contexts. There were very sporadic issues of petty denomination coins at Thebes and Glarenza in the late 13th and early 14th century, which will be discussed in the overview below.

About a decade after petty denomination issues were first produced another coinage of our area emerged: the coins bearing the legend MAYNFRIDVS R SICILIE / ET DOMINVS ROMANIE have been discussed as far back as in the works of De Saulcy and Schlumberger, but in recent times a number of finds

"Salona", "Tebe", "Teno," in *Guida*. My forthcoming *Coinage and Money in Medieval Greece 1200–1430* will contain detailed considerations of each one of these minting operations.

have clarified their physical properties and particular geographical spread. It is clear that these were not pennies of the western kind, since they were rather too large and heavy, made of copper or very low-grade billon, and probably slightly concave. This would identify them as trachea, a common Epirote denomination in the mid-13th century, minted not least by Manfred of Hohenstaufen's father-in-law, Michael II, whose coinage has just been discussed. As the evidence stands, these coins, which are nevertheless close in style to the contemporary Apulian issues of Manfred, who would have held the title of Lord of Romania from about 1258/59, were either minted at Brindisi for export to the Balkans, or at Corfu or Valona with Italian dies. Their date of minting seems to have been in the first months of 1259, and these coins moved along the major operational routes before and after the battle of Pelagonia in Macedonia in July of that year, in Epirus, Albania, and Macedonia.

By far the most important chapter in the history of medieval Greek minting is reserved for the denier tournois issues. Their importance, in terms of the general monetary context, will be analysed in greater detail below, and we will limit ourselves to listing and summarizing the basic emissions. Achaea minted in the name of its princes from William II Villehardouin to Robert of Taranto at Glarenza, during the period *c.*1267–1350. A complex typology, largely the work of Tzamalis, is now in place, and for many periods of Achaean minting issues can be dated to a year or two. The issues of the duchy of Athens, which identify on their obverses the issuers in basic terms as G.DVX and GVI. DVX, also enjoy a detailed typology and dating structure. The overall chronology of the minting of Athenian tournois at the Thebes mint is *c.*1285 to 1311. The mother of Duke Guy II de la Roche minted tournois in small quantities at the Peloponnesian Karytaina, of which she held half a barony. This issue is dated 1291 or just thereafter. Philip of Taranto, the son of King Charles II of Anjou, minted under the title of Lord of Corfu at the island sometime during the period 1294–96/98. An equally small issue was emitted at the mainland barony of Salona by Thomas III of Autrementcourt, at one point during 1294–1301. The same Philip of Taranto, now despot of Romania (and later prince of Achaea), launched a coinage at Naupactus. The two issues of this mint are datable *c.*1301–late 1304 (Metcalf's DR1–2a), and to *c.*1306 (Metcalf's DR2b), when the mint closed. Neopatras in Phthiotis was also responsible for a considerable coinage, which has been classified and dated in great detail by Baker and Galani-Krikou. John II Angelos Doukas began this operation in 1303 under Athenian guidance, but broke with Athens in 1308/09, and produced a very different tournois issue—in terms of titulature and execution—in Byzantine alliance during 1309–11. Tenos is another mint which probably closed in 1311, upon the death of the issuer George I Ghisi. The minting of tournois on the island

probably commenced sometime in the first decade of the 14th century. A minting operation which falls outside of the territories considered here, although it was intimately linked to the production of Greek tournois, took place on Chios under the rule of the Zaccaria family. According to the latest opinions, the tournois in the name of Martino Zaccaria were minted approximately, for a brief period, from a point between 1320 and 1322. The same issuer was apparently also responsible for an exceedingly small tournois issue for the barony of Damala in the Argolis, at approximately the same time. The last tournois to be considered in this context is the fairly large and highly distinctive issue of the late 1320s and early 1330s of Arta in the name of John II Orsini. This coinage has already been mentioned as one of the sub-standard issues which were kept apart from the other coinages, and its important historical implications will be considered further in our next discussion. It is extremely unlikely that the Glarenza mint ever produced any silver coinage apart from tournois. In the past different soldini and even grossi have been attributed to it. However, a very rare gold florin coinage in the name of the last prince to issue tournois, Robert of Taranto (1332–64), is known in three extant specimens. In the second half of the 14th century two very diverse entities, the duchy of the Archipelago and the Byzantine Empire, issued what appear to have been tornesi, that is to say coins whose metrologies were based on the prevalent Venetian torneselli. According to this idea, a scheme can be proposed for the first of these coinages, from the Naxos mint, which is a modification of the older views expressed by Lambros or Papadopoli, whereby the two main issues are to be attributed to Duke John I Sanudo (1341–62) and most likely Duke Niccolò III dalle Carceri (1371–83). A Lakonian issue for Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos (1391–1425) has been discovered only recently amongst the coin finds of the British excavations at Sparta.

The first instances of "unofficial" coin productions, or at any rate of the striking of coins which failed to bear any obvious indications of their issuers, occurred in all likelihood within the first decade of the 13th century in Argolis. Tetartera of the so-called "Saronic Gulf Group" were minted in considerable quantity and came to some prominence also in surrounding areas, Corinthia, Attica and to a lesser degree Boeotia and Euboea. It is possible that these were supplemented with a small parallel issue of billon trachea. While many of the counterfeit tetartera in evidence in Greece were concentrated in these particular areas, and constituted a chronologically confined phenomenon, some counterfeiting of tetartera also took place elsewhere and in other periods, notably in Catalan Attica or in the western Peloponnese. On the whole, however, the counterfeiting of coins of the Byzantine tradition had fallen out of fashion by the first decades of the 13th century. In fact, there was in this

particular period generally very little counterfeiting, with only a few specimens known which imitate petty denomination issues or French tournois. This situation changed with the advent of Greek tournois. Their counterfeiting became very common before 1300, to judge by the record from Corinth. It would appear that Peloponnesian counterfeiters had a liking for the issues of Naupactus and Athens, in particular. A particular, coppery issue imitating the main GVI.DVX variety of Athens, sometimes combined with a Glarenzan reverse, has been known at least since the time of Schlumberger. It can be dated with some confidence just after 1311 and located in the eastern mainland, and for this reason I have proposed to call these "Catalan counterfeits". From exactly the same area an increasingly large quantity of badly executed tournois counterfeits of different types soon invaded the Greek area, supplemented from similar issues from other parts of the mainland produced in the further course of the 14th century. It is very likely that the same counterfeiters/areas of production were also responsible for a slightly less significant wave of tornesello counterfeits.

## Coin Usage in Medieval Greece

This discussion is divided into blocks of half a century in which the different monetary developments are summarized.

In 1200 the area under consideration was dominated by the Byzantine copper tetarteron coinage of the Komnenoi and Angeloi emperors, which was minted most likely entirely at Constantinople. This tetarteron coinage was hoarded and not retrieved as a direct consequence of the conquest itself. It also remained in circulation predominantly over the first few decades of the 13th century, in ever reducing quantities, but may have been confined to certain, mostly urban, contexts. This coinage was added to by counterfeits known as the "Saronic Gulf Group", which have been mentioned above. The tetarteron coinage of the 13th-century Byzantine successor states in Macedonia and Anatolia was confined, within the area covered here, to Epirus. The Byzantine billon trachy coinage was in the 12th century, also largely confined to Epirus and the western mainland, but was probably also available in Thessaly and perhaps in a thin band to the south thereof. The same 12th-century billon trachy coinage first arrived in the other parts of the area under consideration, notably most of the Peloponnese and the Cyclades, as a direct consequence of the conquests, together with issues produced around 1204 and thereafter. The Bulgarian identification of the earliest imitative issues has been much debated, and it is in many respects preferable to denote them by the more neutral appellation of "Faithful Copies". It is now more than likely that these have to be

considered Constantinopolitan, minted in all likelihood in the years just before and/or after the conquest of the city by the army of the Fourth Crusade in April 1204. We must assume that Faithful Copies first came to Greece in the direct wake of this event, carried there by the crusaders who had previously been in receipt of this coinage from the last Byzantine and/or the first Latin authorities in the city. It is nevertheless true that the large-scale hoarding of billon trachea only occurred as the so-called Latin imitative issues, the next generation of imitative issues, came to be added to the mix, in the period after *c.*1205. This Latin imitative coinage, and to a lesser extent the coinage of Theodore I Laskaris at the Nicaea mint, embody a dramatic increase in coin production and connectivity in and across the Balkans and Anatolia. It also augmented the availability of monetary specie in our area. Nevertheless, this was a transient development since after about 1210 the importance of Constantinople and of Anatolia as a source of coinage decreased, and even the products of the new Byzantine mint at Thessalonica (from 1224), which were available in somewhat larger quantities than those of Nicaea, soon began to display rather mixed patterns of importation and usage into Greece.

Within our area there were two instances of trachy production, as has been described above. The first was a very discreet wave of counterfeits in the Peloponnese just after 1204, perhaps in part related to the "Saronic Gulf Group" of tetartera; the second was the Artan coinage of Michael II. The next denomination in the Komnenian spectrum, the electrum trachy, was very prominent in the documentary sources relating to parts of our area in the early years of the 13th century, and in Epirus in particular, even though actual finds of such coins, and of their silver trachy successors of the 13th century, are much less abundant and largely confined to the conquest period itself. By contrast, there is a large number of finds of 12th-century hyperpyra, which might suggest that Greece was saturated with gold coinage by the time that the crusading armies arrived, even if there is only one hoard (Mapsos 1991, near Corinth) to back this up directly. Hyperpyron production increased once more at Nicaea during the 1220s, with an immediate effect on the availability of that currency in our area, as witnessed in the most valuable hoard of medieval Greece (Agrinio 1978/79: see also above). With the advent in the 1240s of gold issues in the name of Emperor John III Vatatzes produced at Latin Constantinople, hyperpyra became very common in Greece, and there was an increased instance of hoarding, if in smaller quantities at any one time. The hyperpyron was very seldom counterfeited in our area.

During the 11th and 12th century certain coins of western mintage had already been available in Greece. These were on the one hand the typical thin and light billon penny issues. The coins present in Greece came from a select

group of mints, either from feudal France or from northern and central Italy (specifically Verona and Lucca). Most of these coins came to Greece during the first three crusades and were part of a larger phenomenon which manifested itself also in the Balkans, Anatolia, and in the Levant, or they are the by-products of western trading interests in Greece. It is possible that a small number of coins of this category, such as the issues of Champagne, were of 12th-century production but came to Greece as a secondary movement via south Italy in the first half of the 13th century, or even later. Another group of coins of France is of uncertain late 12th or early 13th-century dating and might possibly have reached Greece with the Fourth Crusade and subsequently. The second kind of western coinage dating to before 1200 in evidence in Greece are the copper issues of Norman Sicily.

There is an analogous body of eastern coins dating to before 1200 which came to Greece as part of the same east-west movements. The coins in question were either of copper or billon, and were of Islamic or Christian mintage in Syria and Palestine. Whether of relatively early or late dating within the 11th/12th centuries, it is likely that in 1200 and later some of these western and eastern coins were still being handled, hoarded and lost. Overall, our evidence for such coins is from urban sites in the Peloponnese and the eastern mainland.

In the first half of the 13th century other miscellaneous coins from the West and East were added to this mix: pennies of Hohenstaufen Italy because of the geographical proximity to Italy and maybe Venetian piccoli destined for the newly-acquired Venetian colonies. The early Mongol conquests in Europe (1230s/40s) might have facilitated the movement of specie in the Balkans and the Black Sea: note that there are issues of Hungary and of the Golden Horde recorded in the Peloponnese. Also coins of Cilician Armenia might have had a secondary outlet through the Black Sea, although they usually describe the general movement between Italy and the Levant, via Greece and southern Anatolia. The coinage of the Seljuks of Rum had a more limited penetration into the Aegean area, mostly confined to the islands.

Nevertheless, the greatest impact on the monetary affairs of Greece between *c.*1200 and 1250 was made by a threesome of western European silver-based coins: English pennies of the sterling standard, French deniers tournois, and Venetian grossi. The first two of these, taken largely out of north-western European circulation and enjoying a natural exchange-rate of 1:4, were certifiably brought to Greece during the Latin conquest itself, and also subsequently. The sterlings were initially the more important of the two, even if they had a more confined circulation pattern in the area of the primary territory under consideration which is turned towards the Aegean. The early role of Venetian grossi in Greece is more difficult to fathom, since there are few numismatic

data and contradictory pieces of documentary evidence. The relationship of the grosso to the other two currencies is also not entirely clear. The deniers tournois experienced an impressive rise in stature in Greece during the first decades of the 13th century, thanks to a succession of abbatial (St. Martin of Tours), royal and finally feudal issues (Provence, Poitou, Toulouse) in France. In parallel with this development, there was also an increase in the appearance of grossi, and a relative decrease in the availability of sterlings. With the advent of new generations of French tournois a natural relationship between the grosso and the tournois of 1:8 may have stabilised. By mid-century, to judge by hoards and stray finds alike, western coins established themselves firmly beside coins of the Byzantine tradition in Greece, although they were handled and used differently and to a large extent separately, and neither grossi nor deniers tournois managed to cover the entire analysed territory in an even manner.

In the 1240s and 1250s Athens and Achaea minted the petty denomination issues which have already been described. They mark a curious interlude in the monetary history of Greece because, although produced in large quantities and intensively used for about a decade, they were seldom hoarded, and even more rarely together with any of the other coinages which were in contemporary circulation. Another anomalous coinage was minted in or conceived for the territories under discussion in exactly these years: these were billon trachea produced in a western style in the name of King Manfred of Hohenstaufen, which have again been discussed above.

For the second half of the 13th century the evidence for the persistence of coins of the Byzantine tradition in Greece is sporadic. Especially in urban contexts such as Athens, Corinth, Argos, and Thebes, the 12th-century tetarteron coinage was still widely used. Tetartera might still have been counterfeited in places such as Elis or Athens. It is also possible that certain much earlier billon trachea—such as small module Latin Imitatives—were still available in Greece, especially if a connection with the minting of petty denomination issues, in terms of concept or bullion used, can be proven. Before the advent of the Palaiologan dynasty and the re-conquest of Constantinople (1259/61), Thessalonican trachea in the names of John III and Thedore II arrived in limited, invariably military, contexts. This movement of specie from Thessalonica to our area of concern continued under Michael VIII and Andronikos II Palaiologoi, but no later than *c.*1300 and affecting almost exclusively Epirus, where it lead to a highly distinctive episode of hoarding in the 1260s. Even silver (electrum) trachea might still have been in usage in Greece in the second half of the century. As far as the gold hyperpyron is concerned, issues of Latin Constantinople and Byzantine Nicaea of a slightly earlier period (see above)

were still being hoarded in the 1250s and 1260s. It is noteworthy that issues of the Palaiologan emperors are missing from this body of finds and that in fact only one post-1261 hyperpyron find from Greece has so far been recorded, from an island off Euboea. Constantinopolitan hyperpyra might nevertheless have continued to be used there, as they were in southern Italy. The reason why hyperpyra were still hoarded in Greece in the second half of the century was probably because they formed an integral part of the system of account based around sterlings, grossi, and tournois. The preference for older issues may have been due to their higher quality. Also the English and related pennies hoarded after 1250 were largely of an earlier generation, since issues bearing the long cross rev. design (minted after 1247) barely made any appearance in Greece. By contrast, this was the period during which Venetian grosso imports were gaining momentum, reaching all parts of the analysed territory, and playing a particularly important role in Thessaly and Epirus.

In the 1250s and 1260s the importation of deniers tournois into Greece reached its final phase. In these years tournois were being minted in large quantities by the brothers of King Louis IX at mints in the south and south-west of France. These were simultaneously pushed out of the kingdom by royal legislation, and diverted to Italy and Greece through multiple channels, amongst which possible administrative routes. It was in this context of increasing imports of western silver coins that the principality of Achaea under William II de Villehardouin opened the new mint of Glarenza in the western Peloponnese. It is uncertain whether petty denomination issue Metcalf type 12 was initially produced there on its own, or whether the mint issued this concurrently with the first denier tournois variety, Tzamalis' GV101.

The possible end of feudal and royal tournois minting in France in 1263/66 may have contributed to Glarenzan tournois issues which, on all accounts, were started in the second half of the 1260s. This reliable silver-based coinage had a profound impact on the monetary affairs of Greece. Most notably, it led to the launch of tournois issues at four other Greek mints before the end of the century, and it ensured that a host of pre-existing and subsequently imported silver coinages came to be culled from Greek circulation. The Glarenza mint went through successive issues in the names of Princes Charles I, and possibly II, of Anjou (1278–89), Florent of Hainaut (1289–97), and Isabelle de Villehardouin (1297–1301). Certainly by 1294 the output of the Glarenza mint was consistent and high.[38] After more than two decades of inactivity, the Thebes mint began

38 Anastasios P. Tzamalis, "Princess Isabelle of Achaia and her Husbands: A New Look at an Old Numismatic Mystery," *Νομισματικά Χρονικά* 23 (2004), 68–73, attempted to re-arrange the chronology and organisation of minting in the names of Florent and

issuing coinage in about 1285 in the names of the newly appointed dukes of Athens. The Theban tournois coinage was paralleled by new petty denomination issues Metcalf types 3–5. The early history of the Theban tournois remains shrouded in some controversy: the mint output may not have been entirely regular and there may have been an adversarial stance to the Achaean coinage in terms of the standard of issue. We may, by contrast, assume that from about 1296 onwards these tournois were issued consistently, in large quantities, and at an acceptable quality. The small Peloponnesian tournois issue of Karytaina, possibly dating to the last months of 1291, must be viewed in the context of the monetary controversy between the ruling houses of Athens and Achaea. Equally small, but of quite different importance, was the Corfu issue in the name of Philip of Taranto which can be dated with some confidence between August 1294 and September 1296/August 1298. This issue is testimony to the northward extent of the area of influence of this currency and the sustained efforts by the Angevins towards the monetisation of their Greek holdings. Within the duchy of Athens, a small baronial tournois coinage was emitted at a mint in Salona in Phokis for a short while sometime between 1294 and 1301. With the great augmentation in tournois minting particularly in the 1290s the rate of counterfeiting of these same issues also increased. From the mid-1270s onwards the hoards of Greece were almost completely dominated by Greek deniers tournois.

The first victims of this new coinage were evidently the remaining sterling pennies and the much larger quantity of French royal and feudal issues, all of which were re-minted wholesale. Venetian grossi kept arriving in Greece unabated, remaining in circulation and being the subject of some hoarding, although we must assume that a good number of these grossi were also re-minted into tournois at Glarenza and Thebes. The other western fine silver coinages which would have come to Greece from the 1270s and 1280s onwards—although there are very few numismatic data to support this—, and which would also have been converted into tournois, were French royal gros tournois and saluti of the Naples mint. The route for most of these coins was via the Angevin kingdom of Sicily, sometimes through administrative channels, and occasionally through the warfarring efforts in Albania. Another

Isabelle, although his scheme is not convincing. The high production rate in the name of Isabelle can best be explained by shortening the time during which her immediate predecessor and successor—Florent and Philip of Savoy—were effectively emitting tournois, to 1294–97 and 1301–04 respectively, and by conceding that during these years an unprecedented quantity of western silver was reaching the mint of Glarenza, which followed a general European trend.

coinage which would have increased further the stock of high quality metals in Greece already in the last two to three decades of the 13th century was the gold florin, which was used, still in relatively humble quantities, in the administrative and commercial domains. Because of the increasingly healthy and regularised monetary situation in Greece there was much less scope than in the first half of the century for the infiltration and usage of diverse, lower quality, specie. It is possible that some of the aforementioned coins—issues of Armenia, the Golden Horde, Champagne, etc.—still came to Greece in small quantities after 1250. The single most important groups of coins to penetrate Greece after that date were from late Hohenstaufen and early Angevin Sicily, and piccoli and their multiples from the Venice mint.

For the period after 1300 it becomes increasingly difficult to detect whether 12th-century tetartera were still in usage, or were still being counterfeited. The most likely context in which both would have occured is Atticoboeotia during Catalan domination (from 1311). Freshly minted Byzantine coins were already largely absent from Greece during the first half of the 14th century. One may suppose that gold hyperpyra from Constantinople were still to some extent available, although there are no hard data to support this. The large and successful silver coinage of the Trapezuntine offshoot of the empire is represented at merely one Greek find dating to the 1310s, a hoard of uncertain provenance now in the Athens Numismatic Museum. The 14th century began as the 13th had ended, with Glarenza and Thebes as the most important tournois mints and the most important source for monetary specie in Greece. However, important changes were underway. At Glarenza, between 1301 and 1304, tournois were issued in good numbers in the name of Prince Philip of Savoy, who had married Isabelle de Villehardouin against the wishes of her Angevin overlords. Philip also produced the first Achaean petty denomination issues since the 1270s, Metcalf type 13, which stressed in its design the Villehardouin and Savoy lineages.[39] It was probably during Philip of Savoy's princeship that a very large wave of tournois counterfeiting affected the principality. This caused an Angevin reaction. During the 1301–04 period Philip of Taranto, the despot of Romania and son of King Charles II of Anjou, issued tournois at a rival western Greek mint at Naupactus, which managed to attract a substantial proportion of the incoming bullion. It is possible that, as was the case when minting first began at Thebes (see above), the minting standard that was being applied

39 On this issue, see Orestes H. Zervos, "The Little-Known Obols of Philip of Savoy," *Νομισματικά Χρονικά* 14 (1995), 83–87; Anastasios P. Tzamalis, "Some Thoughts on the Obol of Philip of Savoy," *Νομισματικά Χρονικά* 14 (1995), 89–98.

at Naupactus was inferior to that of Glarenza. With the restoration of direct Angevin rule over Achaea in 1304/06 any rogue specie was rounded up and cancelled. We have concrete evidence for this activity at Corinth, but this may reflect activities throughout the peninsula. The Naupactus mint continued also after October 1304 with a small issue, but we do not currently know when around 1306 these minting operations might have ceased altogether, and when (presumably sometime before) Philip of Taranto started issuing tournois at Glarenza. When he did, the quantities which were being emitted there appear to have been inferior to those of his predecessor Philip of Savoy, and certainly inferior to the combined output of the Glarenza and Naupactus mints during 1301–04.

The duchy of Athens, in the form of the prolific GVI.DVX issues, was also steadily producing large quantities of tournois at Thebes in the early 1300s. Under Athenian guidance, a tournois issue was launched in the name of John II Angelos Doukas at Neopatras, presumably in 1303. Just as Achaea was experiencing a downturn after a certain point, matters unravelled at Thebes and Neopatras due to the premature death of Guy II de la Roche in October 1308. This caused, in both places, the halt of the normal issues and the launch of irregular issues on a reduced scale. At Thebes this was accompanied by a renewed output of petty denomination issues. In 1309 Gauthier of Brienne arrived as the new duke, but John II definitively broke his alliance with Athens in favour of Byzantium. A final tournois issue which requires mention is that produced on the island of Tenos at an unknown point during the same decade by George I Ghisi, who had close personal and political ties to Achaea.

In general terms, the first decade of the 14th century began with an enormous output of tournois at diverse Greek mints. For different dynastic and strategic reasons minting became compromised after mid-decade. During 1309–11, in the face of the rapid advance of the Catalans, the minting effort was renewed at Glarenza, Thebes, Neopatras, and perhaps at Tenos, each mint in its own way, in an attempt to assemble armies or to pay off the foe. This was to no avail and the Catalan occupation of Attica and Boeotia after 1311 left a deep mark on the monetary affairs of Greece. The minting of regular tournois issues was after that date for some time limited to Glarenza. It is possible that the Catalans themselves produced a sub-standard issue at Thebes bearing the names of the earlier dukes of Athens, which was perhaps required to make payments connected to the military efforts. A large number of hoards was deposited and not retrieved during the conquest itself.

With the Catalan army, and with the establishment of a political class which owed its allegiance to the Aragonese kingdom of Sicily, more monetary specie

was specifically brought to the eastern Greek mainland, French gros tournois and south Italian pierreali and gigliati and related issues of Provence. From the 1310s to the 1330s, perhaps later, these issues formed an integral part of the monetary system in the Catalan Duchy of Athens, beside deniers tournois. Even the earlier trachea of Manfred, which bore a physical resemblance to these coins, were still being hoarded. We must assume that smaller Catalan and Sicilian denominations also came to Greece in this period, although there is currently only one penny of Barcelona to vouch for this. Especially gigliati would also have arrived in the Peloponnese where, however, they have failed to leave a substantial record since the bullion would have been largely re-minted at Glarenza. The continued counterfeitings of tetartera (see above) and of deniers tournois within the duchy are further testimonies to the laxness of some of the monetary policies of the new administration. The eastern mainland, not least because of its geographical position, was also receptive to other coinages in these years. Fine silver issues from Chios in the name of the Zaccaria brothers have been documented in Athens. Serbian grossi found their way to southern Greece approximately at the time of the Catalan conquests, although these two events were probably unrelated and the circulation of these issues was determined by their high quality and the general availability of the related Venetian grossi. Overall, the quantities in which the latter reached Greece diminished in the first decades of the 14th century, and the coinage came to a definitive end in the 1340s. In the north-eastern part of our analysed area Venetian grossi retained their relative importance for longest, and it was there that in the 1330s and 1340s a more recent generation of Serbian grossi came to be used, and formed a short lived account system of its own, the *hyperpyron de cruce*. Given the extensive occupation of most of Epirus and Thessaly by the Serbian empire from the 1340s, the relative lack of Serbian coins from these areas is worthy of note.

In the meantime, the Greek tournois coinage was evolving. After the battle of Halmyros in 1311, especially during the rival princeships of Louis of Burgundy (1313–16) and Ferrando of Majorca (1314–16), the output of the mint of Glarenza was low and sporadic. In contrast, under Princess Mahaut of Hainaut (1316–21) and Prince John of Gravina (1321–32), despite of what one might have expected from these politically and strategically difficult times, minting there was uninterrupted, high, and of consistent quality. The success of the tournois coinage in Greece and beyond induced also the mint of Chios under Martino Zaccaria to emit this denomination, very probably after 1320 or 1322, followed by a small issue of the same at Damala in the Peloponnese. During the same decade a noteworthy and highly

distinctive tournois issue was launched at Arta. John II Orsini ruled over Epirus in a fine balancing act between Angevin Romania and Byzantium. The issues in his name lasted on all accounts from the late 1320s to his death in 1336 or 1337. The coinage was initially of modest size and respectable quality, and it began circulating together with other tournois issues. Soon, around 1330 or a bit later, the coins were made entirely of copper, with fluctuating weights, while the output of the Arta mint increased significantly. This coinage was henceforth, like other inferior tournois issues such as those of Catalan Athens (see above), handled and hoarded separately. For a combination of purely monetary reasons, and the geopolitical constellation involving the Epirote and Serbian states and Byzantium, this coinage migrated in large quantities to Macedonia and Bulgaria.

During this decade also the tournois of Glarenza first suffered significant reductions in fineness, which resulted in increasing distrust in and avoidance of this coinage, paving the way to its disappearance. The issues in question were produced in the name of Prince Robert of Taranto after 1332. Two suggestions for the closing date of the Glarenza mint—1347 and 1353—may be put forward but these remain hypotheses and we can only assume that this event occurred in either of these respective years, or at one point in between. The indigenous tournois coinage of Greece was further undermined by continued counterfeiting, especially in Catalan territories (see above).

This general reduction in reliability played into the hands of a new Venetian fine silver denomination, the soldino, which was introduced in 1332. This coinage was designed to unite the two main Venetian systems of account based on the piccolo and the grosso, at a profit to the republic. Its success in Greece was based, in addition to the demise of the tournois and of the Venetian grosso, on its increasing usage by Venetian public and private interests, and the fact that it managed to find a convenient position in the Greek account systems at 1:4 to the tournois, and 20 or 25 to the main hyperpyra. The soldino was adopted the quickest and the most thoroughly in the western Peloponnese and in Boeotia/Attica/Euboea, that is to say in areas most exposed to the Venetian colonial presence and witnessing the greatest commercial activity. We may infer from documentary sources and very sparse numismatic evidence that the main Italian gold coinages—ducats and florins—became increasingly available in Greece in the first half of the 14th century, although the data are altogether not sufficient enough to determine the relative extent and importance of this phenomenon. The aforementioned Robert of Taranto minted an extremely small gold florin issue at Glarenza. As in the previously analysed period, during 1300–50 the overall quantity and quality of the circulating specie, and the

generally tight control by the local authorities, allowed for few additional coinages to make their presence felt: French feudal coins evidently ceased to arrive in Greece and there is a small trickle of Italian pennies ranging from the north and centre to the Angevin kingdom of Sicily (Naples).

After 1350 the hoards of Greece initially continued the previous pattern of containing the now discontinued local tournois and/or soldini. Soldini were hoarded according to their types, either in conservative or progressive constellations, while the most recent and least fine of the Glarenzan tournois, those in the name of Robert of Taranto, were taken out of circulation more rapidly than earlier tournois issues. Despite the availability of soldini and tournois, the closure of the Glarenza mint evidently caused considerable difficulties for the Venetian colonial and trading interests and led to a quick reaction. In 1353 the Venice mint launched a successor coinage, the tornesello, which was minted on a lower standard than even the tournois in the name of Robert. This led to a further reduction in the values of the local hyperpyra currencies of Greece, which were increasingly based on the tornesello rather than the soldino. From the dogeships of Andrea Contarini (1368–82) and Antonio Venier (1382–1400) onwards, torneselli were minted in very large quantities indeed, so that they came to dominate the specie in circulation in Greece in this period, with the consequence that hoards contained an increasingly large numbers of coins and that torneselli were amongst the most frequent stray losses of the entire medieval period in Greece. The importance of torneselli was such that it inspired coinages of the dukes of the Archipelago and of Byzantium. The issues of Naxos were of little influence and were evidently confined to the central Cyclades. Byzantium arguably minted its second generation of tornesi, based on the tornesello, at Constantinople from 1367 onwards. Only one specimen from the metropolitan mint, dating to the late 14th or very early 15th century, has been found in Greece, at the Kraneion basilica of Corinth. However, a Lakonian issue, launched very probably in the 1390s by Manuel II Palaiologos, was hoarded in decent quantities at Sparta, and also circulated in other parts of the eastern Peloponnese and the mainland. On a previous occasion, as regent in Thessalonica, Manuel had produced a tornese coinage of a slightly heavier standard. This coinage has been found hoarded at Athens. While after a certain period onwards torneselli were dominant in Greece, there were still some hoards which contained preferentially soldini. Such hoards included, in the western Peloponnese during the 1380s, also coinages of Hungary and—in merely one instance—of Lesbos which were based on the Venetian soldino. It is possible that these coins were culled from circulation by the Achaean authorities, as were the increasing number of counterfeit tournois and torneselli, which were either indigenous to the Peloponnese, or which were

infiltrating the peninsula from Catalan and Navarrese areas of the mainland. Soldini, by contrast, were very seldom counterfeited.

As in the earlier part of the 14th century, the eastern mainland was also during the second half of the century and later ideally placed to receive coinages from the eastern Aegean and further east—issues of Chios under the Mahonna Company, Lesbos under the Gattilusio, the Knights of Rhodes, and the Kingdom of Cyprus. Coins of the latter two entities have also been found in the Peloponnese and have been brought in connection with the two main Hospitaller involvements with Achaea. The same humble amalgam of Italian penny coinages as previously, with a larger emphasis on the issues of Ancona, remained available in Greece. The new tournois coinages of southern Italy of the 14th century, by contrast, evidently did not cross the Ionian Sea. Numismatic proof for the availability of Italian gold coinages in later 14th century Greece is as scanty as previously. With the deterioration of the local currencies, seeking to fall back on a reliable international standard would have seemed a logical course of action. Nevertheless, it remains difficult to state what percentage of the ducats and florins of the documentary sources was actually met in gold coinage. There is evidence that such gold coins were occasionally hard to come by.

For the last of our periods, 1400–60, initially much remains the same as before: the availability, or not, of gold; the modest arrival of coins from the East and West (Ancona); and especially the domination of the Venetian tornesello coinage. From the period of Doge Michele Steno (1400–13) the hoards contain almost completely torneselli. The exceptions are soldino hoards from Larissa and from Mesopotam in Albania; and one or two hoards from Sparta of local tornesi; and finally, a cluster of hoards of either side of the Gulf of Corinth with older tournois and soldini, which I have brought in connection with the preferences of the Knights of St. John, who were present in the area at the turn of the century. The territories of Carlo I Tocco were identified in some Venetian documentation as a source of tournois counterfeits affecting the Peloponnese in the early 15th century.

Tornesello production at Venice dropped considerably during the dogeship of Tomasso Mocenigo (1414–23). It is possible that one or the other hoard closing in his issues might well have been deposited after his death, although this would be difficult to prove. Also single torneselli dating 1353–1423 may well have been used and lost after this watershed. The only hoards dating securely thereafter are the one from Larissa cited above (which also contained an Ottoman coin); the Lord Grantley hoard of tournois containing mostly issues of the Italian mint of Campobasso (issued 1459–1462/63); and the very significant Chalkis hoard, dating probably to the Turkish conquest of 1470, which might also have resulted in the deposit of a hoard of jewellery which was acquired in

the 19th century by the British Museum and the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, through the offices of Pavlos Lambros.[40] The Chalkis coin hoard reveals the longevity of torneselli and some other, much older, coinages, but contains also contemporary issues of Cattaro and Campobasso. These hoards, in combination with some rare data from sites, show us that for much of the 15th century the currency of Greece was constituted by older torneselli and tournois issues, in combination with a few Ottoman coins, and some recent imports from the Adriatic area. The issues from Campobasso, and maybe even from the related mint of Limosano (both now in the Molise region), are plentiful and typologically complex. The question of possible Greek imitations has yet to be answered either way, but the relevance of coins of this type to Greece postdates the limits of this essay.

## Medieval Greek Money in its Historical Context

The usage of money was a fundamental aspect to life in medieval Greece, its quality and quantity being a direct reflection of economic realities. The money supply is fundamental ingredient to any economic history.[41] But money—and specifically numismatic sources in the form of types and finds—can also be used for other historiographical purposes, for instance to describe political and colonial history, military conflicts, local or regional developments, or the relations between Greece and other territories.[42]

Beginning with the first concern, that of money supply and economic developments: in the absence of any official output figures for the medieval Greek mints, or of any other documentary evidence for the size and quality of the money supply, we rely largely on the numismatic data. These provide us with a picture which is quite different to some of the narratives which have been put forward in the historical and archaeological literature. The history of the Greek peninsula since middle Byzantine times is usually subjected to some form of

40 Ormonde M. Dalton, "Mediaeval Personal Ornaments from Chalcis in the British and Ashmolean Museums," *Archaeologia* 62 (1911), 391–404.

41 For words to that effect, with respect to contemporary England, see Martin Allen, "The Volume of the English Currency, 1158–1470," *Economic History Review* 54.4 (2001), 595–611.

42 Some of these aspects are dealt with by the other authors of this volume, and also by the contributors to the recent *Viewing the Morea: Land and People in the Late Medieval Peloponnese*, ed. Sharon Gerstel (Washington DC, 2013). Notably, on the economy, there are essays in both by David Jacoby. On the other hand, straight political, colonial, or military treatments, potentially very relevant to monetary affairs, have been omitted from these collections of essays.

periodisation, and divided into a number of phases: (1) the 10th and 11th century, ending in the accession of Alexios I (1081); (2) the period of the emperors of the Komnenos and Angelos dynasties (to 1204); (3) the first Frankish period, covering three quarters of the 13th century until the death of William II de Villehardouin in 1278; (4) the period of Angevin and Aragonese domination from 1278/1311; (5) followed by a final phase which was marked by economic/demographic crises, disaffection by the western powers involved in Greece, and the rise of the Despotate of Morea. This phase lasted about a century, until the latter political entity fell to the Ottomans in 1460. A couple of generations ago, even the Komnenian period was considered decadent by many scholars as compared to phase (1), a view which has been altered, from the monetary perspective, most fundamentally by the work of Michael Hendy.[43] In turn, a consensus has been reached more recently, for instance during the mentioned symposia marking the anniversary of the Fourth Crusade in 2004, that phase (3) was in fact economically more sophisticated than the previous Byzantine one. The numismatic data which I was able to assemble for Greece suggest emphatically that there was a rise in monetisation, quantitatively and qualitatively, not only during phases 1–3, but also phase 4, and to some extent during phase 5. One may have expected such findings had one considered general European trends in the economy, and in the production and usage of money as described by Peter Spufford, but the historiography of medieval Greece has to a large degree been conditioned by a narrative whereby the era of the Villehardouin and de la Roche dynasties was a "golden period" which came to an end with foreign domination and exploitation, and the mismanagement by absentee rulers. There are in fact very few sources relating to medieval Greece which can provide us with a consistent and diachronic picture of economic realities, especially of commercial relations, and it is in this area that the numismatic data offer a fundamental contribution. These show clearly that the early years of the 14th century were the height of the silver importation into Greece from the West, and of the production of silver coins at the Greek mints. The numismatic findings for the subsequent period are perhaps the most controversial. As indicated here above, in the years around 1380–1420 a very large quantity indeed of Venetian torneselli was present in Greece. Even though we must assume that, like in previous periods, most western currency reached Greece

43 See, in addition to the numismatic monographs of 1969 and 1999 which have already been cited: Michael F. Hendy, "Byzantium 1081–1204: An Economic Reappraisal," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 20 (1970), 31–52, repr. in idem, *The Economy, Fiscal Administration and Coinage of Byzantium* (Northampton, 1989), II; idem, "Byzantium 1081–1204: The Economy Revisited, Twenty Years On", in ibid., III, 1–48.

in order to purchase products for export, this last phase (5) makes us sensitive to the fact that balances of payment are not always necessarily economic (see below). Because of the bad quality of the tornesello and its overvaluation to the hyperpyra of account, because even the soldino is a bad currency in this respect, because of the demise of the Venetian grosso coinage in Greece in the 1340s, and since it is uncertain to what extent, if at all, the tornesello/soldino were accompanied by Italian gold—mostly Venetian ducats—, we must nevertheless conclude that Greece was increasingly the disadvantaged partner in any such commercial relationship. Supplies were also more haphazard, and the closing of mints from mid-century demonstrate a certain inability to harness incoming bullion. Even here, however, developments in Greece were for some time no different to certain disadvantaged areas of the West, where monetisation was also extremely low. The total monetary collapse after *c.*1420, with virtually no new money entering Greek circulation at all, and little evidence of thesaurisation, paints nevertheless a dramatic picture which must be the result of a combination of economic, administrative/political, and strategic factors. Problems of interpretation also hang over the exports of coins from Greek mints into the neighbouring areas of Italy, the Balkans and Anatolia, which were certainly quite extensive in the central years of the medieval period. There are also some technical and administrative aspects to this (see below), but again we can assume that for some time Greece in the decades before and after 1300 was potent and rich enough to purchase products from elsewhere, especially from the area between Macedonia, Thrace, and Anatolia. In general, whatever the precise years of the medieval period, Greece was consistently richly provisioned with petty cash in different forms, which allowed it to keep up day-to-day forms of monetisation which it had been accustomed to from Byzantine times, and which spared it from using other forms of currency such as the jettons and tokens, which parts of the medieval West had to revert to especially during the second bullion famine which began around 1400.[44] Of course, the currencies in question would not have been able to carry the functions of silver and gold currencies, of which there was soon to be an unprecedented dearth.

We have sensed from this discussion that monetary flows in and out of Greece were not always economic. This was quite clearly the case, for instance, during the 12th century and parts of the 13th century, when diverse lower to middle range western denominations reached Greece as part of the

44 John Day, "The Great Bullion Famine of the Fifteenth Century," *Past and Present* 79 (1978), 3–54 [= John Day, *The Medieval Market Economy*, (Oxford, 1987), 1–54].

crusading movement, and eventually as western settlement increased.[45] With the Angevin overlordship (1267/1278), settlement may have been re-invigorated, and there are certainly signs of money flowing to Greece through administrative and military channels, from Italy and possibly France.[46] This pattern was repeated with the Catalan take-over of the eastern mainland, with close ties being established to Sicily.[47] From the second half of the 14th century this pattern of administrative/demographic expansion changed, also according to the numismatic evidence. In this period, the overall strategic situation forced Venice, in the words of Freddy Thiriet, to a "retour nécessaire à l'expansion".[48] The military and administrative complex put in place in Romania was certainly one of the main driving forces behind the transfer of silver and billon, maybe gold, coinages; in contrast to earlier periods, private demographic and commercial factors may have been of lesser significance.

The Fourth Crusade and the Latin conquests resulted in a decentralisation which shifted the power relations within the Aegean and which put a renewed emphasis on the Greek peninsula. There was an unprecedented level of connectivity and very rapid transfers of coin took place. Some of these were undoubtedly commercial, if we look for instance at the movement of the hyperpyron gold coinage in the first half of the 13th century across the Aegean in north-south and east-west direction. Nevertheless, the billon trachy coinage would have been carried mostly in military contexts, and then hoarded in the Peloponnese and the mainland as a result of physical danger. A wave of

45 On this aspect of the demographics of Frankish Greece, see particularly David Jacoby, "Italian Migration and Settlement in Greece: The Impact on the Economy," in *Die Kreuzfahrerstaaten als multikulturelle Gesellschaft. Einwanderer und Minderheiten im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*, ed. Hans E. Mayer (Munich, 1997), pp. 97–127, repr. in D. Jacoby, *Byzantium, Latin Romania and the Mediterranean* (Aldershot, 2001), IX.

46 See for instance Maria Dourou-Eliopoulou, "Oriental Policy of Charles I and Angevin Settlement in Romania: A Model of Medieval Colonialism," *Byzantina* 21 (2000), 279–86. Monetary flows are also charted in Julian Baker and Matthew Ponting, "The Early Period of Minting of Deniers Tournois in the Principality of Achaïa (to 1289), and their Relation to the Issues of the Duchy of Athens," *Numismatic Chronicle* 161 (2001), 207–54.

47 Julian Baker and Mina Galani-Krikou, "Further Considerations on the Numismatics of Catalan Greece in the Light of the Athens Roman Agora (Lytsika) 1891 Hoards," in *Κερμάτια φιλίας. Τιμητικός τόμος για τον Ιωάννη Τουράτσογλου* [*Kermatia Filias: A Volume in Honour of Ioannis Touratsoglou*], 2 vols. (Athens, 2009), 1:457–73.

48 Freddy Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne au moyen âge: le développement et l'exploitation du domaine colonial vénitien, XII^e–XV^e siècles* (Paris, 1959), 168 and particularly 353 for the inclusion of completely new holdings in the Peloponnese, the mainland, and the Ionian Islands as a result of Ottoman expansion and the collapse of other powers.

tetarteron counterfeiting just after 1204 was the result of political and administrative changes, and met a necessity for this kind of petty cash and perhaps one-off payments, but had no macroeconomic implications. This precedence was continued by the trachea of Michael II and his son-in-law Manfred, and the petty denomination issues of Athens and Achaea, in mid-century. The latter were even carried to the Levant. It is possible that there was also a technical, not directly commercial, aspect to the spread of the tournois successor of this coinage northwards and eastwards, in the sense that Glarenza was the first viable mint which travellers or traders met coming from the West, and therefore a convenient place at which to convert their currency before resuming their journey. This bullion movement would have made little impact on indigenous Greek monetary affairs, apart from the small percentage which remained there as a consequence of payments to the mint. The large-scale transfer of Greek specie to southern Italy also took place quite clearly within a technical and administrative framework. The tournois coinage of John II Orsini, especially the later coppery issues, was conceived in a military context and its movement towards Macedonia would initially have been conditioned by warfare. At a secondary stage, its further spread and usage would have been fostered by Serbian (administrative) expansion and the dearth in petty issues within the Bulgarian state, not however by any overt commercial relations between Greece and this part of the Black Sea, as Bulgarian scholars had maintained between the 1960s and 1980s.

There are other instances during the latter part of medieval Greek history in which local states produced and proposed to use substandard coinage: see the cited examples from Mistra/Monemvasia; Naxos; and counterfeit issues from Catalan Athens and the western mainland. Also here it is unimaginable that outright, high-value commercial transactions were the main cause and motivation. Such coinages would have been intended to make one-off, quasi-fraudulent payments, again perhaps in military contexts, or to keep the lower end of the monetary system oiled: if all the basic purchases, direct and indirect taxes, fines, wages, and the like, were paid in tale for much of the medieval period in Greece, even more so than they had been in the middle Byzantine period,[49] we must nevertheless assume that this was no longer the case during

49 The question has never been systematically investigated; snapshots are nevertheless given for instance in Nikos Oikonomides, "Σε ποιό βαθμό ήταν εκχρηματισμένη η μεσοβυζαντινή οικονομία;" ["To What Degree was the Middle Byzantine Economy Monetised?"], in *Ροδωνιά. Τιμή στον M.I. Μανούσακα* [*Rodonia: In Honour of M.I. Manoussakas*] (Rethymnon, 1994), pp. 363–70, repr. in Nikos Oikonomides, *Social and Economic Life in Byzantium*

parts of the 15th century and beyond. Some areas of Greece would have had to revert to moneyless transactions even earlier.

The evidence of coinage is very relevant to administrative and constitutional histories, in ways which have already been indicated, and also in other respects: the circulating currency had a very strong administrative component, particularly in the coins which are injected and culled from it. Consequently, the 13th century, after the first decade, was marked by very tightly controlled importations of largely English and French specie, and then by a total and equally rigorous transition to an indigenous coinage. During approximately the three decades either side of 1300, coinage was the most harmonious in Greece, suggesting a strong administrative hand. Within the principality, counterfeits were effectively targeted. However, and this is another administrative aspect, there are numismatic signs that for about a decade in the 1280s and 1290s the Angevin settlement was not acceptable to all parties, and again just after 1300 that the rule of Philip of Savoy at Achaea was unacceptable to the Angevins. During these two periods a monetary war of sorts was waging, in the shape of the undercutting of the minting standards of Glarenza at Thebes and Naupactus respectively, which might have caused disruptions such as the effects of Gresham's Law, which implies that good coins were shunned for lesser quality ones, had the former not been relatively short. The Catalans in Athens from 1311 might potentially have caused the same problems, but this was not the case principally because they did not mint good quality tournois, confining themselves to a short and obviously sub-standard issue. Besides operating a policy which tolerated, or even embraced more overtly, coinages of the Italian carlino tradition, the tournois in general usage remained well controlled even there, and the quick adaptation of the soldino, as in the western Peloponnesian, was a sign of political/administrative accommodation with Venice. Even beyond the era of tournois production in Achaea, and even during periods of the later Middle Ages which are usually viewed quite negatively by administrative and political historians of the Morea, the principality and the despotate managed to maintain a firm control of monetary specie, effectively culling and injecting specie. This stands increasingly in contrast to the mainland, under long spells of Serbian and Albanian control, threatened periodically by the Ottomans, and exhibiting no effective monetary policy under any of these nor under the disparate rulers of the Tocco family or the Navarrese. Only the Ionian Islands under Venetian rule may have had a more

(Aldershot, 2004), XIV; Eleni Saradi, "Evidence of the Barter Economy in the Documents of Private Transactions", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 88 (1995), 405–18.

regular monetary administration, although we may glean this from documentary rather than numismatic sources.[50]

Numismatic data, like other forms of material evidence, are particularly important for regional or site-related histories within Greece, particularly since written sources may be good and plentiful in some respects, but are never quantifiable and diachronic. As indicated, quite detailed accounts for Athens, Corinth, Thebes, Glarenza, Argos, Sparta, Arta, and other smaller sites can be given, some of which run counter to the generally assumed developments. Certain regions can be completely re-evaluated in demographic and economic terms, for instance the territories taken by the Catalans, or Epirus. Some fundamental relations between territories can be described, for instance a triangle between the Cyclades, the Peloponnese and Crete, and a clear shift in orientation away from the Aegean towards the Ionian and Adriatic in the course of the 13th century, which was only partially reversed in the latter course of the 14th century with the strengthening of the economic and political might of the eastern Aegean.

50 Nikos Moschonas, "Νομίσματα με νόμιμη κυκλοφορία στο Ιόνιο κατά την περίοδο της βενετικής κυριαρχίας" ["Coins under Legal Circulation in the Ionian during the Period of Venetian Rule"], in *Το Ιόνιο, Οικολογία-Οικονομία-Ρεύματα ιδεών,* (*Ζάκυνθος 24–27 Οκτωβρίου 1985*) [*The Ionian, Ecology-Economy-Currents of Thought* (*Zakynthos 24–27 October 1985*)] ed. Nikos Moschonas (Athens, 1990), pp. 197–235.

CHAPTER 8

# The Jewish Communities in the Social Fabric of Latin Greece: Between Segregation and Interaction

*David Jacoby*

The population of the Byzantine territories occupied by the Latins after the Fourth Crusade was overwhelmingly Greek. Jews resided in their midst. They were the only ethnic and religious minority continuously present in Byzantium since Antiquity.[1] Despite their small numbers, they were the object of more attention than any other minority in the empire. To a large extent the Church, the state, and the surrounding society shaped both their individual and collective condition, characterised by social segregation. Yet there were also other factors at play in that respect.

Indeed, the Jews also formed a distinct ethnic and religious community segregated by choice. They differed markedly from the bulk of the Byzantine population by their religious creed, social cohesion, lifestyle, customs, and cultural traits. They had a calendar of their own and abided by dietary laws defined by rabbinical prescriptions. Their consumption of kosher food and wine, handled within an internal economic network exclusively geared toward Jewish customers, was a projection of the distinctive corporate Jewish identity and an indispensable factor in the latter's preservation. In addition, from the 9th or 10th century onward the Jews of Byzantium used Hebrew as a literary language, which served as an expression of their collective self-identity and as a medium of communication with Jews residing in other cultural regions.[2] However, in everyday life these Jews spoke vernacular Greek. They bore Greek names and bynames, instead of Hebrew names or in addition to them. Their liturgy included the reading of Greek translations of the Bible in the synagogue,

1 Overview in David Jacoby, "Les Juifs de Byzance: Une communauté marginalisée," in *Οι Περιθωριακοί στο Βυζάντιο* [*Marginality in Byzantium*], ed. Chryssa A. Maltezou (Athens, 1993), pp. 103–54. Various aspects of Byzantine Jewry are presented in *Jews in Byzantium: Dialectics of Minority and Majority Cultures*, ed. Reuven Bonfil, Oded Ir-Shai, Guy Stroumsa and Rina Talgam (Leiden, 2012).

2 Nicholas de Lange, "Hebrews, Greeks or Romans? Jewish Culture and Identity in Byzantium," in *Strangers to Themselves: The Byzantine Outsider*, ed. Dion C. Smythe (Aldershot, 2000), pp. 106–18.

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in addition to the original Hebrew text. In short, these Jews were assimilated to a limited extent to the Greek-speaking milieu, yet retained their distinctive individual and collective identity as "foreigners". They are called "Romaniotes" to distinguish them from their brethren in western and central Europe and those of the Iberian peninsula, called Ashkenazi and Sepharadi respectively, as well as from the Arabic-speaking Jews living in Muslim countries. The term was derived from "Romania", the name applied from the 11th century both in Byzantium and the West to the empire and used later by the Latins for Byzantine and former Byzantine territories.

## Primary Sources and Past Research

The Romaniote Jewry of the late Middle Ages, including the communities residing in former Byzantine territories occupied by the Latins, has drawn far less attention than the contemporary Jewish communities living in the Christian West or in the Muslim world. Two main factors explain this attitude: the paucity of published primary sources referring to them, and the absence of towering intellectual figures, a focus of scholars' interest in Jewish history since the 19th century. An important shift in perspective occurred in the 1940s, when Joshua Starr adopted a more comprehensive approach to the history of Romaniote Jewry by dwelling upon social, economic and institutional, in addition to cultural aspects of their life. In 1984 Steven Bowman published in translation a collection of varied sources with commentary bearing on Romaniote Jews from the Fourth Crusade until the mid-19th century.[3] Starr relied entirely, and Bowman almost exclusively upon published Byzantine, western and Jewish primary sources, the latter mainly literary works. Their studies remain extremely valuable, yet require numerous revisions in view of the considerable amount of new evidence yielded by sources preserved in the state archives of Venice and Genoa. Official documents and charters drafted by western notaries from the late 13th century onward, of primary importance because they illustrate everyday life, are particularly abundant for specific locations, trade routes and periods. However, much archival material awaits investigation.

Relevant Jewish sources, far more limited in number, also provide precious information. Isolated documentary and literary works or funerary inscriptions

3 Joshua Starr, "Jewish Life in Crete under the Rule of Venice," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 12 (1942), 59–114; Joshua Starr, *Romania: The Jewries of the Levant after the Fourth Crusade* (Paris 1949); Steven B. Bowman, *The Jews of Byzantium, 1204–1453* (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1985).

referring to a single craftsman, merchant, scholar, scribe or to women, who did not live on their own, offer indirect evidence regarding the existence of communities, communal institutions, migration, customs, or cultural life. This is also the case of manuscripts in a distinctive "Byzantine" Hebrew script, as well as dated or datable colophons appearing in them.[4] Individual names and toponymic bynames illustrate linguistic and cultural orientations, yet supply only limited data regarding Jewish mobility. The documentation regarding many Romaniote communities is fragmentary and presents substantial chronological gaps. Some communities are attested only once.

## Urban Jewries in Latin Greece

The Latin conquest of Constantinople in April 1204, the culmination of the Fourth Crusade, was followed by the occupation of extensive Byzantine territories. From 1205 onward various western forces gradually conquered central and southern Greece, as well as many Aegean islands. By 1211 Venice had occupied Modon and Coron (Greek Methone and Korone, respectively), two ports in the south-western Peloponnese, as well as the Cretan city of Chandax, called Candia by the Latins, and had established the foundation of a quarter under its own jurisdiction in Euripos, called Negroponte by the Latins (modern Chalkis), the main city in the island of Euboea. The Venetian Marco Sanudo established in 1213/14 the Duchy of the Archipelago or Naxos, which consisted of the Cycladic islands.[5] About a century later, members of the Genoese Zaccaria family ruled over the island of Chios from 1304 to 1329, and in 1346 a Genoese consortium conquered the island, which remained under Genoese rule until its incorporation within the Ottoman state in 1566. Jews lived in all these territories both before and after their occupation by the Latins.

The Romaniote Jews were overwhelmingly an urban element. Most of them resided in cities serving as economic or administrative centres situated along the main waterways of the Eastern Mediterranean or along major land routes. Evolving political, economic and local conditions and the high degree of Jewish mobility across political, cultural and linguistic boundaries affected the size, composition, and economic profile of individual Jewish

4 See the Codicological Data-Base of the Hebrew Palaeography Project, The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, at <sfardata.nli.org.il>.

5 New dating: Guillaume Saint-Guillain, "Les conquérants de l'archipel: l'Empire latin de Constantinople, Venise et les premiers seigneurs des Cyclades," in *Quarta Crociata: Venezia—Bisanzio—Impero Latino*, ed. Gherardo Ortalli, Giorgio Ravegnani and Peter Schreiner (Venice, 2006), pp. 125–237, esp. 224–26.

communities. These factors also account for the establishment of additional ones in new political or administrative centres created after 1204 and in cities enjoying swift economic growth in that period. A survey highlighting the specific features of Jewish settlements will pave the way to considerations regarding the legal and social status of individuals and communities, as well as to their interaction with society at large.

The well-known Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela, who crossed Byzantine territory from the second half of 1161 to the spring of 1163, provides the most detailed list of Jewish communities existing in the empire some 40 years before the Fourth Crusade.[6] However, that list is incomplete and there are fair chances that the map of Romaniote Jewish settlements will never be fully reconstructed.[7] According to Benjamin of Tudela the Jewish community in Thebes consisted of 2000 individuals under five leaders, and was thus the largest he visited in the Byzantine Empire except for the one in Constantinople. Highly-qualified Jewish workers were involved in the local production of silk textiles and garments, yet their precise share in the Theban silk sector is unknown.[8]

Thebes was included in the Frankish lordship of Athens from 1205. There is good reason to believe that its Jewish community survived the Latin conquest, despite the absence of evidence in that respect for about an entire century after Benjamin's visit. Moses Galimidi left Thebes for Negroponte during the late years of the rule of Guy I de La Roche (1225–63). His acquaintance with the raw silk market and the operation of silk workshops in Thebes

6 Benjamin of Tudela, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. Marcus N. Adler (London, 1907), Hebrew text, pp. 11–18. For all references below to Benjamin of Tudela, see the translation in Bowman, *The Jews of Byzantium*, pp. 333–37. New dating of the journey across Byzantium: David Jacoby, "Benjamin of Tudela and his 'Book of Travels,'" in *Venezia incrocio di culture: Percezioni di viaggiatori europei e non europei a confronto*, ed. Klaus Herbers and Felicitas Schmieder (Rome, 2008), pp. 144–47, 149. Seven additional localities are documented by other 12th-century sources: see Michael Toch, *The Economic History of European Jews: Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2013), pp. 270–72.

7 A map has been devised by Nicholas de Lange, Alexander Panayotov and Gethin Rees, *Mapping the Jewish Communities of the Byzantine Empire* (2013) accessible at <www.byzantineJewry.net>.

8 Benjamin's population figures have been the subject of diverging interpretations. They are assessments in round figures, the large ones clearly referring to individuals rather than to families or households: Jacoby, "Benjamin of Tudela," pp. 159–61. On Jews in the Theban silk sector, see David Jacoby, "Silk in Western Byzantium before the Fourth Crusade," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 84/85 (1991/1992), 466, 485–87, repr. in David Jacoby, *Trade, Commodities and Shipping in the Medieval Mediterranean* (Aldershot, 1997), VII.

was undoubtedly one of the reasons inducing David Kalomiti, a rich Jewish merchant of Negroponte involved in silk transactions, to recruit him in his service. The wandering Spanish mystic, Abraham Abulafia, appears to have been in Thebes in the late 1270s.[9] A son of Moses Galimidi fled in or shortly after 1300 from Negroponte to Thebes.[10] There was a well-organised Jewish community in this city around that time, as attested by an epitaph of 1337/38 recording the name of the grandfather of the deceased, a *parnas* or communal leader presumably in office some 30 years earlier.[11] The inscription also points to the continuity of the local Jewish community after Thebes' occupation in 1311 by a military contingent known as the Catalan Company, although some Jews may have fled at that time to Negroponte, like many Latins.[12] Another epitaph dated 1336 and the colophon of a manuscript dated 1367 confirm the presence of the community under Catalan rule.[13] The occupation of Thebes in 1379 by another military contingent, the Navarrese Company, may have generated yet another exodus of Jews to Negroponte.[14] A Jewish professional scribe from Spanish Toledo worked in Thebes in 1415.[15] The city pursued the production of silk textiles throughout the 13th and 14th century.[16] However, the continuous existence of the local Jewish community in that period does not necessarily imply Jewish participation in their manufacture, for which there is no evidence. The Ottomans occupied the city in 1458.

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9 Moshe Idel, "The Kabbalah in Byzantium: Preliminary Remarks," in *Jews in Byzantium*, p. 663.

10 Information on the Kalomiti and Galimidi families in a Hebrew letter published by Carlo Bernheimer, "Document relatif aux Juifs de Négrepont," *Revue des Études Juives* 65 (1913), 224–28; translated with commentary by Bowman, *The Jews of Byzantium*, pp. 234–40, no. 30. I shall deal elsewhere with the dating of the letter and the events it records.

11 Text of the epitaph in Bowman, *The Jews of Byzantium*, p. 270, no. 60b. On the title *parnas*, see ibid., pp. 99–100.

12 On the Latins: David Jacoby, "The Demographic Evolution of Euboea under Latin Rule, 1205–1470," in *The Greek Islands and the Sea*, ed. Julian Chrysostomides, Charalambos Dendrinos and Jonathan Harris (Camberley, 2004), pp. 153–54, repr. in David Jacoby, *Travellers, Merchants and Settlers across the Mediterranean, Eleventh-Fourteenth Centuries* (Farnham, 2014), IX.

13 Bowman, *The Jews of Byzantium*, pp. 269–70, no. 60a, and p. 287, no. 92.

14 Jacoby, "The Demographic Evolution," p. 154.

15 Bowman, *The Jews of Byzantium*, pp. 302–03, no. 117.

16 David Jacoby, "The Production of Silk Textiles in Latin Greece," in *Τεχνογνωσία στη λατινοκρατούμενη Ελλάδα* [*Technology in Latin-Occupied Greece*] (Athens, 2000), pp. 24–27, repr. in David Jacoby, *Commercial Exchange across the Mediterranean: Byzantium, the Crusader Levant, Egypt and Italy* (Aldershot, 2005), XII.

Benjamin of Tudela also visited Corinth, to which he ascribed 300 Jews under three leaders. There is no further evidence about the city's Jews until one of the sons of Moses Galimidi fled from Negroponte and found refuge in Corinth between 1300 and 1303. His move to that city suggests the existence of a local Jewish community. After the earthquake of 1303 he left Corinth for Thebes, which may hint at a larger Jewish exodus. Corinth experienced an economic and demographic contraction following the earthquake, and its decline was hastened by the attack and looting of the city in 1312 by the Catalan Company established in the Duchy of Athens. Corinth's condition was further aggravated by depopulation and a production slump in its countryside as a result of recurrent Turkish raids from the 1340s. The local Jewish community is not documented during that period of crisis. Corinth's economy recovered to some extent in the 1360s.[17] In 1365 a consortium of Jews, whose names are not recorded, obtained at auction the collection of the *chomerchio grande* of Corinth, apparently the tax on commercial transactions. The sum of 340 hyperpyra it paid for that year was superior to the total amount paid by others for the remaining urban taxes.[18] Since the data are limited to 1365, we do not know whether Jews were involved in the collection of urban taxes in other years. In any event, the operation suggests the presence of Jewish residents in the city. Abraham Kalomiti, member of the prominent family based in Negroponte, lived shortly before 1394 in Corinth, where he served in a financial capacity in the household of the city's lord, the Florentine Nerio I Acciaiuoli. He held the office of "weigher of currants" and was in charge of the sale of these dried, small black grapes.[19] Somewhat later he acted on behalf of Carlo I Tocco, count of Cephalonia, who had taken hold of Corinth, and pawned jewels formerly belonging to Nerio I Acciaiuoli in return for a large loan provided by some Jews of Negroponte.[20] The Ottomans occupied Corinth in 1395.

Benjamin of Tudela refers to 50 Jews under three leaders in Patras. The wandering Spanish mystic, Abraham Abulafia, stayed for some time in the city in 1261/62, when he married a local Jewish woman, and again in 1279.[21] Evidence

17 On the evolution of Corinth's economy and population in that period: David Jacoby, "Rural Exploitation and Market Economy in the Late Medieval Peloponnese," in *Viewing the Morea: Land and People in the Late Medieval Peloponnese*, ed. Sharon E.J. Gerstel (Washington DC, 2013), pp. 220–21, 231, 242.

18 Jean Longnon and Peter Topping, eds., *Documents sur le régime des terres dans la principauté de Morée au XIVe siècle* (Paris, 1969), pp. 162–63. The collection of each of the other taxes was granted either to one or two individuals.

19 Jacoby, "Rural Exploitation," p. 259.

20 Jacoby, "The Demographic Evolution," p. 165.

21 Bowman, *The Jews of Byzantium*, p. 227, no. 22, and pp. 231–32, no. 26.

is lacking for the following century. In 1399 or somewhat earlier a Jewess sold two contiguous houses situated along the city's main street before moving to Corfu.[22] A scribe worked for a wealthy Spanish immigrant in 1410.[23] Another Jew appears as witness in 1424.[24] In his description of the Byzantine siege of 1429 Georgios Phrantzes reports the existence of an *Ebraike* or Jewish quarter outside the wall protecting the city and adjacent to a gate called the "Jewish gate".[25] The will of Bartolomeo Zane de Visdanelis, drafted in Patras in 1430, provided for the reimbursement of two commercial loans granted by Jews. One of the creditors was to obtain 1000 pounds of iron to be brought from Lepanto, as well as a sum of money, while the other was entitled to a sum corresponding to the debt recorded in the testator's account book.[26] Some Jews of Patras leased rural land. One of them held a plot turned into a garden in the city's vicinity before 1436.[27] In 1440 another Jew held rural property at Longos, some 25 kilometres east of Patras.[28] Brisk economic activity in Patras suggests the presence of Jews in the city throughout the Frankish and Venetian periods. The last testimonies point to the continuity of Jewish settlement after the Byzantine conquest of the city in 1429.[29]

Jews resided in two other cities of the Frankish Principality of the Morea, in which they settled only in the 13th century. Andravida became the main residence of the Frankish rulers after the conquest and, as result, attracted Latin knights and commoners and developed into a sizeable consumption center.[30] It had a structured Jewish community, headed by three leaders, one of them

22 Ernst Gerland, ed., *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Erzbistums Patras* (Leipzig, 1903), pp. 191–93, and for the location of the street, pp. 113–14.

23 Bowman, *The Jews of Byzantium*, pp. 86 and 296–97, no. 109.

24 Gerland, *Neue Quellen*, pp. 201–04.

25 Giorgio Sfranze, *Cronaca*, ed., Riccardo Maisano, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 29 (Rome, 1990), p. 44, chap. XVII, 7–8.

26 Gerland, *Neue Quellen*, pp. 213 and 215, no. 17.

27 Gerland, *Neue Quellen*, pp. 218–20, no. 19; translation in Bowman, *The Jews of Byzantium*, pp. 309–10, no. 130.

28 Gerland, *Neue Quellen*, pp. 224–27, esp. 225; see also pp. 120–23.

29 On the economy of Patras in these periods: Gerland, *Neue Quellen*, pp. 89–92, 149–71; see also Hélène Sarandi-Mendelovici, "À propos de la ville de Patras aux 13e–15e siècles," *Revue des Études Byzantines* 38 (1980), 219–32.

30 David Jacoby, "Italian Migration and Settlement in Latin Greece: the Impact on the Economy," in *Die Kreuzfahrerstaaten als multikulturelle Gesellschaft. Einwanderer und Minderheiten im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*, ed. Hans E. Mayer (Munich, 1997), p. 105, repr. in David Jacoby, *Byzantium, Latin Romania and the Mediterranean* (Aldershot, 2001), IX.

a *parnas*, when it experienced messianic excitement in 1257.[31] Glarenza was a new city established in the 1260s along the western coast of the Peloponnese, at a short distance from Andravida.[32] It rapidly became the major port of the Frankish Morea.[33] Considering the Jewish settlement pattern of that period, we may safely assume that Jews settled in Glarenza shortly after its establishment, although none is attested there until 1306. The Jewish community appears to have been small at that time.[34] A Jewish surgeon resided in the city before 1395, when he was hired by the Venetian authorities to serve in Corfu.[35] Glarenza apparently began to decline in the late 14th century. According to an estimate made in 1391 for Amadeo of Savoy, who aspired to become prince of the Frankish Morea, there were only about 300 households or between 1200 and 1500 inhabitants in the city, including Jews.[36] In 1430 a Catalan pirate captured and deported the Jews remaining in the city.[37]

There were several Jewish communities in the Duchy of the Archipelago. Between 1300 and 1303 a son of Moses Galimidi fled from Negroponte, where he had been involved in silk business, to Andros, presumably the city bearing that name.[38] The island of Andros produced both raw silk and silk textiles in that period.[39] A Jew copied several works in Syros in 1307/08.[40] The copy of another manuscript was completed in 1410 in the city of Naxos.[41] In 1431 a Jewess of Andros, mother-in law of Xenos of Andros who had moved to Candia, was the *villana* or subject of the lady of Andros, wife of Andrea Zeno.[42]

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31 Bowman, The *Jews of Byzantium*, pp. 224–26, no. 21, and see also ibid., pp. 79–81, 100.

32 Angeliki Tzavara, *Clarentza, une ville de la Morée latine, XIII^e–XV^e siècles* (Venice, 2008), pp. 26–29.

33 Tzavara, *Clarentza*, pp. 201–300; see also Jacoby, "Italian Migration," pp. 105–06.

34 Tzavara, *Clarentza*, pp. 194–96.

35 Andrea Nanetti, ed., *Documenta veneta Coroni & Mothoni rogata: Euristica e critica documentaria per gli oculi capitales Communis Veneciarum* (*secoli XIV e XV*), 2 vols. (Athens, 1999), 1:166–67, no. 3.56.

36 Jacoby, "Italian Migration," p. 106.

37 Bowman, *The Jews of Byzantium*, p. 308, no. 127. Contrary to Bowman, ibid., p. 85, these were clearly permanent residents of Glarenza.

38 See above, n. 10.

39 David Jacoby, "Silk in Mediaeval Andros," in *Captain and Scholar: Papers in Memory of Demetrios I. Polemis*, ed. Evangelos Chrysos and Elizabeth A. Zachariadou (Andros, 2009), pp. 145–47.

40 Adolf Neubauer, *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library and in the College Libraries of Oxford* (Oxford, 1886), cols. 521–22, no. 1467.

41 Bowman, *The Jews of Byzantium*, pp. 297–98, no. 110.

42 Personal communication of Guillaume Saint-Guillain.

After 1492 the Spanish refugee Abraham Zakut settled for some time in Naxos.[43] These testimonies reveal the presence of several Jewish settlements in the Cycladic islands, apparently small.

The evidence regarding Jews in the Venetian outposts and colonies of Latin Greece is abundant. Venice ruled over Modon and Coron and their countryside in the south-western Peloponnese from 1207 to 1500. The two ports became major outlets for Peloponnesian oil, wine and other products of the region from the 13th century onwards.[44] They were important tanning centres, thanks to an abundant supply of skins.[45] Modon also fulfilled a pivotal function as port of call and trans-shipment station, thanks to its location at the juncture of the two main Venetian shipping lanes in the Eastern Mediterranean, one leading to Constantinople and the other to Egypt. It was also a major transit station for pilgrims sailing between Venice and the Holy Land.

There is no documentary evidence on Jews in Modon and Coron until the mid-14th century,[46] although they had clearly settled there earlier. A former or son of a former resident of Coron lived in the Cretan port of Candia in 1357, when jointly with another Jew he shipped skins to Coron for tanning.[47] He must have been acquainted with local Jewish tanners. A Jew from Modon or Coron trading in Byzantine Morea shortly before 1359 suffered severe losses, inflicted by Turkish raiders according to a Byzantine ambassador.[48] In 1368 a Jew from Candia lived in the suburb of Coron.[49] A Jewess from Modon wedded in Candia returned to Modon before 1372.[50] The Jewish tanners of Modon are mentioned in 1389.[51] In 1391 some of them resided outside the suburb along

43 Bowman, *The Jews of Byzantium*, p. 156, n. 98.

44 Jacoby, "Rural Exploitation," pp. 240, 243–44, 246, 251, 254–55, 261–62, 265–67, 269–70, 272–73.

45 Jacoby, "Rural Exploitation," p. 265, n. 472, and p. 268. Numerous documents on tanning in Konstantinos N. Sathas, ed., *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au Moyen Âge*, (Μνημεία Ελληνικής Ιστορίας) 9 vols. (Paris, 1880–90), 4:33–186, passim.

46 A baptised Jew lived in 1336 in Modon: Nanetti, *Documenta*, 2:100–01, nos. 6.183–84. He may have come from another location, since Jews often moved to other places after baptism.

47 A. Lombardo, ed., *Zaccaria de Fredo, notaio in Candia* (*1352–1357*) (Venice, 1968), p. 76, no. 104; see also pp. 84–85, no. 120, which relates to the same journey.

48 Ermanno Orlando, ed., *Venezia—Senato, Deliberazioni miste. Registro XXIV* (*1347–1349*) (Venice, 2007), p. 426, no. 783, and p. 430, no. 792.

49 Nanetti, *Documenta*, 2:51, no. 6.77.

50 Nanetti, *Documenta*, 1:166–67, nos. 3.55–56.

51 Sathas, *Documents*, 4:60.

the water-front. Since the accumulation of refuse from their craft was washed into the harbour, they were ordered to resettle elsewhere within 30 days. The following month they were instructed to reside exclusively in the suburb.[52] In 1464 the Jewish tanners of Modon were the only ones in town.[53] Jewish herdsmen grazed their many sheep and goats in the vicinity of Modon by 1483, yet this was clearly not a recent development.[54] The skins of these animals were most likely tanned in Modon. Pilgrims passing through the city in the late 15th century record that the Jews lived in the walled suburb. George Lengherand noted in 1485 that they sold food and refreshments, and Arnold von Harff that he bought some of the small high-grade silk pieces produced by local Jewish women, presumably girdles, hoods, veils or kerchiefs.[55] The ordinances of the castellans governing Modon and Coron also record Jewish money-lenders in 1416 and 1433.[56]

In 1401 there were 380 residents in the suburb of Modon, 80 of them Latins.[57] It is unclear how many of the others were Jews. Meshullam of Volterra, who visited Modon in 1481, claimed that 300 Jewish families were living in the suburb, yet it is unlikely that this area could accommodate so many inhabitants. The *zudecha* or Jewish neighbourhood in the suburb is attested in 1437, and the *universita di zudii* or organised community in 1457, although it clearly existed earlier.[58] In 1439 Venice ordered special levies to finance its war in Lombardy. The sum of 200 ducats imposed upon the Jews of Modon and Coron was small, compared with the amounts demanded from the Jewries of Crete, Negroponte and Corfu, since many of them, especially tanners, were apparently poor. Still, some local Jews of Modon were affluent, like the one who engaged a professional scribe from Toledo to copy a book in 1404.[59] Some Jews left Modon in

52 Sathas, *Documents*, 4:64–65; February 1389 in the Venetian calendar was in fact 1390. For the identification of Modon, see the reference to Antonio de Cardo, ibid., p. 62. Starr, *Romania*, p. 67, has misunderstood the topographic context.

53 Sathas, *Documents*, 4:33–34. The same public crier is explicitly recorded in Modon: ibid., 4:34. On tanning, see also Andrea Nanetti, "The Jews in Modon and Coron during the Second Half of the Fifteenth Century", *Mediterranean Historical Review* 27 (2012), 218 and 221–22.

54 Sathas, *Documents*, 4:127–28.

55 Starr, *Romania*, p. 64.

56 Sathas, *Documents*, 4:112, 154.

57 Sathas, *Documents*, 2:23.

58 Sathas, *Documents*, 4:159, 161.

59 Hippolyte Noiret, ed., *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire de la domination vénitienne en Crète de 1380 à 1485* (Paris, 1892), p. 387, for Crete; Freddy Thiriet, ed., *Régestes des délibérations du sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie: 1329–1463*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1958–61),

the late 15th century, while the remainder were killed during the Ottoman onslaught on the city in 1500.[60]

Crete was allocated in April 1204 to Boniface of Montferrat, who failed to be elected Latin emperor, in accordance with the agreement concluded between the Latin leaders of the Fourth Crusade.[61] However, the Genoese Enrico Pescatore occupied large sections of the island in 1206. Venice reacted in the following year by capturing Candia, Crete's main urban and administrative centre, yet only after defeating Pescatore in 1211 did it extend its rule over the island.[62] Venice's dominion over Crete lasted more than four and a half centuries and came to an end with the fall of Candia to the Ottomans in 1669.

Little is known about the Jews of Crete in the period extending from the Byzantine recovery of the island in 961 until its occupation by Venice in the early 13th century.[63] On the other hand, Cretan Jewry is extremely well documented in the Venetian period, thanks to numerous Venetian official and private documents, largely unpublished, and the survival of its communal ordinances known as "Taqqanoth Qandyia", drafted in Hebrew.[64]

The existence of a well-structured Jewry in the island is revealed around 1105 by a Cretan *parnas* visiting Cairo. It is confirmed by an 11th- or 12th-century letter written in Alexandria referring to kosher cheese produced in Crete, which implies rabbinical supervision over the production of specific foodstuffs and wine in the island. The Jewish houses and synagogues mentioned in 1224 or 1225 by the Greeks of Crete and the communal ordinances of 1228 referring to

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3:71, no. 2492, for the other territories. On the Jew from Toledo: Bowman, *The Jews of Byzantium*, p. 296, note to no. 108.

60 Nanetti, "The Jews in Modon and Coron", p. 217.

61 Guillaume Saint-Guillain, "Comment les Vénitiens n'ont pas acquis la Crète: note à propos de l'élection impériale de 1204 et du partage projeté de l'empire byzantine," *Travaux et Mémoires* 16 (2010) [= Mélanges Cécile Morrisson], pp. 713–58, convincingly argues that Boniface of Montferrat never sold his rights over Crete to Venice and that the supposed sale is a later Venetian construct devised to justify Venice's rule over the island.

62 Silvano Borsari, *Il dominio veneziano a Creta nel XIII secolo* (Naples, 1963), pp. 21–25; David Jacoby, "Changing Economic Patterns in Latin Romania: The Impact of the West," in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy P. Mottahedeh (Washington DC, 2001), pp. 207–08, repr. in Jacoby, *Commercial Exchange*, IX.

63 David Jacoby, "Jews and Christians in Venetian Crete: Segregation, Interaction, and Conflict," in *« Interstizi »: Culture ebraico-cristiane a Venezia e nei suoi domini dal medioevo all'età moderna*, ed. Uwe Israel, Robert Jütte and Reinhold C. Mueller (Rome, 2010), pp. 246–47.

64 Elias S. Artom and Humbertus M.D. Cassuto, eds., *Taqqanoth Qandyia we-Zichronoteha* (*Statuta Judaeorum Candidae eorumque memorabilia*) (Jerusalem, 1943).

synagogues and to a ritual bath in Candia clearly imply Jewish presence and institutional continuity from the Byzantine period. There was also residential continuity in Candia along the Bay of Dermata or "Bay of Hides".[65]

The bulk of extant evidence regarding Cretan Jewry under Venetian rule deals with Candia, the administrative centre of the island. By the late 13th century the city had become a major trading station along the waterway connecting Venice to Egypt and the Frankish states of the Levant, as well as within the regional maritime network of the Aegean extending to Constantinople.[66] Its brisk economic activity stimulated Jewish immigration and the growth of Candia's Jewry, which became one of the major Jewish communities of the Eastern Mediterranean. Around 1325 the Venetian authorities fixed the limits of the Jewish residential area. In 1350 the duke of Crete was instructed to relocate into that area the Jews who resided beyond its boundaries.[67] By 1390 the Jewish quarter in Candia formed a physically separated entity enclosed by a wall and accessed through gates.[68]

Jews resided in two additional cities situated along the northern shore of Crete. It is unclear whether they were already settled in Rethymnon in the Byzantine period, or whether they established themselves there once the city's development began under Venetian rule. They are indirectly attested in 1222, when they were affected by a Greek rebellion. By 1320 they resided in the old *burgus* or suburb, thus outside the ancient Byzantine urban space. The Jews' request to reopen a synagogue in the *Judaica* or Jewish quarter in 1386 and a resolution of the Venetian Senate in 1412 confirm the continuous existence of the local Jewry. The community of Rethymnon had its own institutions well before 1362, when it adopted an ordinance separating two ritual functions.[69]

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65 Jacoby, "Jews and Christians," pp. 246–49. The Jewish quarter is also attested by a document of 1227 or 1228: Mario Gallina, "Livelli di richezza e di penuria negli atti matrimoniali rogati a Candia nel corso del secolo XIV," in *Πλούσιοι και φτωχοί στην κοινωνία της Ελληνολατινικής ανατολής: Διεθνές Συμπόσιο* [= *Rich and Poor in the Society of the Greco-Latin East: International Symposium*], ed. Chryssa A. Maltezou (Venice, 1998), p. 279, n. 78.

66 David Jacoby, "Creta e Venezia nel contesto economico del Mediterraneo orientale sino alla metà del Quattrocento," in *Venezia e Creta: atti del convegno internazionale di studi*, ed. Gherardo Ortalli (Venezia, 1998), pp. 73–106, repr. in Jacoby, *Commercial Exchange*, VII.

67 Starr, "Jewish Life," p. 63 and n. 15.

68 David Jacoby, "Venice and the Venetian Jews in the Eastern Mediterranean," in *Gli Ebrei e Venezia, secoli XIV–XVIII*, ed. Gaetano Cozzi (Milan, 1987), pp. 37 and 53, n. 24, repr. in David Jacoby, *Studies on the Crusader States and on Venetian Expansion* (Northampton, 1989), X.

69 Jacoby, "Jews and Christians," pp. 249–50.

Jewish settlement in Canea (now Chania) presumably began later than in Rethymnon. In 1252 Venice envisaged the reconstruction of the city or the foundation of a new one in a vacant site. The establishment of Jews in Canea must have followed the building or repair of dwellings for the Venetian settlers. By 1276 a Jewish resident of the city was trading in the countryside. In 1325 the city's rector was given the power to transfer the Jewish community to the suburb.[70]

In addition to the three communities mentioned so far, Jews also resided for varying periods of time in smaller Cretan settlements adjoining castles used by Venice to control the island. Their presence is attested in two such settlements of central Crete, Castelnuovo and Bonifacio. It is likely that Jews already settled in the two localities in the first half of the 13th century, in connection with the operation of the Jewish economic network supplying kosher cheese, wine and livestock. As attested later, they acted as middlemen between peasants in their own region on the one hand, Jewish merchants and consumers in Candia, on the other.[71] This function was furthered over time by the expanding export of kosher commodities from Candia and, to a lesser extent, by the growth of the city's Jewish community.

A Jewish resident of Castelnuovo is first attested in 1281. In 1363 the local Jewry appears to have been rather small and lacking communal and rabbinical leadership. It was partly massacred in the following year by rebels attempting to overthrow Venetian rule over Crete. Its continuity in the following 80 years is illustrated by various documents. The existence of a *Judaica* in 1448 implies that the number of local Jews had grown, yet some of them owned houses outside the quarter. All local Jews were expelled in the 1450s, yet allowed to return in 1465. In 1567 the local communal leaders issued their own ordinance, undermining thereby the authority of the communal leaders in Candia. The community is again documented in 1577.

The presence of Jews in Bonifacio is first attested in 1319. Three Jews bought a total of 40 tanned hides in 1339. Jewish surgeons resided in Bonifacio in 1379 and 1395. The local Jews are mentioned in 1440, and their *Judaica* is indirectly attested in 1450. Like those of Castelnuovo, they were expelled in the 1450s, yet allowed to return in 1465. The community is mentioned in the

70 Jacoby, "Jews and Christians," p. 250.

71 Castelnuovo and Bonifacio were not rural settlements and there is no evidence that they were inhabited by "rural" Jews directly involved in rural production, as claimed by Ankori, "Jews and the Jewish Community in the History of Mediaeval Crete," in *Πεπραγμένα του Β΄Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου* [*Proceedings of the Second International Cretological Congress*], 4 vols. (Athens, 1968), 3:349–60.

ordinance of 1567 issued in Castelnuovo. There are isolated pieces of information regarding Jewish presence in a few other castle-cities, in 1373 and 1379 in Belvedere, southern Crete, before 1536 in Milopotamo, situated between Candia and Rethymnon, in Mirabello in north-eastern Crete, and in Priotissa, south-central Crete, only in 1577.[72]

Meshulam of Volterra, who visited Candia in 1481 on his way to the Holy Land, stated that its Jewish population consisted of 600 households, an inflated figure given the small area of the Jewish quarter.[73] Venetian official estimates of the following century vary between 500 and 800 individuals, with the same number in 1627 out of a total population of 11,474 for the entire city. In 1571 the estimate for Canea was 300 individuals. There are no quantitative data regarding the Jews in other Cretan localities. The Venetian census of 1627 records 1160 Jews for all Cretan Jewries, the total population of Crete reaching 192,725.[74] This figure clearly reflects a decline in numbers, related to the contraction of trading in Candia in the early modern period.

The Jews of Crete were involved in a wide range of economics activities, namely tanning, retail, wholesale and regional maritime trade, as well as money-lending.[75] Some acted as entrepreneurs promoting the production of large volumes of kosher cheese and wine and their export to Jewish communities in a vast region extending from Venice and its hinterland to Alexandria, Constantinople and the Black Sea.[76] The prosperous Cretan Jewry was the most heavily-taxed among the Jewries of the Venetian colonies in the 15th century.[77]

Benjamin of Tudela only refers to one community in Euboea. He reports that the Jewry of Euripos consists of 200 members under three leaders. Euripos was already an important port of call and trading station along the waterway linking Italy to Constantinople, according to the Jewish traveller who

72 For the last two paragraphs: Jacoby, "Jews and Christians," pp. 251–53.

73 Meshullam of Volterra, *Massah Meshullam mi-Volterra: be-Erets-Israel bi-shenath rm'a* (*1481*) [*Meshullam of Volterra's Pilgrimage: in Erets-Israel in 1481*], ed. Abraham Yaari (Jerusalem, 1948), p. 82.

74 Starr, "Jewish Life," pp. 60–61 and n. 6.

75 Starr, "Jewish Life," pp. 81–93.

76 David Jacoby, "The Jews in Byzantium and the Eastern Mediterranean: Economic Activities from the Thirteenth to the Mid-Fifteenth Century," in *Wirtschaftsgeschichte der mittelalterlichen Juden: Fragen und Einschätzungen*, ed. Michael Toch (Munich, 2008), pp. 27–31; David Jacoby, "The Jews in the Byzantine Economy, Seventh to Mid-Fifteenth Century," in *Jews in Byzantium*, p. 250.

77 Starr, "Jewish life," pp. 76–81. See also above, n. 59.

visited the city in 1161.[78] Boniface of Montferrat, lord of Thessalonica (1204–07) captured Euboea in 1205 and divided it into three fiefs. The holders of these lordships and their successors are called triarchs in English, since each of them ruled over one third of the island. On account of their origin they were considered "Lombards", and this was also the name applied to their subjects. Ravano dalle Carceri united the three lordships under his dominion for a brief period, from 1208 to 1216, yet after his death they emerged anew as separate entities.[79] Venice established in 1211 an outpost in Euripos, called Negroponte by the Latins, gradually extended its property in the city in the following years, and by 1256 had managed to merge its scattered urban possessions into a compact quarter along the sea shore. Since the quarter enjoyed an exterritorial status, the city was divided between Venice and the triarchs, who jointly ruled over the non-Venetian section.[80] However, Venice was the dominant economic and political force in the city.

Like the Latins and the Greeks of Euboea, the Jews were divided into two groups, subjects of Venice on the one hand and those of the triarchs, on the other, as attested from 1268. Nevertheless all the Jews of the city of Negroponte resided together in the *Judaica* inherited from the Byzantine period, attested in 1245. It was situated along the Bay of Bourkos, outside the city's wall, on territory jointly ruled by the "Lombard" lords.[81] The progressive consolidation of Venice's position in the city and the economic activity it promoted were reflected within the local Jewish community. From the 1260s at the latest

78 See above, n. 6; on trade in Euripos, see also Ralph-Johannes Lilie, *Handel und Politik zwischen dem byzantinischen Reich und den italienischen Kommunen Venedig, Pisa und Genua in der Epoche der Komnenen und der Angeloi* (*1081–1204*) (Amsterdam, 1984), pp. 119–20.

79 David Jacoby, *La féodalité en Grèce médiévale: Les "Assises de Romanie": sources, application et diffusion* (Paris, 1971), pp. 185–88.

80 David Jacoby, "La consolidation de la domination de Venise dans la ville de Négrepont (1205–1390): Un aspect de sa politique coloniale," in *Bisanzio, Venezia e il mondo franco-greco* (*XIII–XV secolo*)*: atti del colloquio internazionale organizzato nel centenario della nascita di Raymond-Joseph Loenerz o.p., Venezia, 1–2 Dicembre 2000*, ed. Chryssa A. Maltezou and Peter Schreiner (Venice, 2002), pp. 151–66, repr. in David Jacoby, *Latins, Greeks and Muslims: Encounters in the Eastern Mediterranean, 10th–15th Centuries* (Farnham, 2009), IX.

81 Jacoby, "The Demographic Evolution," p. 160; document of 1245 edited by François-Xavier Leduc, "Enhancing Earlier and Managing Later Latin Identity and Power through Women: The case of 13th-Century Euboea," in *Liquid and Multiple: Individuals and Identities in the Thirteenth-Century Aegean*, ed. Guillaume Saint-Guillain and Dionysios Stathakopoulos (Paris 2012), p. 167.

fiscal considerations prompted Venice to extend its authority over the Jewish subjects of the triarchs and, conversely, some of these Jews considered it advantageous to become Venetian subjects. This convergence of interests is first illustrated in 1268 by the grant of Venetian status to David of Negroponte. This Jew may be safely identified with David Kalomiti, head of a prominent family already encountered above. He engaged in money-lending, including to the Venetian authorities, as suggested by the Venetian status he obtained in 1268,[82] in any event to feudal lords of Euboea. He also collected raw silk from the island and neighbouring territories for export to Venice.[83]

Venice pursued the granting of Venetian status to Jews in Negroponte in the following decades. The growing economic function of the city in the Venetian maritime network appears to have encouraged further Jewish immigration.[84] In 1290 Venice extended to its Jews of Negroponte a discriminatory tax rate of five per cent both on imports and exports, already applied to Jews in its other territories.[85] The abolition of that tax in 1318 furthered the naturalisation of "Lombard" Jews and stimulated Jewish immigration from the mainland, possibly from Thebes, to Negroponte. Venetian status could also be acquired by marriage. In 1311 Bonifacio da Verona, lord of Karystos, a port of southern Euboea, accused a Jewish woman who, he claimed, was his *serva* or subject, of having stolen from him 1200 hyperpyra. After the death of her husband, a "Lombard" Jew, she had become a Venetian subject by marrying a Venetian Jew.[86] The case suggests that some Jews lived at Karystos by that time, yet direct evidence in that respect appears only in the mid-15th century.[87]

Jews also traded in silk textiles. In 1340 a group of newly naturalised Jews handling samite produced in Euboea or Andros complained that Jewish tax collectors acting on behalf of the "Lombard" lords refused to recognise their subjection to Venice. They requested Venice's intervention to ensure them the same tax exemptions as those enjoyed by the *Judei antiqui* of Venice, the old-time Venetian Jews.[88] Venice took advantage of the protection it extended to the newly naturalised Venetian Jews to increase the annual collective tax

82 On Venetian status and citizenship see below, pp. 279–83.

83 See above, n. 10.

84 On that function: David Jacoby, "Foreigners and the Urban Economy in Thessalonike, c. 1150–c. 1430," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 57 (2003), 104–07, repr. in Jacoby, *Latins, Greeks and Muslims*, VII.

85 Jacoby, "The Demographic Evolution," p. 161.

86 Raymond-Joseph Loenertz, *Les Ghisi, dynastes vénitiens dans l'Archipel, 1207–1390* (Florence, 1975), pp. 301–02, no. 9.50–61.

87 See below, p. 271.

88 Jacoby, "Silk in Mediaeval Andros," pp. 144–47.

they were required to pay from 100 to 200 hyperpyra, the others paying 300 hyperpyra.[89] Leo Psoma of Negroponte, accused shortly before 1361 of having illegally imported a substantial quantity of raw silk to Venice, was fined 4000 hyperpyra or more than 1000 ducats, which implies trade on a large scale.[90] Some Jews of Negroponte were apparently dyeing silk cloth, as suggested by their purchase of 12 pounds of indigo in 1374.[91] Jews also engaged in money-lending, namely to prominent Catalans of the Duchy of Athens around 1370, and to Carlo I Tocco in the 1390s in return for pawned jewels. Some Jews held urban property and rural land with their villeins as collateral for loans or acquired them from debtors.[92] Jewish merchants travelled to Chios, Asia Minor, Rhodes and other destinations, according to a petition submitted in 1452.[93] The Venetian taxing of Jewish traders from Negroponte yielded much revenue, as stated in 1440.[94]

In 1356 Venice decided to establish a new *Judaica* within its own quarter of the city in order to separate the Jews from the Christian population in the midst of which they were living, yet by 1359 had not yet determined its location. The establishment of the new Jewish neighbourhood on the southern edge of the Venetian quarter, along the Bay of Bourkos, took place somewhat later. The growth of the Jewish community continued after the extension of Venetian rule over the entire city in 1390. Eventually, in 1440, Venice was compelled to extend the area of the *Judaica* and decreed that a wall should separate it from the remainder of the city. The number of Jews rapidly dwindled in the following years. By 1452 the communities of Karystos and Oreos had ceased to exist and only few wealthy individuals remained in the city of Negroponte. Venice failed in its efforts to obtain the return of Jews who had resettled in Ottoman territory.[95] The Bourkos Redoubt stretching along the entire Jewish quarter was among the targets of the Ottoman artillery during the siege of Negroponte by Sultan Mehmed II in 1470.[96]

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89 Jacoby, "The Demographic Evolution," pp. 161–62.

90 David Jacoby, "I Greci ed altre comunità fra Venezia ed oltremare," in *I Greci a Venezia*, ed. Maria F. Tiepolo and Eurigio Tonetti (Venice, 2002), pp. 69–70.

91 These were not weavers, as stated by Silvano Borsari, *L'Eubea veneziana* (Venice, 2007), p. 93.

92 Jacoby, "The Demographic Evolution," pp. 164–65.

93 Venezia, Archivio di Stato, Senato, Mar, reg. 4, fol. 121r (unpublished document).

94 Sathas, *Documents*, 3:464.

95 Jacoby, "The Demographic Evolution," pp. 162–64, 166.

96 Giovan-Maria Angiolello, *Memoir*, translation of the unique Italian manuscript by Pierre A. MacKay, 2006, p. 13: see <http://angiolello.net/ANG-trans.pdf>.

Jews are attested in the island of Chios in 1049, when Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos granted the head-tax of 15 families to the monastery of Nea Moni. More than a century later, in 1163, Benjamin of Tudela, estimated that some 400 Jews under two leaders lived on the island.[97] Various proposals have been offered to explain the large discrepancy between these figures.[98] Since the emperor limited the number of families to 15, it is likely that there were more Jews on the island in 1049. In addition, their numbers presumably increased with the arrival of refugees fleeing from Asia Minor after the Seljuk victory of 1071 at the battle of Mantzikert.[99] Since the Jews mentioned in 1049 only paid a head-tax, they were not peasants and did not rent rural land.[100]

There is reason to believe that Jews continuously resided in Chios in the two centuries following Benjamin of Tudela's visit. The island was situated along a major waterway linking Constantinople both to Italy and Egypt.[101] It exported its mastic, a costly resinous and aromatic substance much in demand in culinary, medical, and other uses.[102] In addition, from the 1260s and in any event from the early 14th century the port of Chios served as transit station for alum produced at Phocaea, located at a short distance on the coast of Asia Minor. Alum, a mineral substance, was mainly used in the western textile and leather industries, and to a small extent in medicine and cosmetics.[103] More generally,

97 See above, n. 6.

98 Latest discussion by Nikolas Oikonomides, "The Jews of Chios (1049): A Group of *Excusati*," in *Intercultural Contacts in the Medieval Mediterranean: Studies in Honour of David Jacoby*, ed. Benjamin Arbel (London, 1996) [= *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 10.1–2 (1995)], pp. 218–25.

99 On the exodus toward Constantinople and the Aegean islands: Speros Vryonis, Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley, 1971), pp. 110–71. One of the Jewish refugees ultimately settled in Thessalonica; translation and commentary of his letter by Shlomo D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society. The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, 6 vols. (Berkeley, 1967–93), 5:438–43.

100 Andrew Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry from Justinian to the Fourth Crusade* (London, 1971), pp. 114–16, followed by Elisabeth Malamut, *Les îles de l'Empire byzantin, VII^e–XII^e siècles*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1988), 2:168, 170. See Jacoby, "Les Juifs de Byzance," pp. 128–29.

101 Lilie, *Handel und Politik*, pp. 118–19.

102 Paul Freedman, "Mastic: A Mediterranean Luxury Product," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 26 (2011), 99–113. For export in the Byzantine period: David Jacoby, "Byzantine Trade with Egypt from the Mid-Tenth Century to the Fourth Crusade," *Thesaurismata* 30 (2000), pp. 31–32, 45 and n. 87, repr. in Jacoby, *Commercial Exchange*, I.

103 David Jacoby, "Production et commerce de l'alun oriental en Méditerranée, XI^e–XV^e siècles," in *L'alun de Méditerranée*, ed. Philippe Borgard, Jean-Pierre Brun and Maurice Picon (Naples, 2005), pp. 233–34, 236–37, 245, 248–50, 253–54.

from the second half of the 13th century Chios fulfilled a pivotal role in the Genoese network of maritime trade in the Eastern Mediterranean.[104]

Evidence on the Jews of Chios is again available after the renewal of Genoese rule over the island in 1346, which stimulated much economic activity. A scholar is attested in 1362.[105] The number of Jews in the city of Chios must have markedly increased in the following decades, although some left Chios for Pera, the Genoese quarter in Constantinople.[106] Genoese notary charters offer evidence about the local Jewry from 1394 onward, when the Jewish neighbourhood is first attested. The fairly sizeable and prosperous Jewish community resided alongside the Genoese in the *castrum*, a fortified section within the city, probably in the area the Greeks had been compelled to vacate in 1347. The Greek population resided outside the fortified section. Spanish Jews appear in the late 14th century, Raffael Catalanus in 1394 and Samaria Bonavita in 1398.[107] The Spanish refugee Abraham Zakut lived in Chios after 1492.[108]

The Jews were well integrated in the economy of Chios. They handled two commodities closely supervised by the local authorities, namely grain and mastic. The *Officium provisionis*, composed of two Latins, two Greeks and one Jew, was responsible for the supply of grain to Chios. It concluded agreements with merchants undertaking to import specific quantities of grain, among them Jews. The gross sale of mastic was a monopoly of the *Mahonna* of Chios, the body composed of Genoese settlers governing the island. Jews obtained mastic in return for loans to that institution and traded in that commodity. Jews also engaged in local and regional trade in other commodities, moneylending and various crafts.[109]

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104 Michel Balard, *La Romanie génoise* (*XII^e–début du XV^e siècle*), 2 vols. (Rome, 1978), passim.

105 Bowman, *The Jews of Byzantium*, p. 283, no. 87.

106 David Jacoby, "The Jewish Communities of the Byzantine World from the Tenth to the Mid-Fifteenth Century: Some Aspects of their Evolution," in *Jewish Reception of Greek Bible Versions: Studies in their Use in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. Nicholas de Lange, Julia G. Krivoruchko and Cameron Boyd-Taylor (Tübingen, 2009), p. 168.

107 David Jacoby, "Ha-Yehudim be-Chios takhath shilton Genua (1346–1566)" ["The Jews in Chios under Genoese Rule (1346–1566)"], *Zion. Quarterly for Research in Jewish History* 26 (1960/61), 180–97 (Hebrew, with English summary); Balard, *La Romanie génoise*, 1:279–83.

108 See above, p. 263.

109 Jacoby, "The Jews in Byzantium," pp. 36–37, 40; Laura Balletto, "Il mondo del lavoro a Chio intorno alla metà del XV secolo," in Maltezou, *Πλούσιοι*, p. 135, a Jew practicing both the tanning and dyeing of hides in 1449.

## Rural Jewries and Jewish Landholding in Latin Greece

Kosher food and wine were among the basic requirements of Jewish life. Their supply could be ensured in three different ways: complete dependence upon the mechanisms of the general economic system, yet under close Jewish supervision over production, transportation, and distribution; reduced dependence linked to Jewish holding or owning of land and domestic animals, which enabled stricter control; finally, self-sufficiency. None of these options excluded the others, and the three clearly cohabited in Byzantium and Latin-ruled territories. Not surprisingly, therefore, Jews were eager to own or hold land and engage in agricultural and pastoral production or, alternatively, to obtain land and a workforce, whether for self-consumption or for the supply of the internal economic network geared to Jewish customers.[110]

The evidence regarding Jewish rural settlements or rural sites inhabited, owned, or rented by Jews in Byzantium and the Latin-occupied territories has been largely overlooked so far. It is rather meagre and sporadic, and for many sites does not reveal how long they were exploited by Jews. Still, these sites were presumably more numerous than it would seem at first glance. The planting or acquisition of vineyards must have been considered a priority, in view of the ritual function of wine. However, it is rather unlikely that the Jewish rural sector ever covered all the demand for kosher commodities of any community in the empire or in Latin-ruled territories. As a result, the internal Jewish supply network heavily relied on closely supervised external labour and produce.

A few Jewish rural communities and Jewish farmers are securely documented in the Byzantine Empire in the three centuries preceding the Fourth Crusade. There is no such evidence after 1204. So far we know only of a single Jew living in 1352 with his family in a village of central Crete. A Cretan village called Avriaki and Evreaki situated south-east of Candia is attested in 1235. The first component of these names seems to derive from "Evraios" or "Jew". It may imply an exclusively Jewish population or a majority of Jews among the inhabitants, yet it is unclear in what period.[111] Place names with a component suggesting Jewish rural settlement are also recorded in other Latin-ruled territories, in Mytilene, Corfu, Andros, Tenos, Lemnos, Attica, and Byzantine Thasos.[112] Several of these place-names only survive in folk traditions, are

110 On the operation of that network: Jacoby, "The Jews in Byzantium," pp. 26–28, 31–32.

111 Jacoby, "Jews and Christians," pp. 253–54. Incidentally, the Jewish quarter of Candia was called "Ovraki" in the local Greek dialect: Chryssa A. Maltezou, "From Crete to Jerusalem: The Will of a Cretan Jew (1626)," in *Intercultural Contacts*, pp. 191, 194.

112 The transcription of the names adopted here reflects Greek pronunciation.

applied to presently uninhabited or ruined sites, and are not attested in medieval documentation, except for Thasos in 1394. However, the existence of Hevraiokastro on Mytilene seems to confirm Benjamin of Tudela's statement that in 1163 the Jews of the island were scattered in ten places, most of them obviously villages.[113] It renders the presence of small Jewish communities in the other locations, mainly small islands, quite plausible. The period following the Fourth Crusade is the most likely one, considering the continuous expansion of demand for kosher edibles and wine.[114]

As noted above, in Crete, Euboea and Chios various credit operations resulted in the transfer of rural land and dependent peasants to Jews, whether temporarily as security for loans, or permanently following their acquisition from insolvent debtors. It is likely that David Kalomiti, already encountered above, acquired in that way fields and vineyards in Euboea in the second half of the 13th century.[115] Venice was strongly opposed to Jewish acquisitions of property outside the Jewish quarters of its overseas territories, especially of fiefs and sergeantries entailing military service in Crete, which were granted by the state to Latins and some Greeks. However, despite repeated injunctions from the 1360s onward Jews continued to obtain, rent, or buy rural land. There were apparently no limitations to Jewish rural property outside Venetian-ruled territories, namely in late 14th-century Chios and the region of Patras around 1440.[116]

### Jewish Mobility

Both economic and social factors account for the particularly high degree of Jewish mobility, which by far exceeded in frequency and geographic range the mobility of other ethnic or religious groups. Most Jews resided in cities and were involved in economic activities not necessarily tied to a specific location. The links between scattered members of the same families, the tightly-knit internal organisation of the communities, essential for the collective survival of their members' religious and ethnic identity, as well as the charity, hospitality and solidarity they provided enhanced Jewish mobility. The network linking individual communities throughout the Mediterranean had a strong impact upon the nature, orientation and channelling of migration. The same

113 See above, n. 6.

114 For the entire paragraph, see Jacoby, "The Jews in the Byzantine Economy," pp. 223–26.

115 See above, n. 10.

116 Jacoby, "The Jews in Byzantium," pp. 45–46, for the entire paragraph.

factors also furthered the movement of merchants supplying ritually prepared foodstuffs and wine, and promoted cultural transfers.

The preceding survey of Jewish presence in the Latin-ruled territories reveals some basic trends of Jewish mobility within the Eastern Mediterranean and the particular demographic evolution of the Jewish communities, different from those of the population in the midst of which they lived. To be sure, until the Fourth Crusade Constantinople was the main destination of Romaniote and foreign Jews, the latter mostly originating from the Islamic East. Economic opportunities in provincial cities such as Thebes also attracted immigrants. Constantinople remained the goal of numerous Jewish immigrants after 1204, yet additional patterns of migration emerged in that period. They were largely promoted by the conjunction of several developments: the rise of new political, administrative and economic centres, the consolidation of Venice's and Genoa's presence in Constantinople and in the Aegean region, the intensive trading of the two maritime nations, and the favourable legal status and privileges enjoyed by their respective citizens and subjects. These factors furthered Jewish migration to the territories and quarters ruled by the two powers, as well as between their respective colonies and outposts. Cretan Jews settling in the Venetian quarter of Constantinople in the 14th century appear to have been more numerous than Jews moving from the empire's capital to Candia. Similarly, as noted earlier, Jews from Genoese Chios settled in the Genoese quarter of Constantinople located in Pera.

The flow of Jews from the Islamic East into Byzantine and former Byzantine territories substantially diminished from the 13th century onward, although some of them settled in Candia in the late 14th century, as revealed by immigrants from Damascus and the names Abbas and Yerushalmi ("from Jerusalem"). On the other hand, there was a continuous growth in the number of immigrants hailing from central and western Mediterranean lands, as well as from German-speaking territories and northern France. Jews fleeing the late 13th-century persecutions of the Inquisition in the Kingdom of Naples were followed by refugees from other regions. The flow of Catalan Jews substantially increased after the anti-Jewish riots of 1391 in Barcelona. Candia, a major maritime intersection and economic centre with a fairly large Jewish community, was a major destination of the immigrants. Some of them pursued their voyage further east and settled in Constantinople or Chios. Surnames such as Sepharadi, Spagnolo, Bonsinior and Astruc attest to their presence in Candia and Constantinople. The encounter of Jews from different regions and cultural milieus and the contacts between various communities substantially contributed to the thriving cultural life of the local Candiote community,

partly attested by numerous manuscripts preserved in the Vatican library.[117] In the 15th century some Jewish migration was directed toward territories under Ottoman rule.[118] More than any other ethnic, religious or cultural group, the Jews easily crossed political and cultural boundaries.

Greek-speaking Romaniote Jews remained dominant within the Jewish communities of Byzantium and Latin Greece until the late 15th century, despite growing Spanish immigration. Public proclamations and summons to court were delivered in Greek, in addition to Venetian, in the Jewish quarter of Candia and in the Jewish neighbourhood of Modon.[119] Some Jewish wills drafted around 1500 in Greek have been preserved.[120] In 1626 a Jew of Candia declared in his will that he knew only the Hebrew script, in which he signed, but the will reproduces the local Greek dialect he spoke.[121] Still, bilingualism must have gained ground over time among the Jews who were in frequent contact with Latins and the Venetian authorities. The Hebrew in which the ordinances issued by the Jewish community of Candia are drafted is heavily tainted by Venetian administrative and judicial terms.[122]

The maintenance of Romaniote linguistic and cultural dominance is illustrated by the total absence of Sepharadic congregations in the Eastern Mediterranean until the massive arrival of Jews expelled from Spain in 1492. The earlier arrivals of immigrants in specific communities were thinly spread over many years. In addition, the social pressure exerted by the Romaniote Jews and economic imperatives prevented the immigrants from maintaining their distinct cultural identity, whether individually or collectively. Their integration within the existing communities and their acculturation were partly promoted by intermarriage with Romaniote Jews.[123]

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117 On this topic: Starr, "Jewish Life," pp. 105–14.

118 See above, p. 271.

119 David Jacoby, "Multilingualism and Institutional Patterns of Communication in Latin Romania (Thirteenth-Fourteenth Centuries)", in *Diplomatics in the Eastern Mediterranean 1000–1500: Aspects of Cross-Cultural Communication*, ed. Alexander D. Beihammer, Maria G. Parani and Christopher D. Schabel (Leiden, 2008), p. 43; Sathas, *Documents*, 4:64: "fo cridado [...] in latin et in griego", "Latin" being in fact the Venetian dialect in which the proclamation is preserved.

120 Konstantinos N. Sathas, ed., *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη* [*Medieval Librar*y], 7 vols. (Athens, 1872–1894), 6:654–92.

121 Maltezou, "From Crete to Jerusalem," pp. 188–89, 196–201.

122 Examples in a 15th-century list: Artom et Cassuto, *Taqqanoth Qandyah*, pp. 40–41, no. 46. See also Jacoby, "Jews and Christians," p. 266.

123 For the last three paragraphs: Jacoby, "The Jewish Communities," pp. 176–80.

## Socio-Legal Condition and Popular Attitudes: The Byzantine Antecedents

The Jewish individual and collective condition in Byzantium was shaped by three factors: the Church, the state, and popular attitudes. The Church desired the conversion of the Jews, yet facing continuous Jewish existence ascribed to it a theological and symbolic significance: namely, the Jewish people, dispersed among Christians, deprived of the Temple in Jerusalem and of political independence, were being collectively punished for their denial of Christ and proved thereby the veracity of the Christian creed. The Byzantine Church enhanced the perception of Jewish "otherness" by its theology, polemical writings, preaching, hagiographic tales, and visual representations. Its impact in the social marginalisation of the Jews was decisive.

The theological considerations of the Church were translated into practical measures by the state. The Jews were set apart from other subjects of the emperor by imperial legislation, which sanctioned, institutionalised and strengthened Jewish marginalisation by legal, social and fiscal discrimination. The state barred Jews from public office and imposed various restrictions upon social interaction with Christians, as well as heavy collective taxes.[124] Jews were nevertheless considered free, unless enslaved as a result of war or piracy, and were governed by the common laws and the common courts. They lived according to their customs and were allowed internal jurisdiction in civil cases between themselves, in accordance with their own laws.[125] On the whole there were no political, religious or cultural impediments to their mobility or to their choice of economic pursuits. Collective taxation and internal jurisdiction imply the existence of communal organisation, although we have no direct information about its nature or operation. Jewish residential segregation was enforced before the Fourth Crusade in Constantinople and possibly also in Thessalonica, yet apparently not elsewhere.[126] Except for short periods of persecutions and some rare cases of expulsion from specific cities, the Jews enjoyed in the empire the status of a tolerated minority.

In the empire Greek popular attitudes toward the Jews were largely moulded by the Byzantine Church and the social marginalisation implemented by the

124 Jacoby, "Jews and Christians," p. 261, on taxation.

125 Angeliki E. Laiou, "Institutional Mechanisms of Integration," in *Studies on the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire*, ed. Hélène Ahrweiler and Angeliki E. Laiou (Washington DC, 1998), pp. 168–71, 179.

126 Jacoby, "Les Juifs de Byzance," pp. 129–33. On Thessalonica, see also Jacoby, "Foreigners," pp. 123–24.

state. The ecclesiastical and theological imprint was particularly strong in the depiction of the Jews as deicides and desecrators of Christian symbols. The Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela offers a convincing insight into popular attitudes toward the Jews in Constantinople in the early 1160s: "Their condition is very low, [...] the Greeks hate the Jews, whether good or bad, and subject them to great oppression and beat them in the streets, and in every way treat them with rigor." While not representing Jewish everyday life in the whole empire, Benjamin's description as well as Byzantine contemporary sources point to latent popular anti-semitism.[127]

## The Jews in Latin Greece: Socio-Legal Status and Individual Discrimination

The Latin conquest of Byzantine territories in the early 13th and in Chios in the 14th century did not involve any incidents affecting the Jews. The imposition of Latin rule was not limited to a change in political authority. In its wake the Latin Church imposed its own authority over the local Greek Orthodox Church, which was deprived of its dominant position and higher ranks. In addition, Latin settlers of Roman faith became the third component of the population, alongside the indigenous Greeks and Jews. Religious allegiance became an ethnic marker, as well as a basic criterion of social stratification and individual status. In short, Latin dominion decisively altered the social structure of the conquered territories and had a direct impact on the status of the indigenous inhabitants and their respective communities.[128]

Two terms defining the socio-legal status of the Jew, *servus* and *villanus*, appear in Latin Greece. *Servus* was generally used for a slave tied to a specific lord, and *villanus* for a dependent peasant. However, these and other terms were not always used in a rigorous legal sense, as illustrated in several instances. As noted above, in 1311 the lord of Karystos accused a Jewess mentioned as his *serva* of theft. The sum of 1200 hyperpyra she allegedly had embezzled suggests involvement in large-scale business ventures, well beyond the reach of slaves or dependent peasants. In this case *serva* obviously expressed subjection to a lord, rather than slavery. The same meaning applies to the *villana*

127 Adler, *The Itinerary*, Hebrew text, pp. 16–17; English translation, p. 14, which I have slightly emended. See also Jacoby, "Jews and Christians," pp. 255–56. For this entire section, see above, n. 1.

128 Jacoby, "Jews and Christians," pp. 244–46.

mentioned in 1431, a subject of the lady of Andros.[129] When the annual sum imposed upon the Jews of Euboea was raised to 1000 hyperpyra shortly before 1416, they requested that it be paid in two instalments since they were poor like *servi* or *villani*.[130] They clearly used the terms in a figurative sense to convey their lowly economic condition. For Jews in Latin Greece, subjection entailed participation in the payment of the collective taxes imposed upon their community, as illustrated by the newly naturalised Venetian Jews in 1340.[131] There is no evidence that the freedom of Jews was restricted in any way, in contrast to slaves or dependent peasants. Their great mobility and their involvement in a large variety of economic pursuits of their choice point to the contrary.

In the West *burgensis* was a legal term defining membership with full rights and obligations in the political body of a specific town. It has been argued, therefore, that the Jew Helyas de la Medega, mentioned as "burgensis Nigropontis" in his will of 1329, had acquired the privileged status of burgher in the city of Negroponte.[132] However, there was no political body of inhabitants in the city, divided between Venice and the triarchs and directly ruled by them. Moreover, in the Eastern Mediterranean *burgensis* was often loosely used for the permanent inhabitant of a city and as equivalent of *habitator*, without any legal connotation.[133] It follows that Helyas de la Medega was merely referring to his town of residence.

Foreigners were eager to obtain Venetian citizenship, dependent upon legal and long-term permanent residence in Venice.[134] In the 14th century Venice also granted that status under special circumstances to residents of specific locations overseas. In 1353 it was promised to Latins residing within the recently built urban wall or within the Venetian quarter of Negroponte, as well as in Coron, Modon, and the main cities of Crete, and to Latins who would settle and remain there with their families for ten years. Jews were explicitly excluded from the benefit of that measure.[135] This was a clear case of discrimination deriving from religious attitudes, which contrasted with the legal

129 See above, p. 262.

130 Sathas, *Documents*, 3:73–74, no. 626.

131 See above, pp. 270–71.

132 Lately by Borsari, *L'Eubea veneziana*, p. 49.

133 David Jacoby, "Les Vénitiens naturalisés dans l'Empire byzantin: un aspect de l'expansion de Venise en Romanie du XIII$^{e}$ au milieu du XV$^{e}$ siècle," *Travaux et Mémoires* 8 (1981), p. 219, repr. in Jacoby, *Studies on the Crusader States*, IX.

134 Reinhold G. Mueller, *Immigrazione e cittadinanza nella Venezia medievale* (Rome, 2010), pp. 17–70.

135 Mueller, *Immigrazione*, pp. 55–56, and 158–62, for the Venetian Senate's resolution of 1353. See also Jacoby, "The Demographic Evolution," pp. 154–56.

equality enjoyed by Jews, like other free individuals, in Byzantium. It has been claimed that earlier, in 1268, David Kalomiti of Negroponte had exceptionally obtained Venetian citizenship.[136] However, the terms used for the Venetian citizen, *civis venetus* or *civis Veneciarum*, do not appear in the charter delivered to him, in which he is mentioned as "fidelis noster et Venetus". In fact, he was granted the status of Venetian subject by naturalisation. This status was confirmed to his descendants. It entailed the benefit of Venetian protection and privileges overseas, yet not the more extensive advantages conferred by citizenship, regardless of location.[137]

Jews were barred from public offices, whether political, judicial or administrative in all the political entities of Latin Greece, while some Greeks had access to them. Still, Jews occasionally fulfilled financial functions as in Corinth. In Crete some of them obtained by special favour the function of *messeta* or official middleman, in charge of collecting the state taxes on commercial transactions. In 1433 the Venetian Senate quashed all earlier appointments and prohibited new ones.[138]

In Crete the *curia prosoporum*, a court whose three judges were Venetians, judged cases involving only Jews or Greeks.[139] Its operation institutionalised social inferiority with respect to the Latins. Yet Venice also implemented a policy of discrimination specifically targeting the Jews, aimed at individual and collective social segregation. The most glaring manifestation of that policy was imposed shortly after 1397. Venice ordered the Cretan Jews to display a round yellow badge on their clothes, replaced in 1496 by a yellow headgear for males, as a distinctive mark of Jewish social inferiority.[140] The measure was in line

136 Silvano Borsari, "Ricchi e poveri nelle communità ebraiche di Candia e Negropont (secc. XIII–XIV)", in *Πλούσιοι και φτωχοί*, pp. 218–19; Borsari, *L'Eubea veneziana*, pp. 47–48; Mueller, *Immigrazione*, p. 56, n. 73.

137 For the use and meaning of the terms, see above, n. 133. See also David Jacoby, "On the Status of the Jews in the Venetian Colonies," *Zion. Quarterly for Research in Jewish History* 28 (1962/63), pp. 59–64 (Hebrew, with English summary), with partial edition of two documents referring to David and his descendants. A comparison between the charter of 1353 (see above, n. 135) and the two documents reveals striking differences in wording. See also Jacoby, "Venice and the Venetian Jews," pp. 34–36, for the Venetian policy regarding the naturalisation of Jews. On the basic differences between Venetian citizenship and Venetian status overseas: Jacoby, "Les Vénitiens naturalisés," pp. 217–35.

138 Jacoby, "Jews and Christians," p. 260.

139 Ernst Gerland, ed., *Das Archiv des Herzogs von Kandia* (Strasbourg, 1899), p. 98, par. 1, and p. 100, par. 19.

140 Jacoby, "Venice and the Venetian Jews," pp. 36–37. Some individual dispensations were granted.

with those advocated by the Roman Church. No such mark had ever existed in Byzantium.

The individual status of the Jews in the Frankish Principality of the Morea is not documented. However, a remark contained in a report of 1361 dealing with mutual recriminations between landlords regarding the seizure of their dependent peasants may offer some clue. The representative of Centurione Zaccaria suggested ironically that the peasants should be "sealed" to distinguish to whom they belong, like the Jews are "sealed" to differentiate them among the Christians.[141] The "seal" apparently hints at the round yellow badge, yet since the speaker was an Italian from the mainland it is unclear whether he referred to the Jews of the Morea or those of Angevin Italy.

In their territories the Latins exercised full control over the decision-making political and judicial institutions. Only few Greeks gained access to these institutions over time, yet no Jews. The ruling Latins and the Latin Church jointly promoted the specificity of the heterogeneous Latin community, composed of settlers and their descendants from numerous regions in the West, in order to bolster their own respective political and ecclesiastical authority over the Greeks. There was no exclusion or expulsion of the Jews from the Latin territories, a policy contrasting with the one applied in the city of Venice, where Jews were denied legal residence until 1513, except for the years 1382–97.[142] Fiscal considerations induced the Latin rulers to protect the Jews from individual and collective violence, whether verbal or physical, both with respect to other sections of the population and to the Roman Church. Venice limited the power of the Inquisition in Crete, as in 1314, insisting that any inquisitorial activity in its territories required the government's approval and cooperation. It also safeguarded the Jews from popular aggression.[143] On the other hand, Venice did not object to the Latin Church's proselytism. This was apparently the reason why the Dominican monastery of Candia was established next to the Jewish quarter and a plot of land in the Jewish quarter of Negroponte was chosen for a monastery.[144] The pressure exerted by the Dominican Inquisitors on the Jews

141 Longnon and Topping, *Documents*, p. 152, lines 9–16: "ma volea che fossuru vollati [= bollati] como li Judei a conoscere inter Cristiani". The term "vaxalli" in that context refers to peasants: see ibid., lines 5–8.

142 Jacoby, "Venice and the Venetian Jews," pp. 30–31.

143 Jacoby, "Jews and Christians," pp. 257, 265, and 274, n. 158.

144 For the location in Candia: Maria Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies: Architecture and Urbanism* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 136–37; for Negroponte: Leduc, as above, n. 81.

of Angevin Italy, especially in the reign of Charles II, resulted in mass conversion or exodus in the years 1290–93.[145] There is no evidence of similar developments in the Frankish Principality of the Morea, ruled by the Angevin kings of Naples from 1278. Shortly after 1347 the authorities of Chios settled the Jews in the inner fortified section of the city, a preferential treatment with respect to the Greeks, and in 1558 they shielded them from the Inquisition.[146]

### The Jewries in Latin Greece: Collective Discrimination and Segregation

As noted above, Jewish leaders and structured communities are attested in several locations of Latin Greece, yet we have no documentation regarding communal institutions or the latter's operation, except for Crete. We also lack evidence regarding the policies adopted by the rulers of the Frankish Morea or the Duchy of the Archipelago toward the Jewries in their respective territory.

We are well informed about the Cretan Jewry. It enjoyed full internal autonomy. Its institutions headed by a *condestabulo* residing in Candia issued ordinances, extant from 1228 onward, and supervised their implementation with the help of its own officers in charge of communal and ritual functions. Venice recognised the authority of Jewish family law and the proceedings of rabbinical courts, and scrupulously respected Jewish customs. Its interference in the internal affairs of the Jewry was limited, and it occasionally supported the implementation of the communal ordinances. The Jewish leadership distributed the tax burden among the members of the community out of the annual collective taxes and special levies imposed upon the entire Cretan Jewry. These taxes and levies were proportionally heavier than those imposed upon the other categories of taxpayers, the fief-holders, the burghers or city-dwellers, and the Church. They singled out the Jews as a socially and legally separate and inferior group among Crete's inhabitants. Incidentally, this was also the case of the discriminatory tax rate of five per cent on maritime trade which they paid.[147] Still, the collective taxes strengthened from within the authority of the communal leadership and bolstered internal cohesiveness. It is noteworthy that

145 Joshua Starr, "The Mass Conversion of Jews in Southern Italy (1290–1293)," *Speculum* 21 (1946), 203–11.

146 See above, p. 273, and Philip P. Argenti, *The Religious Minorities of Chios: Jews and Roman Catholics* (Cambridge, 1970), p. 142.

147 See above, p. 270.

the Jewry was the only socio-religious body in Crete recognised as a legal entity by the state, a substantial advantage over the Greeks, who lacked any communal or representative institutions. In sum, the communal structure reinforced voluntary collective segregation from within, while Venice enhanced it from the outside.[148]

As noted above, in Byzantium Jewish residential segregation was enforced before the Fourth Crusade in Constantinople and possibly also in Thessalonica.[149] The Jewish neighbourhoods of Latin Greece inherited from the Byzantine period were all situated at the edge of cities, mostly outside the walled urban space. One may wonder whether their location had been determined by the Byzantine authorities in order to segregate the Jews, or whether they were the result of segregation by choice. In Candia the location of the *Judaica* along the sea may have also been related to the ecological concerns of the authorities, rather than to social considerations, considering the refuse and bad smell produced by tanning, a major occupation in the midst of the Candiote Jewry.[150] The relocation of Jewish tanners to the suburb of Modon in 1391 was similarly motivated.[151]

Around 1325 Venice imposed residential segregation upon the Jews of its Greek territories, in order to reduce social interaction between them and Christians. In 1423 it issued a general ban on Jewish acquisitions of real estate outside the Jewish quarters in these territories, and enjoined the Jews to sell the property they held within two years.[152] By 1448 the boundaries of the quarter in Rethymnon were marked by crosses, a design obviously conceived as a vexatious affirmation and a constant reminder of the superiority of the Christian faith and as a direct challenge to the Jewish population.[153]

However, residential segregation was not systematically implemented, nor could it be. A Greek resided in the Jewish quarter of Candia in 1393, clearly not the only one.[154] Population overflow from Jewish neighbourhoods, individual

148 Jacoby, "Jews and Christians," pp. 256–59; Jacoby, "Venice and the Venetian Jews," pp. 41–43; on the communal institutions, see also Starr, "Jewish Life," pp. 95–102.

149 See above, p. 278.

150 Ankori, "Jews and the Jewish Community," pp. 327–28, 350, claims that the Jews were "forcibly" relegated "to the degrading rank of tanners" and that the location of their quarter in Candia was imposed upon them. There is no evidence to support these views: see Jacoby, "Jews and Christians," pp. 255–56.

151 See above, pp. 263–64.

152 Noiret, *Documents*, pp. 297–98.

153 Jacoby, "Venice and the Venetian Jews," pp. 37 and 53, n. 24.

154 Jacoby, "Jews and Christians," p. 277.

wealth, economic activities, and the grant of special permissions account for Jewish residence and the operation of Jewish shops beyond the prescribed boundaries. Time and again the Venetian authorities issued new regulations to enforce segregation or to enlarge the space allotted to Jewish residence.[155] As noted above, a Jewish quarter located outside the urban wall of Patras is attested in 1429. It is unclear whether it already existed in 1399, since a Jewess owned then two houses within the city. One may wonder whether the Jews were relocated in a concentrated neighbourhood during the period of Venetian rule, which extended from 1408 to 1414,[156] in accordance with Venice's policy in its Greek possessions. As for Genoese Chios, it is doubtful that the settling of Jews in the fortified area within the city was enforced by the Genoese authorities. Rather, the Jews must have welcomed it, since it was a protective measure. Some Jews nevertheless resided later in other sections of the city.[157]

### Individual and Collective Social Interaction Between Jews and Christians

Venetian Crete is the only region of Latin Greece for which we have detailed evidence regarding social relations between Jews and Christians, both Greeks and Latins. The most common and sustained interaction at the individual level occurred in everyday economic life, both in urban centres and in the countryside. In rural areas Jews interacted mostly with Greek producers. Although the internal Jewish network dealing with the production, transportation and distribution of kosher commodities was a closed circuit, its operation required close cooperation with Christians regarding capital investment, credit, business patterns, production, and delivery of the produce. It was, therefore, partly integrated within the regular commercial network. Jewish money-lending was yet another field of interaction with Christians. Joint business ventures between Jews and Christians were common at various levels of society in a variety of ways, whether in investments of capital or the practice of crafts. Jewish medical practitioners were in constant contact with Christians. The recourse of Jews both to Latin and Greek notaries was indispensable in the realm of economic activity, yet also extended to documents pertaining to private law. Christian employees worked in Jewish homes and businesses.

155 Jacoby, "Venice and the Venetian Jews," pp. 37–38; see also above.

156 Gerland, *Neue Quellen*, pp. 55–60.

157 See above, pp. 273, 286. Argenti, *The Religious Minorities*, pp. 116–22, considers the Jewish quarter of Chios a ghetto, yet his arguments may be safely dismissed.

There were some outbursts of individual and collective Christian hostility nurtured by economic competition, money-lending, and other issues. The Greek collective interaction with Jews was also partly shaped by political circumstances. The Cretan Jews, like other Jewries, depended upon the local political authorities for the maintenance of their physical existence, property, freedom of worship, and communal organisation. Not surprisingly, therefore, they consistently sided with the Venetian authorities, despite their collective discrimination, except in specific circumstances. Their stance regarding Venetian rule stimulated collective hostility in some sections of the Greek population, especially in periods of political, economic, or social crisis, yet it was rather limited both in time and scope.

Although weakened following the imposition of Latin rule, the Greek Orthodox Church displayed a considerable vitality in all the territories of Latin Greece, especially in Crete. In the absence of Greek secular leaders it assumed in the island a major role in the crystallisation of a new Greek collective identity reflecting the conjunction of religious and cultural sensibilities and responses to Venetian domination. It also stimulated Greek collective hostility toward the Jews, rooted in religious, ethnic and social attitudes, stereotypes, and fantasies.

In the 1320s and in 1451 the Jews were accused of carrying out on Good Friday of each year the symbolic crucifixion of a lamb or sheep, perceived as a re-enactment of the killing of Christ. The centrality of Easter and its rituals in the Greek Orthodox calendar suggest that in the first case the accuser was Greek rather than Latin. Yet he turned to the Dominican inquisitor, since he was more likely to trigger a punitive action against the Jews than the Greek Orthodox Church.

In Byzantium the deicidal, dehumanised and demonised nature of the Jews, as propounded by the Church, extended to their physical features and moral character. Pollution generated by their impure touch was a recurrent *topos* in Greek popular circles. The *topos* is also attested in Candia in 1393, and later in several Latin-ruled territories of the Eastern Mediterranean inhabited by Greeks. Jewish travellers record that goods or foodstuffs touched by Jews were considered impure and Christians would not buy or consume them, as attested in Candia in 1481, Rhodes in 1487, as well as in the islands of Corfu and Zante and in Cypriot Famagusta in 1522.

We are ill informed about Latin popular attitudes toward the Jews. The aggressiveness displayed by Italian inquisitors of the Roman Church in the 14th century was not necessarily representative of Latin collective attitudes. Still, individual Latin violence appears to have been rather common around 1490.

Social and cultural dynamics generated a partial symbiosis between Latins and Greeks in 13th- and 14th-century Cretan cities.[158] No similar process of acculturation occurred between Jews and Christians, whether individually or collectively. The tightly knit Jewish community remained segregated and marginalised. Everyday social interaction at the individual level between Jews and Christians remained limited to utilitarian purposes, and somewhat tempered ethnic tensions. On the other hand, it failed to alter Greek collective popular perceptions and attitudes regarding the Jews.[159]

158 Sally McKee, *Uncommon Dominion: Venetian Crete and the Myth of Ethnic Purity* (Philadelphia, 2000).

159 For this entire section: Jacoby, "Jews and Christians," pp. 245–46, 256, 262–79.

CHAPTER 9

# Literature in Frankish Greece

*Gill Page*

This paper considers works of literature associated with the Frankish Peloponnese between the 13th and the 15th centuries. That word "literature" suggests a body of work which has been written down, a collection of fixed and noteworthy texts which exist to be read, and of course, we have a body of texts surviving from Frankish Greece. But in the context of the High Middle Ages much creative work existed independent of books, independent of writing. This was still an age of oral creation and transmission alongside, and increasingly interweaving with, written transmission. If we want to understand the origin and context of these texts, then seeing "literature" as only and strictly written and read is unhelpful, as the written text did not occupy the same privileged position as it does in the modern era.[1] Thus "literature" might be more usefully understood as denoting "cultural or leisure activity of the word". It is a dilemma—an awkward fact—that we might wish to speak coherently of this complex cultural sphere but all we have to go on are the written survivals. Nevertheless, the written texts are our way into a discovery of enjoyment of the word in Frankish Greece. What did the residents of Frankish Greece create, value, and enjoy in terms of the word?

This paper looks at this activity of the word in Frankish Greece, focusing on the Principality of the Morea in the Peloponnese. As Frankish Greece is a large area both in terms of time and geography, it can be difficult to speak sensibly and concisely over the whole, and I have thus chosen to concentrate on a more specific area and time. The Principality of the Morea lasted a little over two centuries after the conquest of the Fourth Crusade in 1204; geographically it included initially large parts of the Peloponnese, although it had shrunk to a nubbin by the time its final remnant passed to Byzantine rule in 1430. Moreover, the medieval Peloponnese is comparatively rich in recorded history, monuments and culture.[2]

1 This position is not universally recognised: contrast Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London, 1982), pp. 10–14 and Ruth Finnegan, *Oral Poetry* (Cambridge, 1977), p. 2.

2 Other areas of Frankish Greece also have much to offer. Cyprus has a wealth of material in both Greek and French including religious accounts as well as histories: for recent work,

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## Nova Francia

Literary production in the Frankish Peloponnese should come as no surprise: the chivalrous splendour of the Villehardouin principality in the 13th century is well attested. In such a glittering model of French culture we should expect to find literary activity of various kinds, a thriving court entertainment scene, and also the production of books. It is true that very little of this has survived to the present day, but enough is extant to give us a glimpse of this aspect of Moreot society in the first century of the principality.

What is also clear is that well before the middle of the 14th century the Frankish Morea was a culture of considerable ethnic assimilation. A significant aspect of this blurring of ethnic boundaries was linguistic crossover—Franks speaking Greek, Greeks speaking French. The fundamental literary monument of Frankish Greece, the *Chronicle of the Morea*, is the clearest witness to this assimilation; it exists in four different languages, and versions in both French and Greek were in existence in the 14th century. Thus the people of the principality were culturally active in French and Greek and the principality was heir to two distinct cultural traditions. Any account of the literature of the Morea must thus consider both the French and the Greek components.

The extant literary heritage of the Frankish Peloponnese is not great. This paper will consider, firstly, the *Chansonnier du Roi*, a songbook associated with Prince William II de Villehardouin in the third quarter of the 13th century. The *Chansonnier* shows us the Villehardouin principality at its most glorious—and very French—height, and it links the Morea closely to the western literary and musical scene. Secondly, it will consider the 14th-century *Chronicle of the Morea*, and primarily its French and Greek versions as these were

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see Gilles Grivaud, "Literature," in *Cyprus: Society and Culture, 1191–1374*, ed. Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Christopher Schabel (Leiden, 2005), pp. 219–84; and Gilles Grivaud, *Entrelacs Chiprois: essai sur les lettres et la vie intellectuelle dans le royaume de Chypre, 1191–1570* (Nicosia, 2009); also Krijnie Ciggaar "Le royaume des Lusignans: terre de littérature et des traditions, échanges littéraires et culturels," in *Les Lusignans et l'Outre-mer*, ed. Claude Mutafian, (Poitiers, 1994), pp. 89–98. Crete offers poetry in Greek on a broad variety of subjects and for a varied audience, as well as later vernacular histories: see David Holton ed., *Literature and Society in Renaissance Crete* (Cambridge, 1991); and Nicolaos Panagiotakes, "The Italian Background of Early Cretan Literature," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 (1995), 282–323. The *Chronicle of the Tocco* (Epiros, early 15th century) is a significant Greek vernacular comparator to the *Chronicle of the Morea* on which Thekla Sansaridou-Hendrickx has recently written extensively: see "The World View of the Anonymous Author of the Greek Chronicle of the Tocco, 14th–15th Centuries" (doctoral thesis, University of Johannesburg, 2000), published online at <https://ujdigispace.uj.ac.za/handle/10210/6312>, and consulted in March 2014.

produced in the Morea itself. Finally, we shall turn to consider those romances of western origin translated into vernacular Greek which can be associated with the Morea: *The War of Troy, Florios and Platzia-Flora* and *Imberios and Margarona*.[3]

Considerable attention will be given to the context of literary production and also to its transmission. The multi-lingual context of the Morea favoured oral transmission and an oral tradition was significant in the creation and transmission of the Greek works of the 14th century. Further, this vernacular Greek literature played an important role in the maintenance of a localised Moreot identity.

## Fu Nel Principato Tanta Cortesia E Amorevolezza

The Villehardouin brothers—Princes Geoffrey II and William II—were famously flamboyant. Marino Sanudo Torsello wrote that Geoffrey "had at all times at his court eighty knights with golden spurs who were in his pay, whom he supplied with everything they needed". Similarly, his younger brother William reputedly presided over a court "superior to that of a great king; he was always accompanied by seven hundred to one thousand knights".[4] This seems hard to believe, but although Sanudo was writing as late as *c.*1330 he had good authority for these reports, having as his direct informant his elderly relative Marco II Sanudo, Duke of Naxos from *c.*1262 to 1303, who was resident at William's court as a young man. The experience clearly made an impression on this young Venetian, who seems to have looked back on the principality with

3 The *Chansonnier* was presented in facsimile edition with commentary by Jean Beck and Louise Beck, *Corpus cantilenarum medii aevi, ser. 2, Le Chansonnier du Roi*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1938). The principal edition of the Greek version of the Chronicle remains John J. Schmitt, ed., *The Chronicle of Morea* (*To Χρονικόν του Μορέως*): *A History in Political Verse* (London, 1904; repr. Groningen, 1967), and of the French version Jean Longnon, ed., *Livre de la Conqueste de la Princée de l'Amorée—Chronique de Morée* (*1204–1305*) (Paris, 1911). For the romances: Elizabeth Jeffreys and Manolis Papathomopoulos, eds., *The War of Troy* (*O Polemos tis Troados*) (Athens, 1996); "Florios and Platzia-Flora" and "Imberios and Margarona," in *Βυζαντινά ιπποτικά μυθιστορήματα* [*Byzantine Knightly Romances*], ed. Emmanouel Kriaras (Athens, 1955); Kostas Yiavas' *A Critical Edition of the Rhymed Romance Imperios and Margarona* is forthcoming.

4 "Egli aveva continuamente nella corte suo 80 cavallieri a spiron d'oro a suo stipendio, oltre che li dava le cose necessarie", and "che la corte sua pareva maggior d'una corte d'un gran re; sempre seguiva la sua corte da 700 in 1000 cavalli", Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Ιστορία της Ρωμανίας: Istoria di Romania*, ed. and trans. Eutychia Papadopoulou (Athens, 2000), pp. 105, lines 15–16 and p. 107, lines 29–30.

considerable nostalgia from the more complicated 14th century: the Morea of his youth was remembered as a peaceful and prosperous land of "tanta cortesia e amorevolezza".[5]

Sanudo's portrayal of the Morea as a courtly and gracious land is confirmed by the Catalan Ramon Muntaner, writing at about the same time but looking back to the former glory days of the Villehardouin principality: "the noblest chivalry of the world was that of the Morea, and they spoke as beautiful French as in Paris".[6] The principality appears to have been keen to assert its French origins and essential nature. Marino Sanudo repeatedly emphasises the Champenois origins of the Villehardouins, suggesting that they were explicit in asserting their Frenchness. Looking back from the 14th century, then, the Frankish Morea in the middle years of the 13th century was something of a "little France"; more than any other part of the Latin empire, it came closest to the image of "quasi nova Francia" proclaimed by Pope Honorius in 1224.[7]

The principles of *courtoisie* were indeed highly prized in the principality; arguably they lay at the heart of the Villehardouins' whole approach to princely rule.[8] *Courtoisie* in the 13th century was a nexus of behaviours and values: epic warrior prowess, wisdom, desire for glory and a concern for reputation, generosity, mercy, and refinement in manners. The courteous life included war and the various rehearsals for war, hunting, jousting, conspicuous consumption and feasting, and increasingly the arts of courtly love. The principality under Geoffrey II and William II certainly exemplified this lifestyle. The princes were military leaders: Geoffrey actively supported the Latin empire with vital military support and William chose repeatedly to wage war. The princes were wise and just: in their law code the *Assizes of Romania* they maintained a complex and adaptable legal code, while Sanudo reports that Geoffrey carefully superintended his vassals' treatment of his subjects; moreover, the much-missed fairness to their subjects of Villehardouin rule is a central theme of the 14th-century *Chronicle of the Morea*. They were flamboyant: these princes

5 Sanudo, *Istoria*, p. 107, line 4.

6 "la pus gentil cavalleria del mon era de la Morea: e parlaven axi bell frances com dins en Paris," Ramon Muntaner, *Crónica catalana de Ramon Muntaner*, ed. Antonio de Bofarull (Barcelona, 1860), §261.

7 Petrus Pressutti, ed., *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1888), 2:250–51, no. 5006.

8 Tina Lynn Rodrigues, *The Old French* Chronique de Morée*: Historiographic-Romance Narrative, The Greek Context, and* Courtoisie (Princeton, 1996); Karl D. Uitti, "Historiography and Romance: Explorations of Courtoisie in the *Chronique de Morée*," in *Autobiography, Historiography, Rhetoric: A Festschrift in Honor of Frank Paul Bowman by his Colleagues, Friends and Former Students*, ed. Mary Donaldson-Evans, Lucienne Frappier-Mazur and Gerald Prince (Amsterdam, 1994), pp. 265–86.

celebrated great occasions with jousting, feasting and carolling.[9] They promoted their own good name, with young lords like Marco Sanudo taken into the court to learn lordly ways and be duly impressed. And with their golden spurs and massive entourages the Villehardouin boys also specifically showed off through largesse and display.[10] As part of this whole lifestyle the knights and their households would surely also have enjoyed the romances of Arthur and of Troy and the music and poetry of the troubadours and trouvères.[11]

### The Morea Chansonnier

The earliest literary survival from the Frankish Morea is now in Paris, at the Bibliothèque Nationale. Manuscript fonds. fr.844 (the "Chansonnier du Roi" or the "Manuscrit du Roi") is in a fairly sorry condition.[12] Eighteen of the original pages are entirely missing, and many of its splendid initials have

9 Sanudo, *Istoria* p. 105, lines 12–14; section 242. Greek *Chronicle* vv. 2408–10; French *Chronicle* §242.

10 In a fascinating confirmation of Sanudo's account, recent excavations of the Villehardouin town of Glarenza have revealed gilded spurs in knightly tombs: Demetrios Athanasoulis, "The Triangle of Power: Building Projects in the Metropolitan Area of the Crusader Principality of the Morea," in *Viewing the Morea: Land and People in the Late Medieval Peloponnese*, ed. Sharon Gerstel (Washington DC, 2013), p. 124.

11 See especially David Jacoby, "Knightly Values and Class Consciousness in the Crusader States of the Eastern Mediterranean," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 1 (1986), 158–85, repr. in idem, *Studies on the Crusader States and on Venetian Expansion* (Northampton, 1989), I; and Jeanne Horowitz, "Quand les champenois parlaient en Grec: La Moréé franque au XIII$^{e}$ siècle, un bouillon de culture," in *Cross Cultural Convergences in the Crusader Period: Essays Presented to Aryeh Grabois on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Michael Goodich, Sophia Menache and Sylvia Schein (New York, 1995), pp. 111–50.

12 The *Chansonnier* is variously referred to under various sigla as M (the trouvère content), W (troubadour content) and R (the motet content); it also includes Mt (the specific added booklet of songs by Thibaut of Champagne); for these sigla see Haines, "The Transformations of the 'Manuscrit du Roi,'" *Musica Disciplina* 52 (1998–2002), 6. The fullest account of the manuscript is now John Haines, "The Songbook for William of Villehardouin, Prince of the Morea (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 844): A Crucial Case in the History of Vernacular Song Collections," in *Viewing the Morea*, pp. 57–109: I am grateful to Professor Haines for an advance viewing of this work. See also his earlier *The Musicography of the Manuscrit du Roi* (Toronto, 1998) and "Transformations" above. The *Chansonnier* is also dealt with in some detail in Elizabeth Aubrey, *The Music of the Troubadours* (Bloomington, 1996), pp. 39–43 and again by Elizabeth Aubrey in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, 29 vols. (London, 1980), 23:853 (part of the entry "Sources, Ms", 791–938); also Hans Spanke, "Der Chansonnier du Roi," *Romanische Forschungen* 57 (1943), 38–104 and

been removed, mutilating many pages. It has been argued that this disfigurement happened early in the history of the songbook and this would fit with the strong impression that the *Chansonnier* as originally conceived was for some reason never fully realised.[13] However, the briefest examination reveals that the work was originally meant to be utterly splendid—a "sumptuous and carefully designed collection".[14] On internal evidence alone, it was originally created around 1255–60.

This *Chansonnier* is a significant example of a high medieval genre, the prestige songbook collection of vernacular lyric. The work of the troubadours in the south from the 11th century (writing in Occitan), followed by their northern counterparts the trouvères (writing in French) in the 12th and 13th, had given a new prestige to lyric composition in the vernacular and this repertoire was certainly known in written form as well as oral before the middle of the 13th century. Vernacular songs had made an appearance in written narrative genres as early as the first half of the 13th century, but they were circulating in another written form of some kind by the middle of the same century. Around 1250, however, there was a sudden and magnificent fashion for compiling and creating much more ambitious works, the *chansonniers*—beautifully presented collections of poems in French and in Occitan, often along with their melodies. The *chansonniers* are clearly prestige pieces, statements of wealth and status, and the fashion for them lasted well into the 14th century. Some fifty *chansonniers* in all are extant.[15]

The vast majority of *chansonniers* feature either trouvère material in French or troubadour material in Occitan, but just two contain a mixture of both and the *Chansonnier du Roi* is one of these. Its bias is clearly towards the French repertoire, with around 85 per cent of the featured songs being in French; the *Chansonnier* is thus above all a repository of the work of the trouvères. The vast majority of the poems also have their music, and this is typical of the surviving trouvère repertoire. The *Chansonnier* is more unusual in its inclusion of other genres and, moreover, 51 of its 61 troubadour works come with music, making the *Chansonnier* one of the richest resources for the musical repertoire of the troubadours: it is, for example, the only source to give the music for the beautiful *A chantar m'er* by the trobairitz the Comtessa da Dia.

The troubadour and other Occitan material in the *Chansonnier* has been adapted for its northern French audience, suggesting it was actively heard and

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Judith A. Peraino, *Giving Voice to Love: Song and Self-Expression from the Troubadours to Guillaume de Machaut* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 155–63.

13 Spanke, "Der Chansonnier," 58.

14 Aubrey, *Music*, p. 41.

15 On the songbook genre: Haines, "Songbook," pp. 60–75.

enjoyed by French speakers. Like other fundamentally "northern" sources of troubadour material, then, the *Chansonnier* uses a lyric language for the troubadour material that has aspects of both French and Occitan but is truly neither: the original Occitan has been heavily Gallicised, while preserving original elements, and even just "flavour". In this way, these songs were made intelligible to the French-speaking knights of the Morea. They would have been able to follow most, though not all, of the lyrics of these songs while at the same time the particular language used perhaps also conveyed to them a quality of exotic strangeness.[16]

More unusually, the *Chansonnier* also includes a rich repertoire of two- and three-voice motets and three *lais*. In this remarkable variety, then, the *Chansonnier* presents as a rich summation of the dominant and (in the widest sense) French lyric culture that had flowered over the previous two and a half centuries. Moreover, with regard to its core content—the monophonic sung repertoire of the troubadours and trouvères—the *Chansonnier*, like all of its fellows, comes at the end of the culture that it celebrates and memorialises.[17]

### Li Princes

In tune with the new individualism so much a part of the monophonic lyrical tradition, most of the trouvère pieces in the *Chansonnier* are ascribed to an author, and the contents are largely divided by author.[18] Over 80 named

16 Manfred Raupach and Margaret Raupach, *Französierte Trobadorlyrik* (Tűbingen, 1979), pp. 113–56, and see review by John H. Marshall, *Romance Philology* 30 (1982), 83–93; William Paden, "Old Occitan as a Lyric Language: The Insertion from Occitan in Three 13th-Century French Romances," *Speculum* 68 (1993), 36–53; Christopher Callahan, "Troubadour Songs in Trouvère Codices: Mouvance in the Transmission of Courtly Lyric," *Variants* 9 (2012), 31–48; my thanks to Professor Callahan for an early view of this article. See also Ruth Harvey, "Languages, Lyrics and the Knightly Classes," in *Medieval Knighthood: Papers from the Sixth Strawberry Hill Conference 1994*, ed. Stephen Church and Ruth Harvey (Woodbridge, 1995), pp. 208–16.

17 John Haines, *Eight Centuries of the Troubadours and Trouvères: The Changing Identity of Medieval Music* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 7–8, and 14; Christopher Page, *Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages: Instrumental Practice and Songs in France 1100–1300* (London, 1987), p. 51.

18 There are some exceptions: Jean Erars and Guiot de Dijon are featured repeatedly rather than in the more usual single section per author. The *lais* and motets are all anonymous and the troubadour section is only loosely attributed, reflecting its source in an existing collection: see Haines, "Songbook," p. 63.

poet-composers, by far the majority of them trouvères, are included in the collection and the first such to be named is "li prince de le mouree".

This appears quite unambiguous in its reference to the Principality of the Morea, which was generally known in French as "Mouree", but the question is which prince is referred to.[19] Early theories suggested William de Champlitte and Geoffrey I de Villehardouin, but both of these are too early for the *Chansonnier*, which reveals itself to be a work of the second half of the 13th century. By far the likeliest contender has to be William II de Villehardouin, prince from 1246 to 1278.[20] William had strong links with key figures from the West, most notably through his participation in the Seventh Crusade under Louis IX of France. In the winter of 1248–49, he had hosted his close contemporary Hugh IV of Burgundy in the Morea before they joined the crusade, and Hugh was related by marriage to several leading aristocratic trouvères featured in the *Chansonnier*. Notable among these and also present on this crusade was Thibaut IV of Champagne who was William's feudal lord for his possessions in Champagne. The two men are known to have corresponded, and a substantial and discrete section of the *Chansonnier* is given over to Thibaut's songs. Also on the crusade with their elder brother King Louis were the French princes Robert of Artois and Charles of Anjou; the former offered links to Arras in Artois, the coming centre of trouvère activity and *chansonnier* production, and the latter—who also features prominently in the *Chansonnier*—was to become in time William's closest French ally and his feudal lord. In his participation in the Seventh Crusade, William asserted his role as a member of the French elite and mixed with some of the most illustrious trouvères of the time.

The position of "li prince de la Mouree" at the head of the collection is strongly suggestive that this prince was the commissioning patron of the whole work, or alternatively its intended recipient.[21] This is further implied by the index to the work, which dates from the earliest stages of organisation and compilation, where he is simply referred to as "Li princes", without further qualification—as if none were needed in the circumstances. Moreover, the gathering structure of the *Chansonnier* reinforces the prime importance of the prince of the Morea in the work, with his place literally at the heart of the first

19 Jean Longnon, "Problèmes de l'histoire de la Principauté de Morée," *Journal des Savants* (1946), 84–85.

20 Jean and Louise Beck curiously interpreted "li prince de le Mouree" as referring to Amalric I of Jerusalem: Beck, *Manuscrit*, 2:18–19; in response, Jean Longnon proposed William II de Villehardouin, which given the dating of the manuscript must be the likeliest solution. He also proposed William as the commissioner of the songbook: Jean Longnon, "Le Prince de Morée chansonnier," *Romania* 65 (1939), 95–100, also Spanke, "Der Chansonnier," p. 101.

21 Haines, *Changing Identity*, pp. 15–18 and 25; Peraino, *Giving Voice*, pp. 134–35.

gathering.[22] If William himself was not the commissioner, then the alternative must be that the work was in some sense commissioned for him, perhaps as a gift, and most probably by Charles of Anjou. This has most recently been suggested by John Haines; drawing attention to the striking similarities between the *Chansonnier* and roughly contemporaneous work by the Sicilian school, he suggests that the songbook could be the Angevin's competitive response to the literary success nurtured at the court of his rival Manfred.[23] While the exact circumstances of its commissioning must remain obscure, the key facts remain, firstly, that this collection is strongly and explicitly associated with the Morea, and, secondly, that the Villehardouin prince is himself included in its repertoire.

There can be no certainty about where the *Chansonnier* was created. Parts of the core manuscript—notably the motet section—are so similar to another slightly later *chansonnier* (Paris, BnF fonds. fr. 12615, trouvère ms. T) that the two songbooks certainly shared at least one written exemplar.[24] This has led to the theory that the *Chansonnier* was created, like its peer T, in the Artois region of north-west France. This was a major centre for the production of music manuscripts at the relevant time, and Artesian origin is the most likely; the *Chansonnier* also contains a wealth of Artesian material. However, Peloponnesian or southern Italian origins are also possible. The similarities with T strictly show only shared exemplars, and these could conceivably have been sent to the East. Again, Theodore Karp has shown that musically at least the relationship between this *Chansonnier* and the Artesian T is not as close as has hitherto been thought on analysis of the text, and Haines has argued that—beyond the clear shared source material—the *Chansonnier* is so different from other chansonniers as to argue for "a scriptorium removed from the French mainstream".[25] Nothing is known about such scriptoria in Frankish Greece, but writing was certainly going on in the principality, so fabrication in the Morea should not be ruled out, though all the evidence nevertheless points to the employment of scribes and illuminators brought in from Artois. One

22 Haines, "Songbook," pp. 90–91 and "Transformations," pp. 12–16.

23 Haines, "Songbook," pp. 72–73, 98, 100.

24 On geographical origin, see Haines, "Transformations," p. 18 and "Songbook," pp. 46–48; Mark Everist, *Polyphonic Music in 13th-century France: Aspects of Sources and Distribution* (New York, 1989), pp. 186–88; for a good summary, Judith A Peraino, *Giving Voice*, pp. 155–56, n. 92.

25 On music and T: Theodore Karp, "The Trouvère MS Tradition," in *The Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Festschrift (1937–1962): Queens College of the City University of New York Department of Music*, ed. Albert Mell (New York, 1964) pp. 37–39; Haines (quotation): "Transformations," p. 18; Haines now favours Artesian origins however: "Songbook," pp. 93–97.

further argument for Peloponnesian origins perhaps lies in the unfortunate history of the *Chansonnier*—unfinished and mutilated at an early stage. It can only be speculation, but perhaps this happened in the wake of war and disorder from the 1260s. It is generally accepted that by or on William's death in 1278 the *Chansonnier* had passed into the ownership of Charles of Anjou, King of Naples.[26] It was soon after this that the first of the many additions were made, indicating an abandonment of the original plans for the work. These additions include, notably, the last song in the collection, the *lai* "Ki de bons est", which is musically ambitious and makes reference to King Charles himself.[27]

The *Chansonnier* is thus an unfinished work, a work in progress, both in the sense that the songbook as originally conceived seems never to have been achieved, and also in that additional material was added over a lengthy period to form the book as we now have it. In summary, the *Chansonnier* grew to its present form as follows.[28]

1) The initial selection of material is made and the process begins to find exemplars.
2) An index is created detailing the works to be included.
3) The copying of text from the gathered exemplars is begun and staves are drawn up for music to be added later.
4) It is decided to add a new selection of 60 works by the trouvère Thibaut of Navarre, and the whole collection is reordered as a result.
5) The text is copied from exemplars (although in many cases blank spaces are left for verses to be added later).
6) Music from exemplars is added into most but not all of the vacant staves.

This process must date from after 1253, as one of the songs of Count Thibault of Bar—one of the core aristocratic trouvères featured alongside the prince in the first gathering—refers to the count's captivity in that year after the Battle of Walcheren. There is no such neat *terminus ante quem*, but the relationship with the trouvère ms. T can again help. Compiled a couple of decades later, it

26 Haines, "Songbook," pp. 102–05.

27 Holger Petersen Dyggve, "Personnages historiques figurant dans la poésie française des XII[e] et XIII[e] siècles: XXV: Charles, Comte d'Anjou," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 50 (1949), 166–67; Haines, "Transformations," p. 11 and "Songbook," pp. 47–48; Peraino, *Giving Voice*, pp. 162–63; Theodore Karp, "Three Trouvère Chansons in Mensural Notation," in *Gordon Athol Anderson (1921–1981), In Memoriam*, 2 vols. (Henryville, 1984), 2:476–94; more generally Jean Maillard, *Roi-trouvère du XIII[e] siècle. Charles d'Anjou*, Musicological Studies and Documents 18 (Dallas, 1967).

28 Haines, "Transformations," pp. 5–43; also Stanley Boorman in Grove "Sources," pp. 795–97.

shares a huge amount with the Morea *Chansonnier* but, revealingly, includes material from Arras dating from the latter half of the 13th century that is absent in the earlier work.[29] The initial stages of the work were thus very probably undertaken sometime in the later 1250s. Not long after this, the *Chansonnier* developed further with the addition of a further 45 pieces, mostly late in the 13th century with others added over the course of the 14th century.

The manuscript came into the French royal library in 1668 from the collection of Cardinal Mazarin. Where it had been prior to the cardinal's acquisition and how it came into his possession are not known, although there is speculation that it may have been acquired for the cardinal in Italy or the Languedoc. At some point the order of the folios in the manuscript became badly jumbled, before the manuscript was bound during the early years of the 19th century.

This *Chansonnier*, then, reflects the tastes of—and is potentially the product of—the court of the Villehardouins in the middle years of the 13th century. As such, it is further evidence of the wealth, stature and ambition of that court. William II was a trouvère in his own right and perhaps also the commissioner of the *Chansonnier* and this work represents another aspect of the Villehardouins' desire to emulate and recreate French courtly life in Greece. As an impressive example of the new fashion in sumptuous songbooks, the *Chansonnier* shows the principality to have been at the cutting-edge of cultural trends.

It is worth emphasising that even if William did not in fact commission the work—and the evidence is compelling but cannot be conclusive—the existence of the two songs by "li prince de le mouree" shows that the high-status genre of monophonic song was known, valued, and practised in the principality. Enjoyment of French song was an important part of the cultural life of the knightly class in the Morea—enjoyment of the performance of songs among and by themselves, or else by professional *jongleurs*. There was certainly the money and the ethos to provide the patronage to support professional musicians like the one depicted in Raimon Vidal's *Abrill issia*, who travels from castle to court to make his living.[30] Evidence is lacking for the Peloponnese, but there are two references to paid entertainers in the comparable Duchy of Athens around the end of the 13th century, and such activity should be expected in the principality also.[31]

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29 Haines, "Songbook," pp. 91–95.

30 Christopher Page, *The Owl and the Nightingale: Musical Life and Ideas in France 1100–1300* (Berkeley, 1989), pp. 46–53.

31 Elizabeth M. Jeffreys and Michael J. Jeffreys, "The Oral Background of Byzantine Popular Poetry," *Oral Tradition* 1 (1986), 508–09; generally, see Edmond Faral, *Les Jongleurs en France au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1910).

However, even if oral performance was the rule, and the *Chansonnier* was above all a concrete act of prestige surely designed primarily for show rather than practical use, one must conclude that there was enough of an audience to read a book of songs as well. Literacy among the knightly classes of the 13th century is hard to assess and probably varied widely; the far more plentiful evidence from western Europe suggests that the increasing use of the written vernacular favoured a spread in vernacular literacy and that most knights would have had the ability to read at least.[32] With more specific regard to the Latin East in the 13th century, it is likewise clear that not all knights neglected the liberal arts in writing. Eudes, Count of Navarre (the son of William's friend Hugh IV of Burgundy) died in Acre in 1266 shortly after arriving in Outremer; he had in his possession on his death a collection of books including the romance of Loherain , a "romanz de la terre d'outre mer" (perhaps a vernacular history of the Holy Land) and also a *chansonnier*. Closer to home, the library of Leonardo da Veroli, William de Villehardouin's chancellor for some 17 years, contained several French vernacular romances. An appreciation of romance would logically form part of the cultural nexus outlined above.[33] Moreover, there is a strong suggestion that William at least was able to read, for he is presented in the *Chronicle of the Morea* as personally consulting the "Book of Law" as part of the enquiry into the inheritance of Marguerite of Akova in the 1270s.[34]

The two songs presented here by William in his *Chansonnier* are among its *unica*.[35] Neither is complete, as the illuminated initial, which probably contained a miniature image of William on the model of the images of similarly high-ranking trouvères that have survived elsewhere in the *Chansonnier*, has been torn out, carrying with it the top left-hand corner of the page. This mutilation affects the first few lines of both music and text of "Loiaus amours" and the last line of "Au novel tans", which is on the reverse side of the page. In addition, in the case of both songs, only the first verse was written in, with space

32 See, for example, Franz H. Bauml, "Varieties and Consequences of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy," *Speculum* 55 (1980), 239–44; Andrew Taylor, "The Myth of the Minstrel Manuscript," *Speculum* 66 (1991), 50–51; Ralph V. Turner, "The *Miles Literatus* in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century England," *American Historical Review* 83 (1978), 931–42; Joachim Bumke, *Courtly Culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (Berkeley, 1991), pp. 426–35.

33 Jacoby, "Knightly Values," 166; Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land: From the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291* (Cambridge, 2005), 1:356–59.

34 French *Chronicle* §§519–21; Greek *Chronicle* vv. 7567–90, especially 7589.

35 The lyrics of both are in Jean Buchon, *Recherches et matériaux pour servir à une histoire de la domination française aux XIII^e^, XIV^e^ et XV^e^ siècles dans les provinces démembrés de l'empire grec a la suite de la quatrième croisade* (Paris, 1840), p. 419. Both songs have been edited by John Haines, "Songbook," p. 109.

Li prince de le mouree
A nouel tant quant le voi
la muiance - quyuers remaint
nois et glace et gelee - ast oiseillon fuint en
graut reuelance - reuenuis faut loz chans
bois et ramee - de douce; est la terre enlu
minee - par tot trueue on flors de maintes
samblance - et poz ce vueill chanter en espe

FIGURE 9.1 *Prince William's two songs in the* Chansonnier. *Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Francais 844, fol. 2r* (*photo: BnF, by permission*).

left for more verses to be added later. It is undeniably curious that the prince's own works remain thus incomplete.

Both songs are in the tradition of *grande chanson courtoise*, and insofar as we can see from the single stanza of each, they are both reliably generic, with distinct rhyming schemes. Musically, the style of each is also broadly typical of the trouvère repertoire, with a repeated initial melodic statement followed by a new theme that incorporates melodic ideas from the opening theme.[36]

### Loiaus amors qui m'alume

In "Loiaus amours" (figure 9.2) the singer bemoans his situation: he is passionately in love, his lady is not receptive, if his love does not prosper he will die. The last two lines of the verse echo lines written by Gace Brulé: known as "Messire Gasse" in the Chansonnier, this trouvère was clearly a favourite of the prince. He was a native of Champagne, the Villehardouin homeland, and in the *Chansonnier* as originally planned he had far more songs than any other trouvère. Such referencing can be seen as a homage to this pre-eminent trouvère, and confirms again that the trouvère repertoire was well known in the principality.[37] The incomplete state of the song limits comment, but this was probably originally a seven-line stanza.

Loiaus amours qui m'alume . . .
. . . merveill ou pris le hardement
coment m'osai de chanter enhardir.
Ce fait ma dame à cui sunt mi desir.
Se n'a de moi merci prochainement,
Morir m'estuet, por aimer loiaument.[38]

36 Music edited by Paul Leigh of medieval music group Trouvère; both pieces feature on Trouvère's recording *Music for a Medieval Prince* (York, 2012).

37 Samuel N. Rosenberg, "Incipit Citation in French Lyric Poetry of the 12th through 14th Centuries," in *Courtly Arts and the Art of Courtliness: Selected Papers from the Eleventh Triennial Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society*, ed. Keith Busby and Christopher Kleinhenz (Cambridge, 2006), p. 558.

38 "Faithful love which enflames me . . . it amazes me that I had the audacity to be bold enough to sing. So it is with my lady who has my desire. If she does not have pity on me soon, then I must die, for loving faithfully."

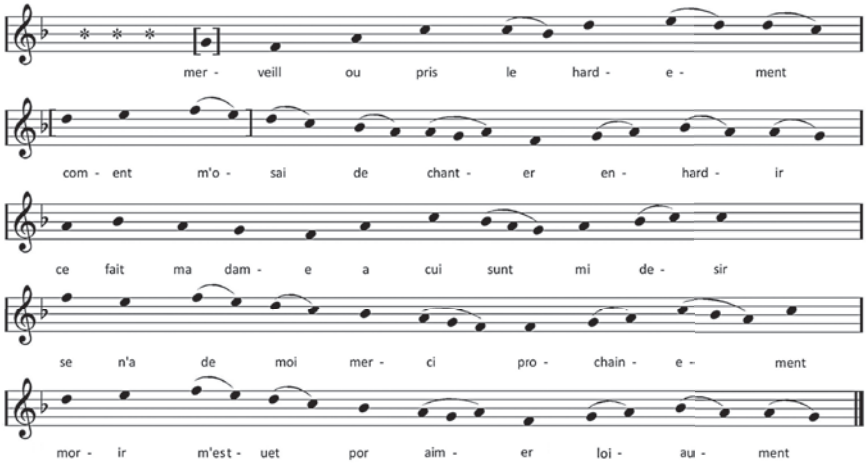
mer - veill ou pris le hard - e - ment
com - ent m'o - sai de chant - er en - hard - ir
ce fait ma dam - e a cui sunt mi de - sir
se n'a de moi mer - ci pro - chain - e - ment
mor - ir m'est - uet por aim - er loi - au - ment

FIGURE 9.2 *Loiaus amours, musical notation.* (*Edited and transcribed by Paul Leigh*).

### Au novel tans

The single first verse of "Au novel tans" (figure 9.3) is a classic *Natureingang*, painting a picture of the many delights of spring in contrast to the sorrows of winter. Presumably, the singer would have gone on to express the hope that his love would prosper in parallel with the season. The song employs an eight-line stanza.

> Au novel tans, quant je voi la muance,
> Qu'yvers remaint, nois et glace et gelée,
> Cist oiseillon sunt en grant revelance,
> Retentist fait lor chans bois et ramée,
> De douçor est la terre enluminée,
> Partot trueve on flors de mainte samblance.
> Et por ce vueill chanter, en esperance
> Qu'autrement . . . vrée.[39]

39 "In the springtime when I see the changes, how winter is left behind with its snow and ice and frost, how the birds are in great jubilation with songs ringing out through the woods and trees, that the earth is illuminated with sweetness, and everywhere there are flowers of many kinds, then because of this I want to sing, in the hope that otherwise . . . "

Au no - vel tans quant je voi la mu - an - ce
qu'y - vers re - maint nois et glace et gel - e - e
cist oi - seill - on sunt en grant re - ve - lan - ce
re - tent - ist fait lor chans bois et ram - e - e
de douc - or est la terre en - lum - in - e - e
par - tot tru - e - ve on flors de main - te sem - blan - ce
et por ce vueill chant - er en es - per - an - ce
qu'au - tre - ment - vre - e

FIGURE 9.3 *Au novel tans, musical notation.* (*Edited and transcribed by Paul Leigh*).

### Listen All of You, Franks and Romans!

It would be easy to conclude from all this that the Franks of the Morea were a haughty, and exclusive caste living out their hyper-French dream in the beautiful Greek landscape while having nothing to do with the people and culture on whom they had so rudely intruded. But this was not so. The Morea was a land of considerable cultural assimilation, and the extent of this assimilation is above all shown by the fact that by the middle years of the 14th century the knights of the Morea were enjoying works written in the Greek vernacular.[40] The transition from the high French art of the trouvères to the—at times—

40 Gill Page, *Being Byzantine: Greek Identity before the Ottomans* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 200–01; also Michael Angold, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople, 1204–1261: Marriage Strategies," in *Identities and Allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. Judith Herrin and Guillaume Saint-Guillain (Farnham, 2011), pp. 60–61.

frankly doggerel Greek verse of the *Chronicle of the Morea* is a startling one; nevertheless, in the course of less than a century this transition was made.

The *Chronicle of the Morea* is a nexus of texts dating originally from the early years of the 14th century, although its various versions and editions take the story forward beyond the term of the Villehardouin principality. The *Chronicle* exists in four different but very clearly related language versions: vernacular Greek, French, Aragonese and Italian, a variety which underscores the linguistic and ethnic diversity of the late medieval Aegean. It can be seen to have originated in the Peloponnese by the 1320s, but the original version has not survived. Each of the extant versions represents in some sense an edition of this original, with varying degrees of alteration and adaptation. These later versions are to differing degrees interesting in their own right, but also in what they can tell of the lost original, the conditions of its creation, and the culture that produced it.[41] The *Chronicle* is thus made especially interesting by its subsequent history—the very existence of so many language versions and the existence of significantly different Greek versions—and it is clear that this was a successful and popular work that was repeatedly revisited by those with an interest in the Morea. It was in different ways reissued to meet different needs and agendas, and this was thus a work with many potential audiences.

Getting into a little more detail, it makes sense to work—roughly—backwards in time. Thus, the Italian version is the least interesting in relation to Frankish Greece. It was produced as late as the 16th century, perhaps prepared for Venetian officers still maintaining a precarious hold in the Aegean; it should be noted, though, that it clearly derives from a Greek version of the *Chronicle*.[42] The Aragonese version (*Libro de los fechos et conquistas del Principado de la Morea*) has the clearest origins.[43] It closes with the declaration that it was "made and compiled" for Juan Fernández de Heredia, Grand Master of the Hospitallers, and that it was completed by the scribe Bernard de Jacqua on 24 October 1383. Juan Fernández de Heredia was master from 1377 to 1396; his order had obvious interests in the Aegean region and ruled the principality on

41 Teresa Shawcross, *The Chronicle of the Morea: Historiography in Crusader Greece* (Oxford, 2009), is the essential companion to the *Chronicle* in its various forms, but see also Page, *Being Byzantine*, pp. 178–81; David Jacoby, "Quelques considérations sur les versions de la Chronique de Morée," *Journal des Savants* (1968), 133–89; Michael Jeffreys, "The Chronicle of the Morea: Priority of the Greek Version," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 68 (1975), 304–50; Rodrigues, *French* Chronique, pp. 53–72.

42 Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Ital. VII 712 coll. 8754; ed. Karl Hopf, *Chroniques Gréco-Romanes inédites ou peu-conuues* (Berlin, 1873; rep. Brussels, 1966).

43 Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 10131; ed. A. Morel-Fatio, *Libro de los Fechos et Conquistas del Principado de la Morea* (Geneva, 1885).

behalf of Queen Joanna of Naples from 1377 to 1381. Beyond this, de Heredia was a bibliophile with an active interest in history and this document reflects his interest, forming part of a larger group of works dedicated to the history of Greece. Thus the Aragonese chronicle, while clearly heavily dependent on one or more existing versions of the *Chronicle*, is a very different work from the other versions. It is a relatively sophisticated attempt to compile a history of the principality from a wide range of sources and contains much material that does not derive from the *Chronicle* at all. The materials for this compilation could well have been gathered by Heredia and his agents while they were in the principality around 1379–80, and almost certainly included both French and Greek versions of the *Chronicle*. The work itself was created outside the principality, probably at the papal court in Avignon.[44]

The French version of the *Chronicle* (referred to as B) is particularly interesting.[45] The single extant manuscript of *c.*1400 was in the library of the dukes of Burgundy by 1469 at the latest, but it is possible that its exemplar arrived in the West as early as the 1330s, when the historian and crusading propagandist Marino Sanudo Torsello sent a text dealing with "the conquest of Constantinople and with many other things" to the count of Hainaut.[46] There were close links between Hainaut and the Morea, as a result of the marriage of Isabelle de Villehardouin to Florent de Hainaut; moreover, the library of the counts passed to Burgundy in 1428. It seems likely, then, that at least one copy of the French *Chronicle* was in the West by around 1400, when the surviving manuscript was made, and that this manuscript itself was made in the West, being copied from a far from perfect original deriving from Latin Greece.[47]

Like the Spanish *Libro*, B gives specific information about its origins, having as its title the declaration:

> This is the book of the conquest of Constantinople, and of the empire of Romania, and of the land of the Principality of the Morea, which was found in a book which was once the property of the noble baron

44 For the relationship with older versions, see Shawcross, *Chronicle*, pp. 268–73; also Anthony Luttrell, "Juan Fernández de Heredia and the Compilation of the Aragonese Chronicle of the Morea," in *Deus Vult, miscellanea di studi sugli Ordini militari*, ed. Cristian Guzzo (Tuscania, 2011), pp. 124–33.

45 Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 15702; ed. Longnon, *Livre de la Conqueste* (see above, n. 3).

46 Shawcross, *Chronicle*, pp. 89–90.

47 Shawcross, *Chronicle*, pp. 86–95; Jacoby, "Considérations," pp. 149–50. Rodrigues, *French* Chronique, pp. 70–71.

> Bartolomeo Ghisi, the Grand Constable, and he had this book in his castle of Thebes.[48]

The scribe goes on to state, crucially, that this is not an exact copy of his source, but rather an abbreviated version. Thus, the manuscript which has survived is itself a copy (quite feasibly at more than one remove) of an imperfect abbreviated version of a longer original.

That this original was at the castle of St-Omer-les-Thebes in the possession of Bartolomeo Ghisi means that it was in existence at some point between *c.*1326 to *c.*1332.[49] This is not far from the likely date of origin of the *Chronicle* as a whole, and the Thebes text may well thus itself have been the earliest written version of the *Chronicle of the Morea*. One can only speculate on its nature—in prose or in verse, in French or in Greek, or even in some other language? More usefully, using the internal evidence of the text, it can be said that the abbreviated version was completed sometime between 1341 and 1346. Given the pro-Angevin stance of this extant *Book of the Conquest*, it is very likely that this abbreviated version was prepared in the principality itself from a single written source for the then regent, Catherine de Valois.[50]

Finally, there are the various Greek versions: five extant manuscripts of the Greek *Chronicle*, which can be divided into two families.[51] Again, it makes some sense to work back in time. Three manuscripts belong to the Paris family—an earliest version known as P dating from the early 16th century and two later copies of P, dating from the 16th or 17th centuries. Although P itself is of late date, it derives closely from a version datable to around 1400. The other two manuscripts, known as H and T, are also clearly related. The Turin manuscript T dates from the 16th century but derives from the Copenhagen version H, which dates from the late 14th century. On internal evidence, H derives from a manuscript written between 1338 and 1356.

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48 "C'est la livre de la conquest de Constantinope et de l'empire de Romanie, et dou pay de la princée de la Morée, qui fu trouvé en un livre qui fu jadis del noble baron messire Bartholomée Guys, le grant connestable, lequel livre il avoit en son chastel d'Estives."

49 Jacoby, "Considérations," pp. 137–39; Rodrigues, *French* Chronique, pp. 61–62.

50 Jacoby, "Considérations," pp. 134–50.

51 The five Greek manuscripts are (1) Paris family: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, grec 2898 (P) and grec 2753, and Bern, Burgerbibliothek gr. 5009; and (2) Copenhagen, Royal Library, Fabricius 57 (H); and Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria B.II.I (LXVI) (T). Schmitt, *The Chronicle of Morea* (see above, n. 3) is a parallel edition of H and P with notes on divergences in T; Harold E. Lurier, trans., *Crusaders as Conquerors: The Chronicle of Morea* (New York, 1964) is an English translation of H supported by P.

The various versions of the Greek *Chronicle* give unique insights into the development of the Greek language in the late medieval period, and have attracted considerable attention to the *Chronicle* purely on linguistic grounds. The changes between the various versions show that the Greek used reflects the spoken language to a high degree (while not being identical to it).[52] The changes also reveal the extent of scribal interference—or, better, involvement—in the text as it was successively reproduced in written form, and strongly imply that the *Chronicle* continued to have resonance among the Greek-speaking population of the Morea over a considerable time span. More than the other language versions, then, the Greek versions of the *Chronicle* seem directed to an audience within the Peloponnese, rather than to Angevins in Naples, Hospitallers in Avignon or Spain, or temporary Venetian officers.

The convincingly vernacular language of the Greek *Chronicle* is such that it must have been written by a native speaker, while at the same time the very pro-French (and at times anti-Greek) attitude of the *Chronicle* has led some to conclude that, notwithstanding this fluency, that author cannot have been a Greek. However, the language used by the chronicler in regard to Byzantine Greek identity shows that he was very much part of the Byzantine Greek world—if not Greek then absolutely acculturated into that world.[53] Fluency in Greek on the part of certain Franks as early as the mid-13th century is well attested, so a well-acculturated French author should not be ruled out. Equally, the presence of numerous Greeks in high-ranking administrative positions in the Villehardouin principality shows that a Greek author is also quite possible.[54] Crucially, however, the ethnic identity of the author of the *Chronicle* is in the final analysis unimportant. Either he was a Greek who set out to eulogise his French overlords and knew there was enough of a Greek-speaking audience ready to enjoy that eulogy, or he was a Frenchman who was utterly fluent in the language and attitudes of the conquered. Either way, the Greek *Chronicle* must constitute significant evidence of cultural integration in the Morea.[55]

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52 Geoffrey Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and its Speakers* (London, 1997), pp. 349–54; Robert Browning, *Medieval and Modern Greek*, pp. 73–74; more recently, David Holton and Io Manolessou, "Medieval and Early Modern Greek," in *A Companion to the Ancient Greek Language*, ed. Egbert J. Bakker (Chichester, 2010), pp. 539–64.

53 Page, *Being Byzantine*, pp. 209–21.

54 Greek-speaking Franks, e.g. H4130, 5234; high-ranking Greeks, e.g. H8332, B829.

55 Page, *Being Byzantine*, pp. 179–81; see also Jacoby "Considérations," pp. 155–58; Jeffreys, "Priority," p. 315.

Summing up, while it is universally agreed that none of the surviving versions is the original *Chronicle*, it is likewise agreed that the French B and the Greek H are the oldest and therefore the closest to that now lost original. Further, as H is not explicitly abbreviated, it provides the closest witness of that original. Working from the evidence provided within the various versions, it can be said with some confidence that this original *Chronicle* was first completed in the 1320s, and this makes it a work of the principality in decline, confronted with the confident Byzantine power base in Mistra that was making substantial gains at the cost of the French.[56]

French, Italian, Greek and even Provencal have all been proposed as the language of the original *Chronicle*, but the consensus must now be for a Greek original. In her recent and compellingly argued examination of the *Chronicle*, Teresa Shawcross has shown that both H and P must derive from an earlier version, again in vernacular Greek. Evidencing the many links between the Greek and French versions indicative of a shared source, she has convincingly proposed that this earlier Greek version might be considered the lost original of the *Chronicle* as a whole; as she says, this can never be proved, but it is the most economical solution and "some reconstructions [...] are more plausible than others".[57] H is thus the best guide to the *Chronicle* as originally conceived, and to its context and its audience in the early years of the 14th century.

### Oi Moraites

The audience of the Greek *Chronicle* included both Franks and Greeks of the Peloponnese, for both are addressed explicitly at H724: "Listen all of you, both Franks and Romans!" However, the mixed audience is also and more subtly indicated via the Greek *Chronicle*'s conception of a Moreot identity which combined both ethnic groups in the principality. More than any other version of the *Chronicle*, H emphasises Greek involvement in the principality, and it also provides more positive characterisations of the local Greeks. H repeatedly shows the Villehardouins as conciliating and involving local Greeks, and it emphasises how the Villehardouin rulers were appreciated by Greeks as much as by Franks:

56 Shawcross, *Chronicle*, pp. 43–47.

57 Shawcross, *Chronicle*, pp. 49–52.

> . . . and when [Geoffrey I] had passed away [. . .] there was great mourning in all the Morea, for they had held him dear, they had loved him much for his good lordship, the wisdom which he had (H2462–4).[58]

On occasion, the Greek *Chronicle* uses the collective term "Moraites" to denote this combined population of the principality (2252, 3900, 3915, 7166, 8266, 8435, 8630). Inclusive of both Franks and Greeks, the term is typically employed to strike a contrast with outsiders to the principality and is common to all Greek versions, thus indicating that it had a lasting signification. In these ways, then, the Greek *Chronicle* paints a picture of Moreot society where ethnic differences were acknowledged but not fundamentally significant in the context of a localised identity.[59] This ideology is absent in the other language versions of the *Chronicle*; B has little appreciation of this mixed society, and it may have been an element that was diminished or eliminated in the process of abbreviation and redaction for a non-Moreot audience.

Also significant in arguing for an audience at least in part French are the clear close links between the *Chronicle* and the Frankish family of le Maure, the barons of Arcadia (now Kyparissia) on the Messenian coast. The le Maure were late arrivals in the principality, having come east with Florent de Hainaut in 1289; however, they married into the de Briel and d'Aunoy families which were long established in Latin Greece and by the middle of the 14th century had become one of the few "old French" families in the principality. The repeated references to the le Maure in all versions of the *Chronicle* suggest that the work may have originated in this family's circle and certainly continued to circulate in its orbit. It is significant that even P, which radically curtails pro-Villehardouin and anti-Greek comment, remains extremely positive about the le Maure.[60]

All this combines to suggest that the Greek *Chronicle* was well known in a French context and had, as it indeed asserts, an audience composed of both Franks and Greeks. This has profound implications for our view of the Franks of the principality in the 14th century. It would seem that the Franks were, by the 14th century, generally fluent in Greek. This is not to deny the continuing use of French and other western languages, but it is notwithstanding the case

58 And see also, for example, H2098–2102, 7173–6, 7218–32.

59 Page, *Being Byzantine*, pp. 182–205; Shawcross, *Chronicle*, pp. 206–17; Rodrigues, *French* Chronique, pp. 86–93.

60 Note also that the son-in-law of Erard III le Maure, John Laskaris Kalopheros, must have been well known to Fernández de Heredia, the commissioner of the Aragonese *Chronicle*: Luttrell, "Juan Fernández," pp. 129–30.

that production of works in Greek was an important part of literary activity in the principality and that at some point the Greek vernacular had now become a valid literary vehicle for the Franks.

This should be seen as just one aspect of the massive changes in the principality between around 1260 and 1330, years, which saw a steady decline in the Frenchness of the Morea. If the first six decades of the principality were glorious, prosperous and French, then the period to around 1330 saw instead steady territorial losses, the extinction of many of the original families of the conquest, and growing Italian influence. As a result, from the early years of the 14th century the glory days of Villehardouin rule were looked back on with nostalgia. This is also a period when, for whatever reason, the use of Greek by the Franks of the Morea became well established and it is the context for the creation of the *Chronicle of the Morea*.[61]

## If You Know Letters, Start Reading. But if You Don't Know How to Read, then Sit Down Beside Me and Listen

Thus the Greek *Chronicle* (H 1351–2) shows it knows its potential audience and offers them a practical choice. Some are literate, and for them, the *Chronicle* exists as a book to be picked up and read, perhaps silently, perhaps out loud. But others have not learnt to read and so the book also exists as the record or the source of a vocal performance. Perhaps the book is to be read to others by a literate person; perhaps the book is in some sense a record of a performance. Although this discussion will deal principally with the Greek *Chronicle*, as being most similar to the original work, it is worth emphasising that the French B similarly presents itself as a work that was both read and listened to, and that both Greek and French versions of the *Chronicle* manifestly shared a source that had a strong oral flavour.[62]

It is clear that the *Chronicle* was composed as a written work—it is simply too aware of itself as a book and of the act of writing (e.g. H1197–8, 1340–44, 2816, 3298). We can be confident that H was both read and heard but certainly, of the two options, reading would seem to have been the minority choice. Throughout the work, the narrative voice repeatedly refers to "speaking" and

61 Christophe Furon, "Entre mythes et histoire: Les origines de la Principauté d'Achaïe dans la *Chronique de Morée*," *Revue des études byzantines* 62 (2004), 133–57; Rodrigues, *French* Chronique, pp. 51–53; Shawcross, *Chronicle*, pp. 244–51.

62 For a full account of the *Chronicle*'s orality across both B and H, see Shawcross, *Chronicle*, pp. 113–84.

"telling" and to the audience "listening"; references to "writing" and to "this book" are much rarer and typically accompanied by references to the narrator speaking (and/or the audience listening). References to anyone reading the work are rarest of all.

That the Greek *Chronicle* was intended above all to be heard is confirmed by the numerous aspects of its style that are characteristic of a "heard text"—that is, one which needs to interact with its listeners in particular ways to facilitate their understanding. Thus, for example, the *Chronicle* has an episodic character suitable for presentation in instalments. Reading the work, the links between episodes soon take on a familiar flavour—"now I'm going to stop talking about x and I'm going to talk about y"—and the narrator also often refers back to events already narrated or gives a taste of material to come; such reminders help keep the listener on course. The Greek *Chronicle* also relies heavily on speech acts, a more dramatic way of conveying events that is inherently more suitable in a spoken performance. Likewise, the narrator has a strong presence in the *Chronicle*, frequently stepping in to address his audience, perhaps as already noted to mark a change of subject, or else to make an appeal to the audience, or alternatively and rather charmingly to complain of boredom. Such interventions are common to both the French and Greek versions, while not always exactly coinciding, and this again shows that they shared a source with a highly oral character.[63]

So the *Chronicle* was clearly originally written as a work which could be orally performed and as part of this it is full of oral style. The writer is very familiar with the oral mode and presents his work very much in this context, while also never pretending to be an oral poet: this does not seem to be a conscious attempt to mimic the oral, but rather a written work that is soaked in orality and knows no other way to tell its tale. Accordingly, the Greek *Chronicle* is also a significantly formulaic work. Close analysis of H reveals a high level of formula use comparable to the French *chansons de geste*, a level which it is argued is indicative of an oral context to the work.[64] Another aspect of this

63 Changes of subject, for example: H442–3, B25; H1199–1201, B76; H1336–8, B88; H2128–9, B137; H3043–5, B208; H3138–9, B217; H3173–4, FB220; H3464–6, B254; in Greek version only, for example 4678–80; in French only, for example 536. Looking back or forward, for example: H3050, B209; H3179, B221; H3469, 255; in Greek only 7307; in French only 79, 218, 399, 461, 556, 563. Appeals to the audience, for example (in Greek only): H2755, H4769. Complaints, for example: H1337, B87, H2816–8, B193, H6258–9, B440, H7031–5, B485; Greek only: H845, H1092–5, H1734, 2923; French only (after close of the Greek version): 826, 999.

64 Michael Jeffreys, "Formulas in the *Chronicle of the Morea*," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 28 (1975), 142–95; summarised in Jeffreys, "Oral Background," pp. 518–21.

orality is the language of the Greek *Chronicle* which, while uniquely preserving elements of the spoken Greek of the time, is nevertheless a mixed form combining the contemporary with the archaic amid a bewildering variety of forms. This has in the past been seen as incompetence on the part of the writer or scribes of the manuscript but this mixed form may rather be seen as representing a typically oral *kunstsprache*.[65] Thus in many ways the *Chronicle* reveals itself to be a work that was above all performed and received orally. The addressees are overwhelmingly perceived to be listeners, but it is acknowledged that reading is also involved. However, the repeated invocations to an audience make clear that this reading is intended to be by a reciter, rather than by a solo private reader.

We should also consider the possibility of book-less recital. It would not be difficult for a performer of the *jongleur* type to learn this work episodically and to perform it relatively faithfully to its original (what Duggan has called vocal performance as opposed to oral composition) thus facilitating an element of oral transmission of the work on top of written transmission.[66] Additionally, the *Chronicle* probably contains elements of earlier orally transmitted works, notably a song in praise of Geoffrey of Karytaina—"the finest knight in all Romania".[67] Further oral sources cannot be ruled out; indeed the *Chronicle* just might derive from a collection of oral material gathered and combined with material from other, written, sources as it was transformed into a written text.[68]

In sum, the Greek *Chronicle* reflects its time very well as a transitional work between the oral and the written.[69] This was a period of interaction between

65 Jeffreys, "Oral Background," pp. 521–27; for alternative views see also Roderick Beaton, *The Medieval Greek Romance*, pp. 184–87 and Martin Hinterberger, "How Should We Define Vernacular Literature?" in *Unlocking the Potential of Texts: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Medieval Greek*, published online at <http://www.mml.cam.ac.uk/greek/grammarofmedievalgreek/unlocking/html/Hinterberger.html> (Cambridge, 2010) (consulted November 2011).

66 Joseph J. Duggan, "Performance and Transmission: Aural and Ocular Reception in the 12th- and 13th-Century Vernacular Literature of France," *Romance Philology* 43 (1989), 49–58; see also Jeffreys, "Oral Background," p. 532.

67 H1924, 3254–5, 5763; Jeffreys, "Priority," p. 336; Jeffreys "Oral Background," p. 527.

68 For written sources: Shawcross, *Chronicle*, pp. 53–80; Willem J. Aerts, "Was the Author of the *Chronicle of Morea* that *Bad?*," in *The Latin Empire: Some Contributions*, ed. Victoria D. van Aalst and Krijnie Ciggaar (Hernen, 1990), p. 136.

69 Bauml, "Varieties and consequences," pp. 238–46; Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Languages and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton, 1983), pp. 13–34; Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, pp. 78–116; also Michael Jeffreys, "Proposals for the Debate on the Question of Oral Influence in Early Modern Greek

oral and literate norms in the vernacular and the *Chronicle* can be viewed as transitional in several aspects. Firstly, the *Chronicle* is created primarily for listeners, and most likely for recitation and, secondly, the composition may have been at least in part oral, or have used substantial elements of source material of oral origin. Similarly, the transmission of the text may have been oral as well as written. Lastly, though composed in writing, the *Chronicle* features many key aspects of oral composition—the "oral residue".

Reflecting its oral background, the *Chronicle* has much in common with the *chansons de geste* that would have been familiar to the Franks of the Morea.[70] In the way of a *chanson*, its purpose is to evoke the grand deeds of its audience's predecessors in order to entertain, inform and provide an example. Like such a *chanson*, it is far from an accurate account, but would have nevertheless been perceived as historically true. Holding up a paradigm of society, in this case the principality under the Villehardouins, it functioned as an "important repository of collective memory".[71]

In this regard, the different versions of the Greek *Chronicle* reveal how that collective memory changed and so how the "repository" changed accordingly. Vernacular Greek texts were subject to variability in transmission that seems to echo the variability of oral transmission (see below), and it is clear that the scribe of the P version composed *c.*1400 had no hesitation in adapting and emending the text before him. He thus toned down overt Catholicism (e.g. 495, 6131, 6216–20), corrected formal modes of address in a more correct "Byzantine" style (e.g. 4297, 5320), omitted slighting references to the Romans (i.e. Greeks, e.g. 3995, 4183, 5011) and toned down considerably the eulogies of the Villehardouin princes and of Geoffrey of Karytaina (2754–5, 7224–32, 7804).[72] This shows, then, that the nostalgia for the Villehardouins diminished over the course of the 14th century. Nevertheless the story remained popular—it was, after all, the story of the Morea and the Moreots and this remained the identity with the greatest resonance.[73]

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Poetry," in *Origini della letteratura neograeca, atti del secondo congresso internazionale Neograeca Medii Aevi*, ed. Nikolaos Panagiotakis (Venice, 1993), pp. 253–54 and 263–65.

70 Thus Jeffreys, "Formulas," pp. 191–92; Carolina Cupane, "Λογοτεχνική παραγωγή στο Φραγκοκρατούμενο Μορέα" ["Literary Production in Frankish Morea"], *Βυζαντιναί Μελέται* 6 (1995), 381.

71 Joseph Duggan, "Social Functions of the Medieval Epic in the Romance Literatures," *Oral Tradition* 1 (1986), 730–46.

72 Page, *Being Byzantine*, pp. 259–62.

73 Page, *Being Byzantine*, pp. 264–66.

## The Greek Context

In literary terms, the Frankish Peloponnese looked chiefly to the West.[74] Clearly, the *Chansonnier* was a very western product: there is nothing to associate this with Greece in particular, it merely has a close link with a prince of Frankish Greece who, to judge only from this work, operated in a wholly French way and could as well have been living in Champagne, in Burgundy, or in Acre. The *Chronicle of the Morea* also looks west. It exists in three "western" languages as well as Greek and may have been originally written in French; at the very least it existed in French very early in its history. Moreover it is, ostensibly at least, pro-French in its portrayal of the Morea. Additionally, although the Greek *Chronicle* was written by someone thoroughly acculturated to the Greek world (and probably of Greek descent), he was not ideologically part of the Byzantine world. The chronicler expresses no loyalty to the Byzantine Empire of Constantinople and shows minimal awareness of Greek culture; although plainly he had had some education, he betrays no evidence of this beyond the mere fact of being able to write. In terms of Greek literature, the *Chronicle* was, as far as we can tell, something new: the first historical work written in the vernacular in the fifteen-syllable iambic metre often known as "political verse".

However, for all its novelty and its westward inclinations, the Greek *Chronicle of the Morea* needs to be placed in its Greek context, as a vernacular work composed in this political verse, and as one produced on the periphery of the Byzantine Greek world. It can be set alongside the small group of 14th- and 15th-century vernacular Greek texts also written in political verse and also associated with the Morea. These texts—*The War of Troy, Florios and Platzia-Flora*, and *Imberios and Margarona*—share much with the *Chronicle* in terms of their relationship with the oral tradition, their language and their meter, and their comparably western frame of reference, as they are all translations or adaptations into vernacular Greek of originally western-language texts. In turn, though, these three texts are linked to the more wide-ranging genre of late Byzantine vernacular romance.[75]

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74 See Cupane, "Λογοτεχνική," pp. 384–85.

75 I use the term "romance" loosely to denote stories produced in Greek vernacular political verse from the 13th century; my definition is wider than some and includes *The War of Troy*. "Vernacular romance" is a widely used but somewhat inexact term: see Panagiotis Agapitos, "Genre, Structure and Poetics in the Byzantine Vernacular Romances of Love," *Symbolae Osloenses* 79 (2004), 9. Note also that Carolina Cupane has additionally associated the vernacular *Apollonius of Tyre* (*c.*1400?) with the Peloponnese: Cupane, "Λογοτεχνική," pp. 381–85.

**I'm Afraid I'll Become Barbarised Like the Lakonians . . .**

Thus the Greek satirist Mazaris, stranded in the Peloponnese in the early years of the 15th century and hating it, was scathing about the locals—their dubious loyalties, their love of a fight and especially their appalling Greek.[76] In this, he set himself in a long line of elite Byzantine disdain for the provinces. One feels he would not have approved of the *Chronicle of the Morea*, which in its relatively unsophisticated use of the vernacular was a world away from educated Byzantine culture.

In the Byzantine Greek world any education beyond the most basic imparted ancient models and a value system which placed worth on the antique and disparaged the spoken tongue.[77] In this way, education and language were woven into and formed part of the complex elite Byzantine identity with the result for all written literary styles of a tendency towards grammar, syntax and vocabulary that had passed out of general usage. For the Byzantine elite, the process of learning to write militated strongly against writing as one spoke. With regard to the production of literature, then, in the medieval period Greek was and had for centuries been in a state of diglossia.[78] We may note the typical pattern of a high form (or forms) with specialized functions, formal acquisition, literary associations and prestige, with an accompanying low form, the spoken language, "naturally" acquired, non-prestigious and broadly not recognized as a literary style. As the Byzantine world shrunk and fractured after 1204, this diglossia was expressive of a divergence of interests between provinces and capital. The synchronous rise of vernacular literature that was linguistically much closer to everyday speech may have been expressive of a new value given to the spoken language.[79]

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76 Mazaris, *Journey to Hades, or Interviews with Dead Men about Certain Officials of the Imperial Court* ed. and trans. John N. Barry, Michael J. Share, Andrew Smithies and Leendert J. Westerink (Buffalo, 1975), p. 64.

77 Robert Browning, "Literacy in the Byzantine World," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 4 (1978), 39–54 and "The Language of Byzantine Literature," in *The Past in Medieval and Modern Greek Culture*, ed. Speros Vryonis (Malibu, 1978), 103–33, repr. in Robert Browning, *History Language and Literacy in the Byzantine world* (Northampton, 1989), XV; more recently, Martin Hinterberger, "Vernacular literature".

78 Charles Ferguson, "Diglossia," *Word* 15 (1959), 325–40; more recently and specifically, Notis Toufexis, "Diglossia and Register Variation in Medieval Greek," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 32 (2008), 203–17.

79 Hinterberger, "Vernacular Literature" points out that earlier instances of vernacular fifteen-syllable metre are characteristically attempts to render direct speech.

The *Chronicle* marked a change in focus whereby Constantinople need no longer be the apex of aspirations. In presenting a history of the Frankish Peloponnese where local *archons* were able to prosper, the *Chronicle* was an illustration of the possibilities for advancement outside the traditional avenues which had once all led to the City. In this context of the capital versus the provinces, the Greek *Chronicle* was a popular work in its form and in its reception, and its use of a written form approximating to the vernacular was no coincidence. Similarly, the *Chronicle* appears to know nothing of any existing Greek history or indeed any other Greek work at all. Those written sources it refers to are all western. With its combination of vernacular language and ignorance of learned sources, then, the *Chronicle* uses the voice of those to whom Constantinople and its values were both physically and mentally a long way away.

The *Chronicle*'s metre is arguably another significant aspect of its popular character. It is true that the fifteen-syllable metre of political verse was very much the metre of the vernacular in the 14th century, but it was also known in the more educated Greek of the Byzantine elite and is thus no guarantee in itself of a truly popular character; indeed, the earliest survivals of the metre are closely associated with the imperial court. Nevertheless the possibility of demotic origins cannot be ruled out.[80] Again, when the metre became to some extent fashionable in 12th-century Constantinople, it seems to have been associated with lower status; notwithstanding, these Komnenian works emerged from the most elite levels.[81] Yet again, however, this metre is also strongly associated with folk-song from the early modern period and it has been speculated that it was also used in genuinely popular song and story in the oral tradition back into the medieval period. This is not least because it was the fundamental metre of vernacular Greek written texts from the 12th century onwards. Thus it is argued that, notwithstanding its use among the elite, political verse was the established metre of the Greek medieval oral tradition that underlies extant vernacular written works like the *Chronicle of the Morea*.[82] In other words, the choice of the fifteen-syllable metre for a written work is another aspect of "oral residue" within the work which can be put alongside its formulaicism, its

80 See especially Michael J. Jeffreys, "The Nature and Origins of the Political Verse," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 28 (1974), 142–95; Marc D. Lauxtermann, *The Spring of Rhythm. An Essay on the Political Verse and Other Byzantine Metres* (Vienna, 1999).

81 Hinterberger, "Vernacular Literature".

82 Jeffreys, "Oral Background," pp. 509–14; Michael J. Jeffreys, "The Literary Emergence of Vernacular Greek," *Mosaic* 8 (1975), 171–93.

mixed language and the various stylistic consequences of its nature as a "heard text" which have been detailed above.

### Listen that You Might Learn[83]

The three vernacular western romances *The War of Troy, Florios and Platzia-Flora* and *Imberios and Margarona* share much with the roughly contemporary Greek *Chronicle of the Morea* in terms of their relationship with the oral tradition, their language and their meter. They similarly have a westward inclination, as they are translations or adaptations of western-language texts. The *War* is a fairly close translation of Benoit de Sainte-Maure's *Roman de Troie*, a massively popular French work which was widely translated. *Florios and Platzia-Flora* is a freer adaptation of the Italian *Cantare di Florio e Biancafiore*, itself a version of a story which probably dates back to at least the 12th century and was again well-known in many language versions throughout western Europe. Similarly, *Imberios and Margarona* is a version of yet another popular western tale, the Provencal *Pierre de Provence et la Belle Maguelonne*.

These western romances need to be seen in the general context of the medieval Greek romance genre. They have a great deal in common with those original Greek romances produced around the same time, not least in their use of the vernacular and the fifteen-syllable metre.[84] All these romances, whether original Greek or western, are anonymous.[85] The genre also exhibits specific stylistic characteristics—notably, firstly, the mixed language of the type which has already been referred to in relation to the Greek *Chronicle of the Morea*, and secondly a tendency to repetition of stock phrases both within individual poems and across the group. Additionally, where there is more than one manuscript version of a romance, these versions show a remarkable degree of scribal variability.[86] Scribes seem to have enjoyed a freedom in their approach

83 Emmanuel Kriaras, ed., "Florios and Platzia-flora," v. 276.

84 I class here as "original Greek romances" *Livistros and Rhodamne, Kallimachos and Chryssorhoe, Velthandros and Chrysantza*, the *Achilleid*, and the *Byzantine Iliad*. There is also the further "eastern" translated romance *Alexander and Semiramis*: Panagiotis Agapitos, "Writing, Reading and Reciting (in) Byzantine Erotic Fiction," in *Lire et écrire à Byzance*, ed. Brigitte Mondrain (Paris, 2006), pp. 165–67.

85 Although it is probable that *Kallimachos and Chryssorhoe* was written by Andronikos Palaiologos, a nephew of Michael VIII Palaiologos: Beaton, *Romance*, pp. 104–05; however, see also Agapitos, "Writing, Reading and Reciting," pp. 157–58.

86 *Kallimachos and Chryssorhoe, Velthandros and Chrysantza* and the *Byzantine Iliad* each survive in a single version only.

to "copying" these texts that was markedly absent in their more exact copying of high-status learned texts. These characteristics have been the subject of much controversy over the influence of orality in the creation and transmission of the vernacular texts and on the degree of originality on the part of the authors and scribes of the texts.[87]

However, for all the shared characteristics, the vernacular romance corpus is far from homogeneous, and in many ways, the western translations/adaptations form a group of their own. Thus, while the original Greek romances *Kallimachos and Chryssorhoe* and *Velthandros and Chrysantza* both appear to originate in Constantinopolitan circles, the western romances originated on the periphery of the Byzantine world.[88] The original Greek *Livistros and Rhodamne* and the *Achilleid* are likewise peripheral in origin but, again, the western romances stand apart and this time it is in their treatment of westerners. Where *Livistros* and the *Achilleid* both feature heroes with explicitly Frankish or Latin origins or attributes, the western romances simply have western (or in the case of *The War of Troy* thoroughly western-styled) heroes without this being at all explicit or stated; the difference is subtle, but it suggests that the western romances originated within a westernised setting, while *Livistros* and the *Achilleid* originated in Byzantine Greek settings where Franks/Latins were a very familiar other.[89]

Again, the western romances seem closer to an oral background. Panagiotis Agapitos has shown that the Constantinopolitan romances, but also *Livistros*, the *Byzantine Iliad* and to a lesser extent the *Achilleid*, all to some degree presuppose a literate society and a lettered audience. These texts are generally presented as written works, they have learned references and constructions, and literate actions often play key roles within their stories. Thus, even if they were intended to be recited or read aloud, these tales "expect" that their

87 The rival positions are summarised in Roderick Beaton, *Medieval Greek Romance*, pp. 164–81 and Elizabeth M. Jeffreys and Michael J. Jeffreys, "The Style of Byzantine Popular Poetry: Recent Work," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 7 (1983), 309–43.

88 Elizabeth M. Jeffreys, "Place of Composition as a Factor in the Edition of Early Demotic Texts," in *Origini della letteratura neograeca, atti del secondo congress internazionale Neograeca Medii Aevi*, ed. Nikolaos Panagiotakis, (Venice, 1993), pp. 313–15; see also Duggan, "Performance and Transmission," p. 55.

89 Thus the suggestion that the *Achilleid* might originate in Greek Neopatras: Paul Magdalino, "Thessaly and Epirus in the Later Middle Ages," in *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. Benjamin Arbel, Bernard Hamilton and David Jacoby (London, 1989) [= *Mediterranean Historical Review* 4.1 (1989)], p. 89.

audience is literate and to some extent learned.[90] In contrast, in the western romances writing and reading play more minimal roles and there is comparatively little learned material. These romances exhibit knowledge only of the widely disseminated history by Konstantinos Manasses and the didactic vernacular *Spaneas*. Again, these texts are presented more as oral presentations to a listening audience.

Additionally, in the knotted problem of links between romance texts, there do seem to be some close correspondences between the western romances as a group, and also with the *Chronicle of the Morea*. Most directly, *Imberios* closely echoes two lines of *Florios*.[91] *The War of Troy* is highly formulaic, comparably so to the *Chronicle*, and moreover again shares distinctive formulas with that work.[92] Again, the vernacular language of *Florios* is reminiscent of the *Chronicle* and some distinctive phrases are shared.[93] On the subject of language, the later translated romances overall use more popular forms of language in contrast to the more archaic touches present in the courtly romances of Constantinopolitan origin, and there are even possible traces of Peloponnesian dialect in *Florios*.[94]

In sum, these western vernacular romances seem credibly to share a Moreot origin and, although none can be definitively associated with the principality, some plausible links have been made. Guiseppe Spadaro's suggestion that the *Cantare di Florio e Biancafiore* was brought to the Peloponnese during the years 1338–41 by Niccolò Acciaiuoli is now widely accepted.[95] In contrast, *Imberios* is perhaps more tendentiously associated with the Frankish Morea

90 Agapitos, "Writing, Reading and Reciting"; for the *Achilleid* also Ole L. Smith, "Towards a New Approach to the Byzantine Romances," in *Prosa y verso en Griego Medieval. Neograeca Medii Aevi* III, ed. José Maria Egea and Javier Alonso (Amsterdam, 1996), pp. 331–39.

91 Guiseppe Spadaro, "Problemi relativi ai romanzi greci dell'età dei Paleologi I," *Ελληνικά* 28 (1975), 302–27, reviewed in Jeffreys, "Style," pp. 319–28.

92 Elizabeth M. Jeffreys and Michael J. Jeffreys, "The Traditional Style of Early Greek Demotic Verse," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 5 (1979), 115–39.

93 Horrocks, *Greek*, p. 217; see *Florios* v. 1298, "Why should I tell you a lot?" note too that *Florios* shares with the Greek *Chronicle* H a relaxed and non-Byzantine application of *basileus*.

94 Kyriaki Chábová, "Jazyk byzantských milostných románů čtrnáctého a patnáctého stoleti" ["Language in Byzantine Romance Novels of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries"] (doctoral thesis, Masaryk University, 2006), pp. 147 and 208–16.

95 Guiseppe Spadaro, *Contributo sulle fonti del romanzo greco-medievale "Florio e Plaziaflore"* (Athens, 1966).

and its provenance seems more likely to have been late and Venetian.[96] However, in combination with the various characteristics shared among themselves and with the *Chronicle of the Morea*, it is above all the fact of the derivation of these tales from western originals that has prompted their association with the principality, given the established melange of languages in the region. In this regard, and again similarly to the *Chronicle*, the translated romances reveal a highly multilingual community, which was home to "poets who spoke and wrote vernacular Greek and read some of the simpler texts in 'educated' Greek but also understood and read the French and Italian vernaculars".[97]

Thus, while these works must inevitably be seen within the general context of romance production in Greek from the 14th to 15th centuries, we should also be ready to see the western romances as a group apart. If produced in the Morea, then they were intended for a Greek-speaking audience which was oriented heavily towards the West: this included the noble families of largely, though not exclusively, western origin. These nobles were, notwithstanding their origins and continued interest in the culture of the West, fluent in the Greek of the region and used to being entertained in that language. The vernacular texts were most credibly produced by professional and bilingual Greek scribes working in trusted positions at the princely court or its baronial equivalents. The romances were of course not orally composed as the process of translation and adaptation required literate skills; however, given the added difficulties of the Greek alphabet, it is highly likely that Greek was for the French Moreots primarily a spoken language. This would have fostered the continuing importance of oral performance and therefore also oral transmission within the Morea.[98]

The romances and the *Chronicle* as a group fit well within such an oral context in the Morea. They exhibit the combination of, firstly, vernacular

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96 For dating and provenance of *Imberios and Margarona*, Kostas Yiavis, "Finding *Imberios and Margarona*: An Inventory of Extant Editions," *Ελληνικά* 56 (2006), 321–45. In contrast, however, Cupane finds a distinctive Moreot detail and general tone in *Imberios*: "Λογοτεχνική," pp. 384–85.

97 Jeffreys, "Place of Composition," p. 323; see also more recently Elizabeth Jeffreys, "The Morea through the Prism of the Past," in *Viewing the Morea*, pp. 16–9.

98 Note the fragment of *Imberios* incorporated in a poorly remembered song in a manuscript of the 15th century: see Vicky Panayotopoulou-Doulaveras, "Late Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Vernacular Love Poetry: An Overview," in *Greek Research in Australia: Proceedings of the Biennial International Conference of Greek Studies, Flinders University April 2003*, ed. Elizabeth Close, Michales Tsianikas and George Frazis (Adelaide, 2005), p. 106. Note too that the library of Leonardo da Veroli contained one Greek book: there may well have been some Greek literacy among the Franks.

language in a mixed form with, secondly, that fifteen-syllable metre that went on at least to have a strongly popular character. They are, in the Byzantine context, unlearned and their language is comparatively uneducated and they are thus credibly representative of the peripheral Peloponnese.[99] They reveal the strong influence of an oral culture and it is surely possible that they were orally transmitted alongside the clear process of written transmission.

Evidence for oral performers in Greek on the model of the French *jongleurs* is sadly lacking, and there is nothing specific to the Peloponnese, but there are scattered mentions of both professional and amateur performances in a variety of sources from across the Byzantine world and it is clear that oral performance was enjoyed by all ranks.[100] Specific to the 14th century, Nikephoros Gregoras remarks on songs sung by travellers about men of "glorious reputation", which sound like epic tales; he also mentions that the Emperor John Kantakouzenos was accompanied by a "creator of songs".[101] Finally, there is additionally the hint of medieval Greek folk song from this period. At least two songs which have strongly Frankish themes survived into modern times, one (in many variants) on the death of the Latin Emperor Henry of Flanders, and one about the "Castle of the Beautiful"; the latter was recorded in the 19th century in the Peloponnese.[102] It is highly problematic to argue back from these very late folk songs, but it seems intuitively unlikely that these Frankish themes would have arisen much after the Frankish period.

### Hellenes and Trojans . . .

*The War of Troy* presents particularly interesting issues about the symbiosis of western and Greek storytelling. Firstly this was, like the *Chronicle of the Morea*, a popular work: there are seven extant versions and must once have been at least seven more. It is a reasonably close translation, with some abridgement, of the hugely popular French *Roman de Troie* of Benoit de Sainte-Maure, and

99 Note the garbled names of ancient Hellene protagonists in the *War of Troy*: Elizabeth Jeffreys, "Prism," p. 18.

100 Jeffreys, "Oral Background," pp. 508–09.

101 Nikephoros Gregoras, *Nicephori Gregorae Byzantina Historia*, ed. Ludwig Schopen, 2 vols. (Bonn, 1829), 1:377 and 2:705–06.

102 Manoussos Manoussakas, "Το ελληνικό δημοτικό τραγούδι για τον Βασιλιά Ερρίκο της Φλάντρας" ["The Greek Folk Song about King Henry of Flanders"], *Λαογραφία* 14 (1952), 3–52; Jean Alexandre Buchon, *La Grèce Continentale et la Morée* (Paris, 1843), pp. 400–02; see also Aneta Ilieva, *Frankish Morea (1205–1262): Socio-Cultural Interaction Between the Franks and the Local Population* (Athens, 1991), pp. 237–38.

all the versions can be shown to derive from a single lost archetype—the original translation—made around 1350.[103]

The *War* relies for its tale overwhelmingly on its French source.[104] As with all the other vernacular texts associated with the Peloponnese, and even though it deals with a quintessentially Greek tale that was very important to the Byzantines, the *War* displays minimal knowledge of Greek literature. The writer/translator was almost certainly aware of the Troy story as given in Konstantinos Manasses' *Historical Synopsis*, as he includes details from it that are not in the French tale; nevertheless, the flavour of the tale overwhelmingly reflects the original French work, with the ancient heroes presented as wholly medieval western knights. Like the author of the Greek *Chronicle*, the writer of the *War* employs a mixed language with both contemporary and archaic forms; he similarly employs the fifteen-syllable political verse, and his style is highly formulaic—like the *Chronicle*, the formula rate is broadly comparable to that in the French *chansons de geste*.[105]

The Trojan War was important to both the Franks and the Byzantine Greeks because of the theory of *translatio imperii*. Both cultures, under the influence of Virgil's *Aeneid*, agreed that Troy was the fount of political authority, and there was general agreement that after the destruction of Troy at the hands of the Greeks this authority had passed through Aeneas to Rome. From there, for the Byzantines, the line of authority was clear, passing from the Old to the New Rome of Constantinople. This line of authority, fundamental to the Byzantine Empire's sense of its own past, seems to have taken on renewed importance under the Komnenoi, as witness the "Homeric obsession" of the 12th century.[106] In the medieval West, however, the desire to legitimise their newer kingdoms led to the "discovery" of other specific Trojan progenitors—in Britain it was Brutus, the son of Aeneas, in France it was Francus, the son of Hector, and so on. This identification with ancient Troy within the western identity also became especially marked in the 12th century, as witnessed by Benoit de Sainte-Maure's *Roman de Troie*, which is thoroughly on the side of the Trojans. It is possible that it was the "close encounter" of the crusades that

103 *The War of Troy* (*O Polemos tes Troados*), ed. with a detailed commentary, Manoles Papathomopoulos and Elizabeth M. Jeffreys (Athens, 1996).

104 Jeffreys, "Place of Composition," pp. 311–12.

105 Papathomopoulos and Jeffreys, *Polemos*, pp. lxxxi–vi.

106 Anthony Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 243.

reawakened in both sides the desire to assert the supposed historical grounds for their own authority.[107]

Unsurprisingly, then, the rhetoric of Troy had a role in the Fourth Crusade, for it was possible to see the conquest of Constantinople as revenge by the Franks (the Trojans) on the Greeks (the Byzantines), and the taking of the city as in some sense a retaking of Troy. This claim was explicitly stated by the crusader Peter de Bracheux, as reported by Robert de Clari, and Niketas Choniates referenced the same belief in his account of the sack of Constantinople, speaking of the actions of "the sons of Aeneas" in revenge for the sack of Troy.[108] There is evidence that the *Roman de Troie* was circulating in Latin Constantinople soon after the conquest, and also that a French prose version (Paris, BnF fr.1612) was produced in the Peloponnese towards the end of the 13th century.[109]

In this context, *The War of Troy* is rather surprising. Given that Benoit's original tale was pro-Trojan, and that the Frankish knights of Greece were descendants of crusaders, one would expect this account to favour the Trojans as well—but it does not. While it cannot entirely eliminate the pro-Trojan tone of the original, it unmistakeably favours the Greeks.[110] This is surely indicative that its audience was expected to favour the Greeks and that, therefore, the Franks of the Morea did not (by the mid-14th century at least) necessarily see themselves as reborn Trojans.

By now long established on the Greek mainland, the Franks of the Peloponnese knew something of their land's ancient past and placed value on this past, as witness the garbled mythical history of the *Diegesis peri tes Peloponnesou*, which is thought to have originated in verse form in the

107 Teresa Shawcross, "Reinventing the Homeland in the Historiography of Frankish Greece: The Fourth Crusade and the Legend of the Trojan War," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 27 (2003), 120–52; Jeffreys, "Place of Composition," pp. 317–20.

108 Robert de Clari, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Philippe Lauer (Paris, 1924), p. 102; Niketas Choniates, *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. Jan-Louis van Dieten, 2 vols. (Berlin 1975), 1:§652; note that Choniates elsewhere identifies the Byzantine side with the Hellenes: Choniates, *Historia*, 1:§580, §610; see Page, *Being Byzantine*, pp. 88–89.

109 Shawcross, "Reinventing," pp. 137–39; Krijnie Ciggaar, "Les villes de provinces byzantines et les échanges culturels. Quelques traducters peu connus," in *Byzance et le monde extérieur: Contacts, relations, échanges*, ed. Paule Pagès, Élisabeth Malamut and Jean-Michel Spieser (Paris, 2005), pp. 89–91.

110 Papathomopoulos and Jeffreys, *Polemos*, pp. lxi–ii.

barony of Arcadia under the patronage, once again, of the le Maure family.[111] The *War* also gives the hero Ajax the epithet "of the Mani", a geographical association that is known nowhere else and just perhaps reflects a tradition local to the Peloponnese.[112] In this respect it is also interesting that the Greeks of the *War* are called "Hellenes". Benoit had called his ancient Greeks "Grezeis", and the natural Greek translation of the 14th century might have been "Romaioi" (as in the contemporary *Chronicle*). Twice the translator of the *War* makes an apparent slip, using "Romaioi" instead of "Hellenes" at 6852, and at 12945 referring to the Greek language as "the tongue of the Romans": he is thus of course aware of the contemporary usage.[113] This use of "Hellenes" in the *War* may just be a conscious attempt to avoid any identification of the ancient Greeks with the contemporary Romans, that is, with one specific ethnic group within the Morea. Such an identification might have ended up excluding the Franks, and it was important that the Franks too be allowed to identify with the ancient Greeks whose lands they now held.

### In Conclusion, The Morea is Different

Culturally, the Frankish Peloponnese could present as conclusively peripheral, the medieval definition of a backwater. Historically, the Peloponnese had been part of the Byzantine Empire until the Fourth Crusade and the creation of the Frankish Principality of the Morea. And in Byzantine terms, the Peloponnese was definitely the back of beyond. The highly educated elite of faraway Constantinople typically looked down on the natives of what we now call Greece as uneducated illiterates who could barely speak the language. Although the area was tolerably well off, with a successful and prosperous economy, it barely figured on the cultural or intellectual landscape of Byzantium.

And then one could look at it from a western perspective—far from the courts of France, which commanded the heights of literary endeavour and style, Greece and the Greeks tended to be viewed with suspicion and distrust. They were Other in many ways, not least as schismatic in rejecting the pri-

111 Caroline Cupane, "Λογοτεχνική," pp. 371–74; Jeffreys "Prism," p. 20. Note also the appeal made to the ancient past in the title of the Frankish duke of Athens: Shawcross, *Chronicle*, p. 144.

112 Shawcross, "Reinventing," p. 144.

113 Papathomopoulos and Jeffreys, *Polemos*, pp. lxi–ii.

macy of the pope and of Rome even though, according to the western ideology, their emperor Constantine had handed on the Christian baton to Rome. But this was all part of their character, as the Greeks laboured under an archetype of treacherous guile. In the mythic ethnography of the West, they were the slaughterers of the Trojans, the supposed progenitors of the peoples of western Europe.

And yet . . . in the world of the crusades, the Peloponnese was not geographically peripheral at least. In the same context, where better for knightly prowess to be displayed than the Latin East? The court of the Morea was viewed as the very flower of chivalry and shows itself to have been right in the heart of courtly French culture. And in some at least of the products of western courtly culture, Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean in general played an important part. The fact of ancient Greece, and its myths and legends, were known in the West. Did the conquerors and settlers of the Peloponnese to some extent feel they trod a familiar landscape, and did this influence their enjoyment of the tales of Troy? Again, from the Greek perspective, in the world after 1204, the Peloponnese assumed renewed importance in the Byzantine world, especially with the blossoming of the Despotate of Mistra. In the culture of the Palaiologoi, there was an increased interaction with western modes, which is reflected in some of the more innovative products of late Byzantine culture. The Greek romance tradition combined with western storytelling in the ethnically mixed Morea, and the Frankish principality was home to historiographic innovation with its *Chronicle of the Morea*.

With regard to the 13th century and the Morea *Chansonnier*, all that is unusual is the location. This is an example of French culture in its wider world, of the culture of France transplanted "beyond the sea", and although the *Chansonnier* has its unusual features it is fundamentally mainstream. What we have from the 13th century suggests simply a very French state doing well what the French did best. The Greek *Chronicle of the Morea* shows that things were in the end not that simple in the principality and, although it dates from the 14th century, it must be indicative of earlier practice as well. By the second quarter of the 14th century, the Moreots of French origin were at home in Greek and this is evidenced in the creation of a distinctive literature indicative of an ethnically mixed society with a strong localised identity.

CHAPTER 10

# The Landscape of Medieval Greece

*Maria Georgopoulou*

The dissolution of the Byzantine Empire after the Fourth Crusade of 1204 and the advent of the Latin crusaders, Venetians and Franks, had a tremendous impact on the political and physical landscape of medieval Greece. The new political divisions created on Greek soil following the breakup of the Byzantine Empire, including Venetian Crete and the islands of the Aegean Archipelago, Frankish Peloponnese, and the Despotate of Epirus, resulted in separate regional cultural developments.[1] The different western Europeans who settled on Greek lands used Latin as their official language, spoke a variety of vernacular languages, and followed the Latin Catholic rite, which set them apart from the local Greeks who were Orthodox Christians.[2] It is primarily the shared cultural heritage of the "Latins" that allows us to consider Greece as a unit in this chapter.

This essay offers an overview of the architecture and urban environment of Latin-ruled towns in medieval Greece. It focuses on monuments on Crete, the Peloponnese, and the Aegean islands and surveys their general characteristics and form within their historical context. The Byzantine provinces of Greece were conquered by foreign lords who managed to establish their presence for centuries. The architectural landscape that resulted from this encounter is dominated by large public buildings sponsored by Latin overlords and religious structures built by monastic orders (mostly Cistercians) and the mendicant friars, which brought to Greece western European (sometimes referred to as "crusader") architectural forms, whereas the local traditions continued to flourish

1 For the division of Romania see Antonio Carile, "Partitio terrarum Imperii Romanie," *Studi Veneziani* 7 (1965), 125–305; William Miller, *The Latins in the Levant: A History of Frankish Greece (1204–1566)* (London, 1908); Peter Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean, 1204–1500* (London, 1995); David Jacoby, "The Encounter of Two Societies: Western Conquerors and Byzantines in the Peloponnese after the Fourth Crusade," *The American Historical Review* 78 (1973), 873–906, repr. in idem, *Recherches sur la Méditerranée orientale du XII^e au XV^e siècle: Peuples, sociétés, économies* (London, 1979), II; Angeliki E. Laiou, "Observations on the Results of the Fourth Crusade; Greeks and Latins in Port and Market," *Medievalia et Humanistica* 12 (1984), 47–60.

2 The most complete treatment of the subject is Giorgio Fedalto, *La chiesa latina in Oriente*, 3 vols. (Verona, 1973–81).

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albeit in smaller foundations. I will start with a short section on historiography followed by an analysis of the evidence in the urban centres, churches, fortifications, and the rural landscape. The chapter will conclude with an analysis of local realities and how these shaped the landscape of medieval Greece.

Although there was no political or cultural unity in the new Latin states that were shaped after 1204 on Greek soil, they shared several characteristics. The number of foreign settlers was relatively small and although politically they had the upper hand, they remained a minority vis-à-vis the locals even in the case of Crete, which remained under Venetian control until 1669. The term *Outremer—Oltremare* stressed the distance between France and the crusader states of the Levant,[3] Venice and its Mediterranean colonies along the coast of the Adriatic (Zara/Zadar, Ragusa/Dubrovnik), the Ionian Sea (Corfu/Kerkyra from 1386 onward, Cephalonia, Zante/Zakynthos), the southern coast of the Peloponnese (Modon/Methone, Coron/Korone), the Aegean Sea (Cyclades, Negroponte/Euboea, Cerigo/Cythera, Crete), and eventually Cyprus. The prolonged presence of Franks and Venetians in Greece covered the geographical distance as it created polities that lived longer than the crusader states in the Holy Land. Moreover, as in every mixed society there were many instances of intermarriage and intra-cultural mingling as the term "gasmoulos" (progeny of a Greek and Frank) indicates.[4]

Several questions and assumptions on which this essay is based need to be addressed from the outset. Why think of Greece as a unit at this juncture in its history? Is it legitimate to group together Venetians and Franks when we think of the architectural environment of Frankish Greece? What is the best way to frame the encounter between Latin and Byzantine architectural culture in the 13th century: as a question of continuity and break, or of tradition and innovation? How to appreciate and evaluate the new styles imported from western Europe and their relationship with indigenous materials, traditions, and workforce? How to interpret the meaning of the new artistic forms brought onto Greek soil?

Despite the many differences apparent in the background of Frankish settlers on Greek soil, the geo-morphological position of the new Latin states in Greece that were created as a consequence of the crusades along with their

3 It is important, however, to note that the Franks did not use the term for the Peloponnese.

4 Johannes Koder, "Latinoi—The Image of the Other in Greek Sources," in *Bisanzio, Venezia e il mondo franco-greco (XIII–XV secolo): atti del colloquio internazionale organizzato nel centenario della nascita di Raymond-Joseph Loenertz o.p. Venezia, 1–2 dicembre 2000*, ed. Chryssa A. Maltezou and Peter Schreiner (Venice, 2002), pp. 25–40. See also Teresa Shawcross, *The Chronicle of Morea: Historiography in Crusader Greece* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 190–202.

common Roman ancestry and historical background, shared religious doctrine and concomitant art, offer a common setting upon which varying architectural solutions were attempted and realised in the 13th and 14th centuries. There is no uniform opinion among scholars regarding the correct term that captures the relationship between the new states (principalities or kingdoms) that were created on the remains of the Byzantine Empire after 1204. I view post-1204 Greece as a colonial landscape where urban planning and architecture addressed at least two (or more) communities separated by religious and ethnic differences. The term "colony" assumes the settlement and control of a foreign power over another country, so *stricto sensu* it is anachronistic for describing the situation in Latin Greece.[5] Admittedly, the term works better for Venetian Crete than for the Principality of Achaea and the Aegean islands, which represent different forms of governance often made up of settlements that never took the form of serious state intervention. In fact, there are instances when the political realities do not support such a schema. For example, during the rule of Prince William II Villehardouin, who ascended the throne of Achaea in 1248 and died in 1278, the Peloponnese was *de facto* independent and until 1261 *de iure* under Constantinople. Nonetheless, the political independence of the principality does not necessarily translate into cultural neutrality as William II and his court would carry with them a cultural baggage that tied them with their ancestral lands and also their new *patria*.[6]

My essay focuses on cases where there was major involvement of the ruling state authorities and a parallel religious hierarchy and I posit that the subsequent architectural output which shaped the public, official landscape of Latin Greece—or rather what is left of it—can be best understood in colonial terms. Various forces, sometimes conflicting, shaped the landscape. The efforts of the ruling authorities were affected by their cultural ties with their homeland, the mother city's imperial aspirations, and local political exigencies. On the other side of the spectrum lay the collective interests and individual aspirations of the local people. In addition to the different political entities that left their mark on the built environment, the Latin religious orders, which tried from the

5 See the relevant discussion in Sally McKee, *Uncommon Dominion: Venetian Crete and the Myth of Ethnic Purity* (Philadelphia, 2000), pp. 7–18; and especially on Crete Maria Georgopoulou, "Crete between the Byzantine and Venetian Empires," in *The Province Strikes Back: Imperial Dynamics in the Eastern Mediterranean* [=*Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens XIII*], ed. Giovanni Salmeri and Björn Forsen (Helsinki, 2008), pp. 63–78, esp. 63–65.

6 I would like to thank the anonymous reader of the essay who forced me to elucidate this point.

outset to establish their foundations on Greece, became very important forces in the propagation of western forms of architecture.

My focus in this essay is the Venetian-ruled islands and the Peloponnese. The islands of Rhodes with its majestic Hospitaller fortifications started in 1309, Genoese Chios and Lesbos are not included.[7] Settlers from Europe followed different patterns of immigration and came in several waves of colonisation especially on Venetian Crete, a large island that was colonised gradually. Newcomers to colonial territories graft onto the local landscape new elements that serve their immediate needs and proclaim symbolically their advent and political supremacy. Any group of successful colonisers bring along teams of administrators and builders who forge the indispensable infrastructure in order to enable the smooth installation of the new rulers. By importing elements of their own culture the settlers feel at home while the locals are constantly reminded of who is in charge. The premise of my work has been that the topographical arrangement of a colonial town, which houses at least two different ethnic/social groups, prescribes specific perceptions of power relations within the urban space by directing movement though streets or squares and by controlling access to civic resources.[8] Whereas the monuments in the towns served primarily political-administrative, economic, and religious purposes through groupings of public monuments and symbolic signs, structures in rural settings had as a purpose the control of arable lands, the safekeeping of the borders, and the facilitation of communication; hence, they were mostly dominated by towers and, we assume, by settlements on large estates, which have not produced significant remains. The countryside was also dotted by modest churches and occasionally monasteries which served primarily the local Greek population.

The built environment of a colonial settlement works by definition as an agent that mediates social strife. The allocation of space and the prescription of architectural norms are in the hands of a foreign ruling elite while the built environment addresses two audiences at the same time: the colonists and the colonised. The towns of Candia (modern Herakleion), Rethymnon, and Canea on Crete, Andravida, Chlemoutsi, Glarenza, Nauplion, Coron and Modon in the Peloponnese, Chalkis in Euboea, and the Kastro of Naxos in the

7 David Nicolle, *Crusader Castles in Cyprus, Greece and the Aegean, 1191–1571* (Oxford, 2007); Frederick William Hasluck, "The Latin Monuments of Chios," *Annual of the British School at Athens* 16, (1909–10), 137–84; and Lillian Acheilara, *The Kastro of Mytilene*, trans. David Hardy (Athens, 1999).

8 Maria Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies: Architecture and Urbanism* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 6.

Cyclades, showcase the impact of the colonial presence on the urban environment. Large projects like the refurbishment of urban centres with city walls and administrative structures (e.g. Candia, the capital of Venetian Crete), the construction of dominating castles (e.g. Chlemoutsi) and free-standing towers in the countryside,[9] or the foundation of major mendicant centres to serve the newcomers who followed the Latin Catholic rite, brought to Greece a specialised workforce and the mastermind of imported master masons/architects.[10] Nevertheless, even the largest group of imported builders cannot negate the importance of local geology, climate, building materials, and regional practices. Hence, what is significant is to appreciate how new political and social requirements affected the built environment.

Following 1204 certain "foreign" forms were implanted on Byzantine soil. The impetus of the first settlement left on the ground some critical structures that marked the arrival of new settlers: palaces, fortifications, administrative, and novel religious structures. Several of these structures were housed in reused buildings and changes were confined to decorative and symbolic additions while at other times new imposing structures changed the landscape radically. The Latin interventions on the urban landscape can be categorised on several levels: (a) the manipulation of the Byzantine past (reused palaces, refurbished city walls or Byzantine churches turned into Latin rite churches); (b) the use of the privileged *intra muros* urban space as a means to "fix" social-political-colonial relationships of people into a readable pattern; (c) significant placement, signage, and naming of symbolic structures in the landscape; (d) the importance of the patronage of monastic, i.e. Cistercian, and mendicant orders; and (e) the linkage of colonies into a political/imperial whole.

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9 Kevin Andrews, *Castles of the Morea*; revised ed. with a foreword by Glenn R. Bugh (Princeton, 2006); Anna Triposkoufi and Amalia Tsitouri, eds., *Venetians and Knights Hospitallers: Military Architecture Networks* (Athens, 2002).

10 Beata Kitsiki-Panagopoulos, *Cistercian and Mendicant Monasteries in Medieval Greece* (Chicago, 1979) and Olga Gratziou, *Η Κρήτη στην ύστερη μεσαιωνική εποχή: η μαρτυρία της εκκλησιαστικής αρχιτεκτονικής* [Crete in the Late Medieval Period: the Evidence of Ecclesiastical Architecture] (Herakleion, 2010). It is useful to compare the situation in the crusader states of the Holy Land where building campaigns represented major colonial undertakings by the colonisers to impress their presence on the colonial landscape. See Jaroslav Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187* (Cambridge, 1995); idem, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land: From the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291* (Cambridge, 2005); Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1993–2009); idem, *Secural Buildings in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: An Archaeological Gazetteer* (Cambridge, 1997).

FIGURE 10.1 *Church of Pantanassa in Mistra, exterior, east façade.*
PHOTO: AGNIESZKA SZYMANSKA

In our existing frame of mind it is hard to conceptualise a changing relationship between the imported art form and the region, nor is there space to accommodate the possible absorption of local forms and artists within the process of artistic creation particularly because we can see no form devoid of political meaning. Not all iconographic or stylistic elements that suggest to us a western pedigree should be taken as a direct use of a western artist, however. The Byzantine churches of Perivleptos and Pantanassa in Mistra display on their exterior façades architectural sculptures (fleur-de-lys patterns or rampant lions) associated with the Franks as late as 1428 in the case of the Pantanassa (Figure 10.1).[11] There are also Greek Orthodox churches that display western features in their outlook: ribbed vaulting, pointed arches and barrel vaults, elaborate sculptural decoration on the façades or the capitals, window tracery, and carved consoles.[12]

11 Doula Mouriki, "Palaiologan Mistra and the West," in *Byzantium and Europe: First International Byzantine Conference. Delphi, 20–24 July 1985* (Delphi, 1987), pp. 209–46, at 239.

12 Charalambos Bouras, "The Impact of Frankish Architecture on Thirteenth-Century Byzantine Architecture," in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy Parviz Mottahedeh (Washington DC, 2001), pp. 247–62.

Inevitably, in the long run the landscape reflected not a constant struggle between colonists and locals but rather their co-existence. It is usually only after some decades of successful colonial rule, when the supremacy and confidence of the colonisers have been firmly established, that a hybrid style allowing for the intrusion of local elements may occur in the monuments of a colony.[13] Hence, the relationship between local (Greek or Byzantine) and Latin forms was characterised by a continual give-and-take. Forms/structures do not have a constant, unchangeable meaning. Depending on the way they are used, and on the kinds of social relationships that are formed among the multiethnic population certain buildings and forms take on new weight and significance.[14] After several generations structures that once may have originally loomed inimical or foreign become part and parcel of the landscape. Rigid disciplinary categories that see East and West in sharp contrast cannot easily unpack this diachronic function of the landscape.

## Historiography

Partly because the archaeology of the Byzantine-medieval period is not very well documented and partly because of the new architectural forms that were transplanted on Greek soil after 1204, in the 13th century the built environment displays a dramatic change hitherto summarised as an encounter between two distinct artistic styles: the Byzantine and the Gothic. This is best observed in the surviving architecture as monuments sponsored by Latins (churches and fortifications) still make a strong visual mark on the landscape. Evidently, the dissolution of Byzantine control in medieval Greece did not bring about an economic collapse. On the contrary, Latin rule opened fresh economic opportunities that spearheaded new construction projects for the foreign ruling elite and the locals alike. Local elites were resistant to change and tried to combat the Latins but eventually colluded with the rulers to become part of a local

13 Heather Grossman, "Syncreticism Made Concrete: The Case for a Hybrid Moreote Architecture in Post-Fourth Crusade Greece," in *Archaeology in Architecture: Papers in Honor of Cecil L. Striker*, ed. Deborah Deliyannis and Judson Emerick (Mainz, 2005), pp. 65–73, esp. 65–66; and eadem, "Building Identity: Architecture as Evidence of Cultural Interaction between Latins and Byzantines in Medieval Greece" (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 2004), accessible at <http://repository.upenn.edu/dissertations/AAI3152042/>.

14 Maria Georgopoulou, "Vernacular Architecture in Venetian Crete: Urban and Rural Practices," *Medieval Encounters* 18 (2012), 1–34.

aristocracy woven into the ranks of the Frankish feudal society.[15] Local farmers, labourers, artisans and those who were not people of means generally benefitted by the boom in the local economy and the increase of regional and international commercial exchanges. Although it is all but impossible to evaluate the degree to which the people of the time distinguished between "Byzantine" (i.e. Eastern, Christian Orthodox, Greek) from "Gothic" (i.e. Western, Latin Catholic, Venetian) forms, the preference of a distinct style by a group of patrons must have suggested some meaningful connection between the two as is clearly the case by the 15th century in the production of religious icons on Crete.[16]

The study of Gothic forms in Greece was spearheaded by western scholars who since the 19th century travelled to Greece in search of French or Italian/Venetian remains.[17] Recent scholarship has been shaped by the blossoming of Mediterranean studies, following Braudel's magisterial work.[18] Research

15 During the 13th century the Peloponnese and Crete were embroiled in various revolts either in response to instigation from the Byzantines or as a response of the local elites against the colonisers. On Crete see Stephanos Xanthoudides, "Συνθήκη μεταξύ της Ενετικής δημοκρατίας καί Αλεξίου Καλλεργίου" ["Treaty between the Venetian Republic and Alexios Kallergis"], *Athena* 14 (1902), 282–331; idem, *H Ενετοκρατία εν Κρήτη και οι κατά των Ενετών αγώνες των Κρητών* [*Venetian Rule in Crete and the Struggles of the Cretans against the Venetians*] (Athens, 1939); and Sally McKee, "The Revolt of St. Tito in Fourteenth-Century Venetian Crete: A Reassessment," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 9 (1994), 173–204. For the Peloponnese see comments in the *Chronicle of the Morea*, cf. Shawcross, *The Chronicle of Morea*, pp. 204–11; and Aneta Ilieva, *Frankish Morea (1205–1262): Socio-Cultural Interaction between the Franks and the Local Population* (Athens, 1991), pp. 171–90.

16 The use of terms *maniera greca* and *maniera latina* for paintings of the 15th century provides a clue while also indicating a complex commercial enterprise. See Manolis Chatzidakis, "Éssai sur l'école dite 'Italogrecque' précédé d'une note sur les rapports de l'art vénitien avec l'art crétois jusqu'à 1500," in *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV: Convegno internazionale di storia della civiltà veneziana*, ed. Agostino Pertusi, 2 vols., Civiltà Veneziana. Studi 27 (Florence, 1973–74), 2:69–124; and most recently Maria Vassilaki, ed., *The Hand of Angelos: an Icon Painter in Venetian Crete* (Farnham, 2010).

17 Ramsay Traquair, "Frankish Architecture in Greece," *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects* 31 (1923), 33–48 and 73–86; Antoine Bon, *La Morée franque: recherches historiques, topographiques et archéologiques sur la principauté d'Achaie (1205–1430)*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1969); Giuseppe Gerola, *Monumenti veneti nell' isola di Creta*, 4 vols. (Venice, 1905–32); Camille Enlart, *Gothic Art and Architecture in Cyprus*, trans. by David Hunt (London, 1987) originally published as *L'art gothique et la Renaissance en Chypre* (Paris, 1899), pp. 309–14.

18 For a concise review of recent developments in Mediterranean studies see Monique O'Connell, "The Italian Renaissance in the Mediterranean, or, Between East and West: A Review Article," *California Italian Studies Journal* 1 (2010), 1–30; Francesca Trivellato,

on specific locales and monuments based on archival information has elucidated the meaning and function of colonial societies from a post-colonial perspective both in the field of crusader studies and architectural history and has opened up new ways of looking at colonial settlements.[19] Sally McKee's monograph *Uncommon Dominion* based on archival documents from 14th-century Venetian Crete, insists on the slippery nature of terms such as "Greek" and "Latin" when referring to territories when co-habitation is prolonged. Used in coeval governmental and notary documents these legal terms are apt to designate, on the one hand, the local Greek population that had lived on Greece since the Byzantine period, and on the other hand the newcomers (colonists and others) who came primarily from France or Italy and were Latin Catholic Christians. The economic, civic, and social relations of Latins and Greeks in the 14th century show "diminishing distinctions between [the] communities" according to McKee's careful study of notary documents from Crete; in the testaments of the Latins, for instance, we detect a nexus of social relations, economic interactions, and emotional attachments to their Greek family members and servants.[20] A similar condition is apparent in the shared "material life" and architecture.[21] On the other hand, the urban environment that the Venetians constructed in Crete embodied a colonial framework that promoted Venetian hegemony. A daily encounter with that landscape presented an uneven space for Greeks and Venetians in Candia. Along the same

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"Renaissance Italy and the Muslim Mediterranean in Recent Historical Works," *Journal of Modern History* 82 (2010), 127–55; and Eric R. Dursteler, "On Bazaars and Battlefields: Recent Scholarship on Mediterranean Cultural Contacts," *Journal of Early Modern History* 15 (2011), 413–34.

19 My book *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, and Heather E. Grossman, "Building Identity: Architecture as Evidence of Cultural Interaction between Latins and Byzantines in Medieval Greece," are examples of such attempts. More dissertations have taken as their topic the cultural complexities of the colonial societies in Greece, e.g. Monika Hirschbichler, "Monuments of the Syncretic Society: Wall Painting in the Latin Lordship of Athens, Greece (1204–1311)," (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Maryland, College Park, 2005); Diana Newall, "Art, Artist, Patron, Community in Venetian Crete 1200–1450," (unpublished doctoral thesis, The Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 2006); and Christina Stancioiu, "Objects and Identity: An Analysis of Some Material Remains of the Latin and Orthodox Residents of Late Medieval Rhodes, Cyprus, and Crete," (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 2009).

20 Sally McKee, *Uncommon Dominion: Venetian Crete and the Myth of Ethnic Purity* (Philadelphia, 2000), pp. 6, 86–99, and 168–71, and eadem, "The Revolt of St. Tito," pp. 190–96; Maria Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, p. 8.

21 Sally McKee, "Households in Fourteenth-Century Venetian Crete," *Speculum* 70 (1995), 27–67, esp. 66.

lines, Benjamin Arbel has suggested that after the middle of the 14th century there was no longer a clear-cut separation between the Latin elite and the Greek local population on Cyprus but rather a division between the urban and rural population regardless of ethnic origin.[22] In Crete, instances of interaction and blurring of boundaries between the westerners and the locals continued to evolve through the 16th and 17th century in civic ceremonies, cultural production (especially literature and theatre), and everyday life.[23]

Another set of significant studies has produced extraordinary findings in material culture that will surely change the ways in which we appreciate the landscape of medieval and early modern Greece. Regional archaeological field surveys have yielded new information on settlement patterns in rural areas whereas excavations have clarified chronologies, productions, exchanges, and even changing eating habits.[24] These studies can now enhance older

22 Benjamin Arbel, "The Cypriot Nobility from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century: A New Interpretation," in *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. Benjamin Arbel, Bernard Hamilton, and David Jacoby, [=*Mediterranean Historical Review* 4.1 (1989)], pp. 175–97, esp. 176–77 and 188–90, repr. in Arbel, *Cyprus, the Franks and Venice, 13th–16th Centuries* (Aldershot, 2000), VI.

23 Nikolaos Panagiotakis, "Ιταλικές Ακαδημίες καί θέατρο: Οι Stravaganti του Χάνδακα" ["Italian Academies and Theater: The Stravaganti of Candia"], *Θέατρο* 27–28 (1966), 39–53; idem, "Μαρτυρίες για τη μουσική στην Κρήτη στη βενετοκρατία" ["Evidence for Music in Crete during Venetian Rule"], *Thesaurismata* 20 (1990), 7–169; and idem, "The Italian Background of Early Cretan Literature," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 (1995), 281–323.

24 Effie F. Athanassopoulos, "Landscape Archaeology of Medieval and Post-Medieval Greece: The Case of Nemea," in *Aegean Strategies*, ed. Paul Nick Kardulias and Mark T. Shutes (Lanham, 1997), pp. 79–105; John F. Cherry, Jack C. Davis and Eleni Mantzourani, eds., *Landscape Archaeology as Long-Term History* (Los Angeles, 1991); Frederick A. Cooper, *Houses of the Morea: Vernacular Architecture of the Northwest Peloponnesos (1205–1955)* (Athens, 2002); Jack Davis and John Bennett, "The Pylos Regional Archaeological Project," in *Medieval and Post-Medieval Greece*, ed. John Bintliff and Hanna Stöger (Oxford, 2009), pp. 89–91; Jeannette and Björn Forsén, *The Asea Valley Survey: An Arcadian Mountain Valley from the Palaeolithic period until Modern Times* (Sävedalen, 2003); Sharon E.J. Gerstel, Mark Munn, Heather E. Grossman, Ethne Barnes, Arthur H. Rohm, Machiel Kiel, "A Late Medieval Settlement at Panakton," *Hesperia* 72 (2003), 147–234; Paul Nick Kardulias, "Reconstructing Medieval Site Locations in Corinthia, Greece," in *Aegean Strategies*, ed. Paul Nick Kardulias and Mark T. Shutes (Lanham, 1997), pp. 107–22; Kostantinos Kourelis, "Monuments of Rural Archaeology: Medieval Settlements in the Northwestern Peloponnese" (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 2003); Athanasios K. Vionis, "The Meaning of Domestic Cubic Forms: Interpreting Cycladic Housing and Settlements of the Period of Foreign Domination (ca. 1207–1821 AD)," *Pharos* 9 (2001), 111–31; Joanita Vroom, "Pots and Pans: New Perspectives on the Medieval Ceramics of Greece," in *Material Culture in Medieval Europe: Papers of the "Medieval Europe Brugge*

publications written from the point of view of western medievalists. Recently, the emphasis has been placed on micro-history and the local. For instance, Heather Grossman and others have proposed terms that insist on the local character of forms that came about in a colonial setting, like Moreote architecture;[25] Teresa Shawcross, has insisted on using the specific Greek term "Frangokratia" rather than its translated form "Frankish rule" which isolates phenomena that are not unique to 13th-century medieval Greece and de-emphasises the broader colonial paradigms which are at play here.[26] The use of ideologically loaded terms that posit the domination of a foreign group over Greeks is not necessarily helpful when trying to understand and appreciate the nuances of the intermingling of various cultural forces on the ground.

Further cultural associations have hindered the nuanced understanding of the artistic production of this era in Greece.[27] Medieval European art history has been traditionally dominated by a French perspective: the 13th century has been synonymous with the Gothic style of the Ile-de-France and the majestic monuments sponsored by celebrated kings like St Louis of France (1214–70) and Charles of Anjou in Naples (1226–85).[28] The connections of these monarchs with the crusades and the establishment of Latins in the Eastern Mediterranean including the Lusignan of Cyprus, overlaid a web of associations that had a great impact on the French colonial establishments in Greece and Cyprus.[29] Whereas the cathedral of Famagusta and the Bellapais abbey display interesting Gothic tracery and flying buttresses that betray their close

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*1997" Conference* 7, ed. Guy De Boe and Frans Verhaeghe (Bruges, 1997), pp. 203–13; and Livingston Vance Watrous et al., *The Plain of Phaistos: Cycles of Social Complexity in the Mesara Region of Crete* (Los Angeles, 2004). See also Peter Lock and Guy D.R. Sanders, eds. *The Archaeology of Medieval Greece* (Oxford, 1996); Timothy Gregory, *A History of Byzantium* (Chichester, 2010); and John Bintliff, *The Complete Archaeology of Greece: From Hunter-Gatherers to the 20th century A.D.* (Oxford, 2012).

25 Heather E. Grossman, "Building Identity."

26 Shawcross, *The Chronicle of Morea*.

27 Bouras, "The Impact of Frankish Architecture," pp. 247–62.

28 Caroline A. Bruzelius, "Ad Modum Franciae: Charles of Anjou and Gothic Architecture in the Kingdom of Sicily," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 50 (1991), 402–20; and eadem, "Charles of Anjou and the French National Style in Italy," in *Kunst im Reich Kaiser Friedrichs II. von Hohenstaufen, Bd. 2: Akten des zweiten International Kolloquiums zu Kunst und Geschichte der Stauferzeit*, (Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn, 8. bis 10. Dezember 1995), (Munich, 1996), pp. 146–53.

29 Enlart, *Gothic Art and Architecture in Cyprus*; and Annemarie Weyl Carr, "Correlative Spaces: Art, Identity, and Appropriation in Lusignan Cyprus," *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook: A Publication of Mediterranean, Slavic and Eastern Orthodox Studies* 14/15 (1998/99), 59–80.

connection with French masons, the Gothic forms that reached the shores of the Mediterranean are less ornate and heavier than their counterparts in northern France reminiscent of earlier Romanesque architecture.[30] Despite the fact that certain of these elements seem to have appeared on Greek soil even before the Fourth Crusade, the presence of a broken arch has typically (and conveniently) signaled a post-1204 date.[31] Following Camille Enlart, Ramsay Traquair, and Antoine Bon scholars have taken the appearance of any of these features on a monument as an unmistakable sign of western influence without questioning its provenance or possible infiltration into the local architectural idiom as may be the case with the numerous rural churches of Crete that are covered with a pointed barrel vault.[32]

The maritime republic of Venice participated in an altogether different world of political and artistic affiliations. Its unique cultural links with Byzantium and its commercial orientation towards the Levant (Syria and Egypt) promoted an artistic style geared to Mediterranean forms, showing deference to Byzantine and later on to Islamic traditions[33] as well as lingering associations with bulkier Romanesque forms that were particularly important in the south of France and Spain.[34] Byzantine architectural or decorative forms had a particular cultural and political significance in Venice itself because within the

30 Maria Georgopoulou, "Gothic Architecture and Sculpture in Latin Greece and Cyprus," in *Byzance et l'extérieur*, ed. Michel Balard, Byzantina Sorbonensia 21 (Paris, 2005), pp. 1–28, esp. 3.

31 In an earlier article Charalambos Bouras cautions the reader not to interpret the broken arch as an absolute sign of a date after 1204; cf. Charalambos Bouras, "Επανεξέταση του καθολικού της Ζωοδόχου Πηγής, Δερβενοσάλεσι" ["Reaxamination of the Monastic Church of Zoodochos Pege, Dervenosalesi"], *Δελτίον Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*, ser. 4, 17 (1993–94), 32. Three churches (Hagia Moni in Nauplion of 1149, Taxiarches in Kalyvia, Karystos, and in the monastery of St. John the Theologian in Patmos) display broken arches that date before the Fourth Crusade. See also Charalambos Bouras, *Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Architecture in* Greece (Athens, 2006).

32 Maria Vassilaki, "The Church of Virgin Gouverniotissa at Rotamies, Crete" (unpublished doctoral thesis, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 1986), 110. The pointed barrel vault was systematically used in France by 1120–30 that is to say before the full-blown arrival of the Gothic style; cf. Henry and Emmanuel Du Ranquet, "De l'emploi des arcs-doubleaux sous les berceaux romans," *Bulletin monumental* 98 (1939), 189–214, at 201.

33 Deborah Howard, *Venice and the East: The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture, 1100–1500* (New Haven, 2000).

34 Maria Georgopoulou, "Gothic Architecture and Sculpture in Latin Greece and Cyprus," in *Byzance et l'extérieur*, ed. Michel Balard, Byzantina Sorbonensia 21 (Paris, 2005), pp. 1–28; Marcel Durliat, *L'art dans le Royaume de Majorque: Débuts de l'art Gothique en Roussillon, en Cerdagne et aux Baléares*, (Toulouse, 1962); and Marvin Trachtenberg, "Gothic/Italian

socio-historical framework of the Venetian maritime empire these formal elements pointed to the Byzantine Empire and its cultural supremacy, which was waning fast in the 13th century. By the same token, the presence of Venetian (read: non-Byzantine or Gothic) architectonic and decorative forms on the soil of Venice's colonies would have the opposite effect, that is, to boast Venetian hegemony overseas.[35] The cultural affinity between Venice and Byzantium and the prolonged presence of the Venetians on Crete have had a significant impact on the urban landscape of Crete. The vestiges of the majestic Venetian fortifications of the 16th and 17th centuries have dictated urban growth in the modern towns of the island and the preservation and repurposing of medieval and early modern structures has been a *de facto* priority.

In the last decade a new appreciation of Frankish monuments in the Peloponnese has brought about a more nuanced understanding of the interactions between East and West and has opened new vistas for Frankish archaeology. The Austrian *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, an atlas for each Byzantine province, provides a gazetteer and a map for all published Frankish-era monuments and excavations as well as historically referenced sites.[36] Two major symposia at Dumbarton Oaks have assembled important studies on the Morea.[37] The crusader museum in the 13th-century Clermont castle (Chlemoutsi), installed in the palace of the Villehardouin princes, showcases military architecture and brings to light the interaction between Franks and Greeks in the 13th and 14th centuries.[38] This most characteristic of Frankish monuments on Greek soil has already provided fertile ground for numerous fresh studies of archaeological remains and material that have provided new scenarios for thinking about the landscape of Latin Greece.[39]

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'Gothic': Toward a Redefinition," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 50 (1991), 22–37.

35 Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, pp. 1–2.

36 Johannes Koder, "Perspektiven der Tabula Imperii Byzantini. Zu Planung, Inhalt und Methode," *Geographia Antiqua* 5 (1996), 75–86.

37 Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy Parviz Mottahedeh, eds., *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World* (Washington DC, 2001), and Sharon E.J. Gerstel, ed., *Viewing the Morea: Land and People in the Late Medieval Peloponnese* (Washington DC, 2013).

38 Demetrios Athanasoulis, "Οι ιππότες στο Clermont. Ένα μουσείο για τους Σταυροφόρους" ["The Knights at Clermont. A Museum for the Crusaders"], *Ilissia* 5–6 (2009–10), 36–45.

39 Stefania S. Skartsis, *Chlemoutsi Castle* (*Clermont, Castel Tornese*), *NW Peloponnese: Its Pottery and its Relations with the West* (*13th–Early 19th Centuries*), (Oxford, 2012).

## The Evidence

The most significant monuments that have survived are fortifications, castles, and churches of the Latin and Greek rites. Urban centres and provincial towns have preserved remains that allow us to reconstruct the urban design of colonial foundations, whereas the countryside with its isolated towers and small churches offers a wonderful canvas on which to study the interaction of local building practices and self-expression with the colonial authorities. Depending on patronage and purpose there are different groups of monuments that taken together create the overall picture. I will first discuss the urban centres, then churches and isolated forts, and finally the rural landscape.

### *Urban Centres*

The new realities and pressing demand to establish a firm presence on the ground meant that the Latin colonists sought to create seats of government in newly founded towns, like Andravida of the Villehardouin in the Peloponnese, or took over older cities like Venetian Candia on Crete. Though little other than the capital of Achaea was built *ex nihilo* these towns were conceived as princely or colonial foundations and needed to be equipped with all the necessary trappings for the administration of a region as well as to ensure political and economic hegemony through vigorous colonial policies.[40]

Luckily we possess an invaluable document detailing what was deemed necessary for the founding of a Venetian colony in former Byzantine territories. The prescriptions of the Doge Marino Morosini to those sent to rebuild the city of Canea on Crete in 1252 instruct the colonists to found public squares, administrative buildings, a main street (*ruga magistra*), one or more (Latin rite) churches, and city walls.[41] This detailed description of a new colonial

40 Peter Lock, "Castles and Seigneurial Influence in Latin Greece," in *From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusades and Crusader Societies, 1095–1500: Selected Proceedings of the International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds, 10–13 July 1995*, ed. Alan V. Murray (Turnhout, 1998), pp. 173–86.

41 "Cum itaque a nobis ordinatum sit, quod civitas fieri *debeat* in dicta terra Puncte de Spata, et dicto capitaneo et consciliariis iniunxerimus et comiserimus, quod civitatem Chanee rehedificare [. . .] Et sciendum est, quod, sicut comisimus dicto capitaneo et eius consciliariis, debet idem cum suis consciliariis vel altero eorum accipere ante partem in civitate pro comuni plateas pro domo et domibus comunis et ruga magistra et ecclesia seu ecclesiis et municionibus hedificandis, sicut eidem capitaneo et eius consciliariis vel ipsi capitaneo et uni ex ipsius consciliariis bonum videbitur; et muros dicte civitatis facient capitaneus et consciliariii hedificari, et pro ipsis hedificandis et foveis civitatis seu aliis munitionibus faciendis rusticos dictarum partium habere et angarizare debent, scilicet

city as an ensemble of public official structures and Latin churches that were closely related to the state is telling of the colonial outlook of the Venetians 40 years after their arrival on Crete.

On the other hand the older Byzantine towns did not lose their significance entirely. Many provincial towns continued to flourish in the 13th century as significant production and distribution centres. Corinth maintained its prominence becoming a centre of commercial exchange with much more imported pottery and plenty of evidence for moneychangers.[42] Despite the pronounced distinction between the Frankish Principality of the Morea which was less commercially minded and the capitalist-minded regions dominated by the highly interventionist state of Venice (Cyclades, Crete, Ionian Islands and key fortified ports on the mainland), regional economies were critical for the wellbeing of medieval Greece. Although the capital of Achaea was a new town, the other major Frankish centres were usually ancient ones: Thebes and Livadia, Corinth and Athens. The settlements of Geraki, Mistra and Monemvasia, returned to the Byzantines a few years after the battle of Pelagonia in 1262 built on dramatic slopes retained their medieval appearance along with their apparent prosperity. Narrow streets, two-storey stone houses, and thick rampart walls created a strong fortified settlement (Figure 10.2).[43]

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unum rusticum pro qualibet militia, sicut idem capitaneus et sui consciliarii vel ipse capitaneus eu unus illorum voluerint," cf. Gottlieb L.F. Tafel and Georg M. Thomas, eds., *Urkunden zur älteren Handelsund Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, 3 vols. (Vienna, 1856–57; repr. Amsterdam, 1964), 2:471–72, no. 322; and Georgios A. Sefakas, *Παραχώρησις από της Ενετικής Συγκλήτου του διαμερίσματος των Χανίων ως φεούδου εις Ενετούς ευγενείς εν έτει 1252* [*Cession of the Department of Canea as a Fief to Venetian Nobles by the Venetian Senate in 1252*] (Athens, 1940), pp. 15–17.

42 Charles K. Williams II, "Frankish Corinth: An Overview," in *Corinth*, vol. 20, *The Centenary: 1896–1996* (Athens, 2003), 423–34.

43 The classic study by Anastasios K. Orlandos, "Τα παλάτια και τα σπίτια του Μυστρά" [The Palaces and Houses of Mistra] (Athens, 1937) was reprinted by the Archaeological Service in Athens in 2000. See also Pari Kalamara, *Η Πολιτεία του Μυστρά. Ώρες Βυζαντίου: Έργα και ημέρες στο Βυζάντιο* [*The Town of Mistra: Hours of Byzantium: Works and Days of Byzantium*] (Athens, 2002); Stefanos Sinos, ed., *Τα μνημεία του Μυστρά: το έργο της Επιτροπής Αναστήλωσης μνημείων Μυστρά* [*The Monuments of Mistra: The Work of the Committee for the Restoration of the Monuments of Mistra*] (Athens, 2009); Myrtali Acheimastou-Potamianou, *Mystras: Historical and Archaeological Guide*, trans. William W. Phelps (Athens, 2003); Manolis Chatzidakis, *Mystras, the Medieval City and the Castle: A Complete Guide to the Churches, Palaces and the Castle* (Athens, 1985). On Monemvasia see Haris A. Kalliga, *Monemvasia: A Byzantine City State* (London, 2010); Alexandros Kalligas and Haris A. Kalliga, *Μονεμβασία: ξαναγράφοντας σε παλίμψηστα* [*Monemvasia: Rewriting on Palimpsests*] (Athens,

FIGURE 10.2 *Mistra, view of settlement.*
PHOTO: AGNIESZKA SZYMANSKA

The westerners placed particular importance on the construction and maintenance of harbours able to accommodate large vessels involved in international trade and to provide for their procurement and passage.[44] Towns were founded or re-founded near ports (Candia, Canea, Glarenza, Modon and Coron, Chalkis/Negroponte, Nauplion and Naxos), which were linked into a complex network of sea routes of utmost importance for international trade with western Europe with the burden of maintaining or constructing a war fleet in their arsenals. As important centres for international and local trade these cities became poles of attraction for merchants and professionals of Venetian or other Italian origin. In line with all major harbours of the

2006); Klaus W. Rainer and Ulrich Kleimueller, *Monemvasia, the Town and its History* (Athens, 1983).

44 Ruthi Gertwagen, "Harbours and Facilities along the Eastern Mediterranean Sea Lanes to Outremer," in *Logistics of Warfare in the Age of the Crusades*, ed. John H. Pryor (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 95–118; idem, "The Concept of Ports in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean: Construction and Maintenance on Crete to the End of the Fifteenth Century," *International Journal of Maritime History* 12 (2000), 177–241; and idem, "The Island of Corfu in Venetian Policy in the Fourteenth and Early Fifteenth Centuries," *International Journal of Maritime History* 19 (2007), 181–210.

Mediterranean their population was multi-ethnic: Latins/Venetians, Greeks, Jews, and a few Armenians (immigrants of the mid-14th century) figure prominently among the residents. The fortified harbour of Glarenza could accommodate large ships so the town became one of the regular stopping-off points in the Mediterranean.[45] In 1209 the Venetians tried to do something similar in order to divert pilgrims to Candia; by promising the reward of papal indulgences the Venetians had intended to turn the port of Candia into a regular stopping-point for pilgrims to the Holy Land.[46] Candia's harbour was also significant for its arsenals, first mentioned in 1281 and continuing to be improved in the following centuries; they provided shelter to the Venetian galleys in the winter or the opportunity for necessary repairs.[47]

The Venetians of Crete have bequeathed us an important archival repository for the length of their rule in the Eastern Mediterranean. This documentary material coupled with the extensive archaeological remains in the cities of Candia (Herakleion), Rethymnon and Canea, offers rich information on successfully planned colonial urban spaces. Candia, the capital city of Venetian Crete was designed as a city with imperial aspirations; similarly the castle of Chlemoutsi in the Peloponnese commanded a princely demeanour with grand ambitions. Unfortunately very little archival material exists for places in Greece that were not under Venetian control. Candia will be presented here as an example of a full-fledged colonial capital and it will be juxtaposed with the urban foundations of the Villehardouin in the Peloponnese.

As soon as the Venetians settled Crete they reorganised the capital city, Candia, to satisfy the needs of the colonists. The other major centres of the island, Canea, and Rethymnon followed soon. In all colonies large administrative monuments housed the Venetian government and new large

45 I am grateful to Demetrios Athanasoulis for sharing with me in typescript his study "The Triangle of Power: Building Projects in the Metropolitan Area of the Crusader Principality of the Morea," in *Viewing the Morea: Land and People in the Late Medieval Peloponnese*, ed. Sharon E.J. Gerstel, (Washington DC, 2013), pp. 111–51, where he offers a new interpretation of Frankish architecture in the Morea's metropolitan area based on new archaeological discoveries (pp. 115–127). Coins and pottery from Italy confirm the international commercial relationships that were so significant in Glarenza but there were also ceramics (St Symeon ware) and glassware that suggest connections with the Middle East. See also Angeliki Tzavara, *Clarentza, une ville de la Morée latine* (*XIII–XV^e siècles*) (Venice, 2008) and Demetrios Athanasoulis, *Γλαρέντζα: Clarence* (Athens, 2005).

46 Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden*, 2:87–88.

47 Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, pp. 66–73; Ruthi Gertwagen, "The Venetian Port of Candia, Crete (1299–1363): Construction and Maintenance," in *Mediterranean Cities: Historical Perspectives*, ed. Irad Malkin and Robert L. Hohlfelder (London, 1988), pp. 141–58.

western churches served the Latin population. Both the hinterland and the cities were populated primarily by Greeks, but in the urban centres the Venetians constituted a considerable part of the population. This meant that the older Byzantine city of Chandax had to be reorganised to accommodate the new Latin elite. Each colonised city with its political, economic, social, and religious institutions was essential in the construction of the maritime empire of the Venetians. The physical appearance of the cities played a significant role in the processes of cultural negotiation needed to found the new colonies on safe ground.[48]

The Venetian colony of Crete was founded as an implantation/extension of the metropolis (Venice) in the *Oltremare* and lasted until 1669. The architecture and urban planning of the Venetians in their colonies in relation to the architecture commissioned by non-Latins was a means to mitigate conflict among the diverse population groups of the city while still embodying Venetian colonial ideology. Examples of a cultural rapprochement between Greeks and Latins abound in the arts of Crete but are still not perfectly understood. For instance, western architectural features and artistic styles of painting appear on many Orthodox churches of Crete from the second quarter of the 14th century.[49]

In general, relatively few Venetians moved to the colonies (roughly up to ten percent of the whole population) and when they did so they lived almost exclusively within the limits of the towns.[50] The first colonists were required to reside in the city despite the fact that they owned extensive landholdings in the interior of the island.[51] A Venetian was placed at the head of the colony and the colonists spoke their own language and lived according to the customs and laws of the metropolis, observing the same feast days as in Venice and recognising St Mark as their patron saint. For practical and topographical reasons only certain sections of Venice's Levantine colonies strove to emulate

48 Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, pp. 7–8.

49 Maria Vassilaki, "The Church of the Virgin Gouverniotissa at Potamies, Crete."

50 On the different patterns of settlement and colonisation in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204 see David Jacoby, "The Encounter of Two Societies: Western Conquerors and Byzantines in the Peloponnesus after the Fourth Crusade," *American Historical Review* 78 (1973), 873–906, esp. 874. Jacoby argues convincingly that "the very nature of the ruling class as well as the structure of the local society determined to a large extent the character of their encounter."

51 Sefakas, *Παραχώρησις*, p. 96, attributes this requirement to three reasons: first, the protection of the Venetian citizens; second, the preservation of their language and ethnic character; and third, the creation of a Venetian environment in which the state authorities would exercise their rule.

the mother city, but only occasionally did the Venetian settlers form close ties with the locals.[52] A cogent administrative apparatus of governors and their associates that was closely overseen by the metropolis, duplicated the organisational and linguistic schemes of the metropolis and stressed the coherence of the Venetian empire. The study of Candia suggests that cultural associations that meant to create the "feeling of home" could be forged through different means: by naming institutions and places according to practices of the homeland, by replicating a structure to recall a monument at home, by recreating a lived experience or by importing customs or things (clocks were a vital sign of "modernity" in 15th century towns).[53]

The replication of important features of the landscape that recall the motherland is one of the most typical features of colonial landscapes. Whether for practical or ideological reasons many earlier elements and structures were reused: fortification walls, palaces, and churches. Latin/Italian terms like *ruga magistra, beccaria or pescaria* denoted just a linguistic adaptation or modification as the layout of Byzantine Chandax did not change drastically under the Venetians.

The most striking similarities between Venice and Candia are to be found in Candia's piazza San Marco, which in its name and organisation replicated Venice's main square (Figure 10.3). A church was erected to commemorate the patron saint of the Venetian Republic, St Mark, across from the ducal palace and near the loggia; it seems that it was the first official monument built by the Venetians after they arrived on Crete by 1228.[54] Since the governor of Venetian Crete, the *duca*, emulated the doge, the topographic arrangement and ritualistic use of the space also recalled Venice. The same topographical pattern is also observed in Negroponte where the loggia was also located across from the palace and the church of St Mark's. Similar arrangements must have existed in the old city of Modon for which there is an intriguing reference to

52 Wilhelm Heyd, *Le colonie commerciali degli Italiani in Oriente*, 2 vols. (Venice, 1868); John Knight Fotheringham, *Marco Sanudo, Conqueror of the Archipelago* (Oxford, 1915); William Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient* (Cambridge, 1921); and Peter Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean*, pp. 266–309.

53 Maria Georgopoulou, "Crete between the Byzantine and Venetian Empires," pp. 63–78.

54 The magisterial studies produced by Giuseppe Gerola for the Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti in the early 20th century offer invaluable information on these monuments: Giuseppe Gerola, *Monumenti veneti*. For the photographic archive of this mission also see Spiridione Alessandro Curuni and Lucilla Donati, *Creta veneziana: l'Istituto veneto e la missione cretese di Giuseppe Gerola: collezione fotografica 1900–1902* (Venice, 1988).

FIGURE 10.3 *Candia's piazza San Marco, which in its name and organisation replicated Venice's main square.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR

FIGURE 10.4 *Herakleion*, castellum *in the port.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR

San Marco in 1479;[55] the piazza was lined by the palace and residence of the counsellor, shops (*botege*) selling foodstuffs, a large loggia, and several public loggias which may refer to particular buildings or to arcaded spaces around the square.[56]

In reality many of the structures that housed the administration of the new colony were located in earlier Byzantine buildings. The basic street pattern of the Byzantine city remained in place, and many old Byzantine structures were reused to house Venetian officials as in the case of the *castellum* in the port (Figure 10.4). Urban practices and the architecture of Candia like the agricultural, political, and social organisation of the island, also wavered between two worlds.[57] Through naming and usage *loci* gained a new identity tied to the colonists. For example, in Candia two important Byzantine landmarks, the ducal palace and the cathedral church, were reused without major modifications. Obviously, economic considerations may have been the primary reason that prompted the Venetian regime to preserve these buildings in the capital of Crete; it was simply cheaper not to build something anew.[58] It was also an effective statement of control over the civic resources, like the use of spoils as a sign of supremacy over the enemy. The principal church of Crete's capital city, the former Orthodox cathedral dedicated to the early Christian patron saint of the island, St Titus, was taken over by the new Latin archbishop. Thus, a structure that must have had a long association with the Greek Orthodox population of the island because it housed the relics of the island's early Christian patron saint, was instantly transformed into the symbol of the new official Latin Christian rite of Venetian Crete.[59] It could be argued that this take-over downplayed the change in order to invite the local Orthodox population into the fold. Yet, doctrinal differences between Latin Catholics and Greek Orthodox were used as one of the most significant ideological reasons for the numerous rebellions of the 13th century in Crete. The central location of these monuments and their new owners/primary users made them immediate, everyday reminders of the new colonial dominion on Crete. Their loaded symbolic significance presented to the Venetian authorities a fertile ground on which to found the myths of Venice's colonial heritage. To dissociate the buildings

55 Konstantinos N. Sathas, ed., *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au Moyen Âge*, (Μνημεία Ελληνικής Ιστορίας) 9 vols. (Paris, 1880–90), 4:180.

56 Sathas, *Documents*, 4:21, 111, 115, 137, and 166.

57 Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, p. 75.

58 It was common practice after all to use ancient spoils (column drums) as building materials as on the curtain walls of the city of Canea near the harbour.

59 Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, pp. 109–18.

from their Byzantine past, the authorities invested them with a Venetian front—in their appearance, architectural details, function or name. Then, an appropriate mythology was forged around them through the integration of local cults into civic ceremonial.[60] This ingenious two-fold strategy linked the physical and historical revision of the buildings and the institutions they reflected. Like other political structures of the Byzantines, the reuse of these buildings by the new masters of Crete manifested that Venice had lawfully inherited the imperial status of Byzantium in the Levant. This strategy presented the Venetians not as villains but rather as the noble successors of the Byzantine Empire.

The semiotics of urban versus suburban space also reinforced the hegemonic presence of the Venetians in Candia. By safeguarding those who lived inside, fortification walls demarcated the most important space as the space within the walls (*intra muros*). The city walls reinforced since the Byzantine period with round or square towers, demarcated the space that was privileged. The Venetians placed their administrative buildings, their churches, and their marketplace inside the city walls in the very places that had until then constituted the core of the Byzantine city.[61] Since the newcomers represented only a minority of the population, the locals found their own ways to manipulate the colonial space. In Venetian Candia the suburbs outside the city walls were the area left to the locals; because they were unfortified, the suburbs could expand at will, unprotected but with greater freedom and less policing. Dozens of older and new Orthodox churches built from the early 14th century on occupied new city quarters that for all intents and purposes must have been totally Greek. When new Latin mendicant convents were planned in the mid-14th century they occupied areas in Candia's suburbs that westernised thoroughfares, which led from the countryside to the main land gates of the city, e.g. the Augustinian friary of the Saviour and St Mary of the Crusaders, which also ran a hospital.[62] On the other hand, the Jewish community of the city was dealt with differently. Occupying a less desirable area in town, on the bay of Dermata, where the working of the hides made the air unhealthy, the Jewish community was forced to reside within a highly circumscribed neighbourhood adjacent to the Dominican friary of St Peter the Martyr.[63]

60 Maria Georgopoulou, "Late Medieval Crete and Venice: An Appropriation of Byzantine Heritage," *Art Bulletin* 77.3 (1995), 479–96.

61 Georgopoulou, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies*, pp. 165–91.

62 Georgopoulou, "Late Medieval Crete and Venice," pp. 479–96.

63 Maria Georgopoulou, "Mapping Religious and Ethnic Identities in the Venetian Colonial Empire," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 26.3 (1996), 467–96.

Obviously topographical specificities also played a role in urban design. For instance, whereas in Candia the terrain is flat, in the case of Canea (Chania) and Retimo (Rethymnon), where the city walls were built on the neighbouring hilltop, the main public spaces of the city (e.g. the loggia, the principal fountain of the city, and the market square) were located outside the acropolis near the port. At the beginning of the 15th century a large empty space outside the *castrum* served as a *platea*. It had been decided that this area should be left open without any buildings on it.[64] As the old plans of Rethymnon indicate, the impressive loggia which now serves as the Archaeological Museum of Rethymnon, still stands at the spot of the original medieval building, but we possess no specific documentary information on the earlier architectural history of the structure.[65]

Finally, symbols were paramount in proclaiming the munificence of Venetian officials or the state in a direct or indirect way. Numerous coats of arms broadcasted the names of high officials who had sponsored public buildings. The symbol of the Venetian Republic was a sign of submission and allegiance. The lion of St Mark carved on the *castellum* in the port of Candia or a similar looking griffin on a portal across from the church of St Paraskeve in Negroponte (Chalkis) obviously identifies an administrative palace (Figure 10.5). Although the overwhelming presence of lions of Venice and coats of arms of several officials take prominent position in the 16th century according to a widespread practice of Italian Renaissance culture, it is not known how extensively they were used in earlier periods.

Another category of highly symbolic features that promoted colonial rule was a series of public works, such as fountains and clock towers, which brought the Mediterranean colonies of Venice into the realm of sophisticated early modern cities. The highly ornate Rimondi fountain that still dominates the northern side of the *piazza* of the lower city of Rethymnon was remodeled in 1625–26 (Figure 10.6), but an older fountain occupied the centre of the *piazza*

64 Hippolyte Noiret, ed., *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire de la domination vénitienne en Crète de 1380 à 1485*, (Paris, 1892), p. 252, dated 29 August 1416. A decision of the Senate forbade the rectors from conceding the area of the *platea* for the construction of buildings, because these buildings would abut the *castrum*.

65 Jordan Dimakopoulos, "Η Lozza του Ρεθύμνου: ένα αξιόλογο έργο της αρχιτεκτονικής του Michele Sanmicheli στή Κρήτη" ["The Loggia of Rethymno. An important Piece of the Architecture of Michele Sanmicheli in Crete"], in *Πεπραγμένα Γ΄ Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου* [*Proceedings of the Third International Cretological Congress*], 3 vols. (Athens 1974), 2:64–83. Based on the rusticated masonry, Dimakopoulos proposed that the actual building belongs to the building campaign of Michele Sanmicheli in 1538–40 or to his nephew Giangirolamo Sanmicheli (1542–49). The *loggia* is shown on a map of the city for the first time in 1559. See also the photographs published by Gerola, *Monumenti veneti* (1917), 3:63–68.

FIGURE 10.5 *A griffin carved on the portal of the so-called residence of the baillo across from the church of St Paraskeve, modern Chalkis.*
COURTESY OF THE 23RD EPHORATE OF BYZANTINE ANTIQUITIES.

FIGURE 10.6 *Rethymnon, Rimondi fountain on the northern side of the* piazza *of the lower city, remodelled in 1625–26.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR

FIGURE 10.7 *Zorzi Corner, view of Candia*, c. *1625*.
COURTESY OF THE BIBLIOTECA MARCIANA, VENICE.

at least since 1588 near the clock tower.[66] Clock towers as highly sophisticated instruments that controlled time broadcasted another aspect of state control recalling the famous example in Venice itself. In Candia the Duke Giacomo Barbadigo in 1463 set up a clock on the western side of the bell tower of the

66 Jordan Dimakopoulos, "Μεγάλη βρύση, μιά βενετσιάνικη κρήνη του Ρεθύμνου" ["The Great Fountain, a Venetian Fountain of Rethymnon"], *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 22 (1970), 322–43. The rector Rimondi also built another three fountains in the city, which do not survive. Basilicata's view of Rethymnon in 1627 clearly shows the *piazza* with the *loggia*, the fountain and the clock tower. See Gerola, *Monumenti veneti*, 4:111, fig. 68. The clock tower of Rethymnon, built in the late 16th century and decorated with reliefs representing the lion of St Mark and coats of arms, was also located on a monumental square tower overlooking the piazza. Evliya Çelebi reported that the tower of the clock was used as a prison in Ottoman times. See George C. Miles, "Evliya Chelebi's Visit to Rethymnon," in *Πεπραγμένα Γ΄ Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου* [*Proceedings of the Third International Cretological Congress*], 3 vols. (Athens 1974), 3:220–24, esp. 223; Gerola, *Monumenti veneti*, 3:71–75, and Jordan Dimakopoulos, "Rethymniaka," in *Gerhard Mercator: the Renaissance Man of Duisburg* (Athens, 1991), p. 53.

church of St Mark's, as can be seen in the plan of Zorzi Corner (Figure 10.7).[67] In addition to housing the bells that sounded the beginning and end of the work day, the flag of the Republic flowing on top of it indicated that the Venetian government was in control of this valuable public good that displayed time, and thus also had power over all activities in the market place.

Due to the topography of the western Peloponnese and the interests of the Villehardouin, who were primarily focused on the exploitation of the fertile plains of the Peloponnese in the area of Elis and Lacedaemon different urban choices were made for the establishment of the capital of the Principality of Achaea in the early 13th century.[68] The important Byzantine port city of Patras was given in 1205 as a barony to William d'Aleman and seems to have been of little interest to the Frankish Prince Geoffrey Villehardouin who focused his energies on the establishment of fortified castles that dominated his feudal holdings and lands.[69] Villehardouin targeted his control in a triangulated area defined by Andravida, Chlemoutsi and Glarenza, a harbour that became a significant centre in 1255 with direct connections to the Western Mediterranean. Demetrios Athanasoulis explains the new foundations of the Villehardouin as an implantation of the new French metropolitan model of the castle-palace so as to broadcast French royal power in its rule over the Morea and to protect the plain, the coast and the capital city, Andravida. The most impressive castle built in this period is the castle of Chlemoutsi, which according to the *Chronicle of the Morea* was constructed by Geoffrey I Villehardouin in 1220–23 (Figure 10.8) although the information is not very clearly stated.[70] It rivals the most advanced military architecture in the crusader states with the largest audience hall in Frankish Greece including the first phase of the palace of Mistra.[71] Built in the concentric fashion of the crusader castles of Belvoir and Crak des Chevaliers in the Holy Land, it also displays features of the military architecture of Philip Augustus perhaps because it tried to combine metropolitan features with those of isolated castles in the crusader states.[72] Chlemoutsi

67 Following his election, the new duke was ordered to buy the clock in Venice and set it up in the area of the *piazza* for the use of the community. Freddy Thiriet, *Délibérations des assemblées vénitiennes concernant la Romanie: 1160–1463*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1966–71), 2:242, no. 1644, and Gerola, *Monumenti veneti*, 3:72.

68 Peter Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean*, pp. 245–51.

69 Antoine Bon, *La Morée Franque*, pp. 106–07.

70 P. Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean*, p. 246 and Athanasoulis, "The Triangle of Power," p. 127.

71 Athanasoulis, "The Triangle of Power," pp. 111–51, 127–41. On crusader castles see Hugh Kennedy, *Crusader Castles* (Cambridge, 1994) and Denys Pringle, *Secular Buildings in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*.

72 Athanasoulis, "The Triangle of Power," p. 139.

FIGURE 10.8 *Castle of Chlemoutsi.*
PHOTO: XENIKAKIS, BY PERMISSION OF DEMETRIOS ATHANASOULIS; ORIGINALLY PUBLISHED IN DEMETRIOS ATHANASOULIS, "THE TRIANGLE OF POWER: BUILDING PROJECTS IN THE METROPOLITAN AREA OF THE CRUSADER PRINCIPALITY OF THE MOREA", IN *VIEWING THE MOREA: LAND AND PEOPLE IN THE LATE MEDIEVAL PELOPONNESE*, ED. SHARON GERSTEL (WASHINGTON DC, 2013).

was a fully equipped castle with apartments for the prince and administrative functions to broadcast the seat of power.[73] The castle's construction betrays the presence of Greek and French masons. French innovations include: arrow slits, the low talus, hoardings (wooden defensive structures built onto the crenellations for vertical shooting), and fireplaces. Frankish masonry techniques, e.g. chamfered stone frames integral to the masonry of doors and windows, slightly pointed and depressed vaults, built with carefully dressed voussoirs and strainer arches, and tall twin lancet windows with a depressed vault of arches made of porous stone are juxtaposed to Byzantine rubble masonry with small bricks in the joints and strong lime mortar.[74]

### *The Churches*

Impressive vestiges of the medieval period can be seen in churches and monastic foundations built by Orthodox and Latin patrons.[75] In the wake

73 P. Lock, "Castles and Seigneurial Influence," pp. 173–86.

74 Athanasoulis, "The Triangle of Power," pp. 111–51, 138.

75 Kitsiki-Panagopoulos, *Cistercian and Mendicant Monasteries*.

of the Fourth Crusade and the sack of Constantinople by the crusaders religious difference loomed large. Although the Venetians did not attempt to proselytise the Greek Orthodox population, in order to establish a Latin ecclesiastical hierarchy all Orthodox bishops were eventually evicted from Venetian territories.[76] Similarly new Latin bishoprics were founded in the Peloponnese, the Cyclades, and Euboea where the residence of the Latin patriarch was moved after the recapture of Constantinople by the Byzantines in 1261.[77] Many of the Latin churches that have survived were turned into mosques in the Ottoman period: e.g. the church of St Mark in Negroponte, which in the Ottoman period became the Friday mosque of the city, and the cathedrals of Canea and Candia. At times usages were blurred as Latin churches could sometimes be used as meeting places as in the case of the church of St Francis in Glarenza, which served in the 1270s as the assembly hall for the ruler, his nobles, and the burghers.[78]

The Latin churches of Greece and the Aegean are basilicas with one or three aisles without a transept (Figure 10.9). The side aisles are articulated as private chapels as we can still see in few remaining examples (e.g. the church of St Francis in Canea and St Paraskeve in Chalkis), a fact that is confirmed by archival documents from the Venetian archives. Although constructed during a time when in northern France churches were built in the Gothic style, the Latin churches of medieval Greece do not employ a skeletal structure but display thick walls and windows with modest tracery. Like their counterparts in the Holy Land, they have a plain chevet and vaulting that distinguish them from northern French examples.[79] Ogival arches and ribbed vaulting, two of the most characteristic elements of French Gothic cathedrals are not always present. They are used primarily in the chevet as in St Sophia in Andravida (Figure 10.10) and St Peter the Martyr in Herakleion (Figure 10.11). Moreover, some of the forms that we encounter in Greece follow much earlier Romanesque models and look outdated. This is a very important feature of colonial architecture,

76 Fedalto, *La Chiese Latina*, 1:312–52, esp. 318–20.

77 Fedalto, *La Chiesa Latina*, 2:90.

78 Athanasoulis, "The Triangle of Power," pp. 111–51, 125 and Tzavara, *Glarentza*, pp. 113–17.

79 A comparison with the 13th-century architecture in Toulouse and Majorca is a case in point. The relatively simple chevet may relate to the function of the surviving Latin churches of Greece that were Cistercian or mendicant foundations in which the most important feature would have been the nave and not the chevet; cf. Jean Bony, *French Gothic Architecture of the 12th and 13th Centuries* (Berkeley, 1983), p. 446; Herbert Dellwing, "L'architettura degli ordini mendicanti," in *Storia e cultura a Padova nell'età di Sant'Antonio: convegno internazionale di studi, 1–4 ottobre, 1981* (Padova-Monselice, 1982), pp. 457–65, and Herbert Dellwing, *Studien zur Baukunst der Bettelorden im Veneto; Die Gotik der monumentalen Gewolbebasiliken* (Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1970).

FIGURE 10.9 *Herakleion, Church of St Mark.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR

FIGURE 10.10 *Andravida, chevet of St Sophia.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR

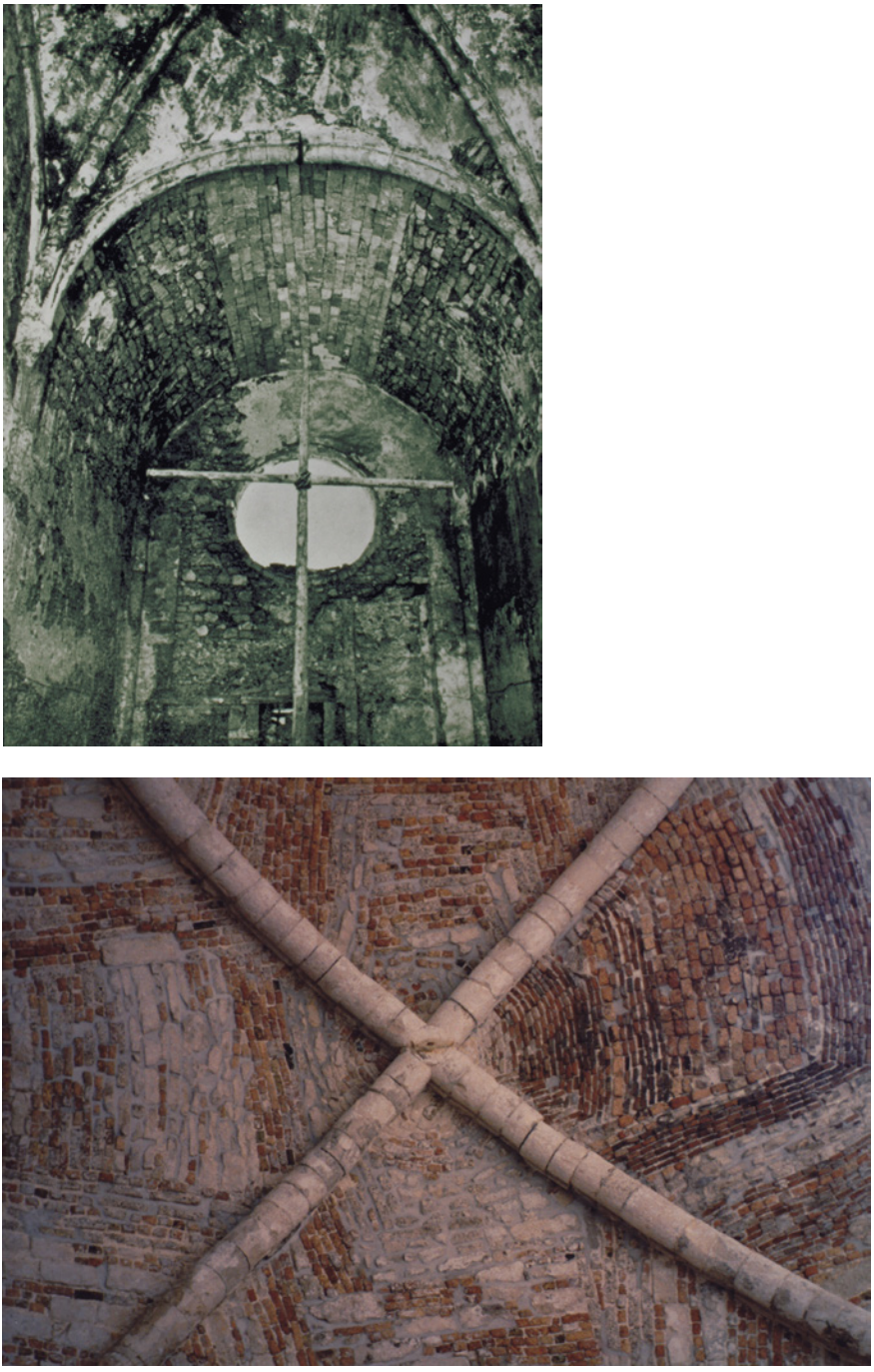

FIGURE 10.11 *Herakleion, St Peter the Martyr. Vaulting in the chevet.*
PHOTOS: AUTHOR

which *per force* refers to distant regional styles. It implies that for the most part the Latin buildings in medieval Greece were cut off from current architectural developments in the homeland either because they followed architectural models that had already developed in the Eastern Mediterranean as a result of Latin (crusader) expansion or because of lack of resources.

The sculptural embellishment of these churches, usually non-figural decorative sculpture found on portals, capitals, corbels, and window tracery shows an affiliation with the Gothic as can be observed in the crochet capitals of the ducal church of St Mark in Candia (Figure 10.9).[80] A close look at the monuments reveals the presence of skilled sculptors rather than architects well versed in the Gothic style. We never see a richly decorated Gothic portal in the fashion of highly articulated flamboyant Gothic style; in Crete tympana typically displayed coats of arms and sometimes must have been adorned with painted decoration as in the case of the church of St Mark in Candia which no longer survives.[81] The impressive Latin churches exerted an influence on the landscape and the locals as must have done the fortifications of the Latins.[82]

At the same time Greek churches multiplied in the villages of the Peloponnese and Crete in the second half of the 13th century and beyond. In the area of the Duchy of Athens many churches were painted in the first part of the century.[83] Regional surface surveys in Greece confirm a major population growth and the rising productivity of the countryside with many more nucleated hamlet and village sites in the 11th and 12th centuries.[84] The greater number of Orthodox

80 Georgopoulou, *Venice's Medieterranean Colonies*, pp. 120–31.

81 For the surviving coats of arms see Giuseppe Gerola, *Monumenti veneti*, 2:265–66. Sparsely decorated or plain tympana seem to be the case in the region of the Veneto as well.

82 Dimitris Theodosopoulos, "Aspects of Transfer of Gothic Masonry Vaulting Technology to Greece in the Case of Saint Sophia in Andravida," in *Proceedings of the 3rd International Congress on Construction History* (Cottbus, 2009), pp. 1403–10.

83 Maria Panayotidi, "Village Painting and the Question of Local 'Workshops'," in *Les villages dans l'Empire byzantin* (*IV^e–XV^e siècle*), ed. Jacques Lefort, Cécile Morrisson and Jean-Pierre Sodini, Realités byzantines 11 (Paris, 2005), pp. 193–212; Monika Hirschbichler, "The Crusader Paintings in the Frankish Gate at Nauplia, Greece: A Historical Construct in the Latin Principality of Morea," *Gesta* 44 (2005), 13–30; and Sophia Kalopissi-Verti, "The Impact of the Fourth Crusade on Monumental Painting of the Peloponnese and Eastern Central Greece up to the End of the Thirteenth Century," in *Byzantine Art in the Aftermath of the Fourth Crusade and its Consequences, International Congress, March 9–12, 2004*, ed. Panayotis L. Vokotopoulos (Athens, 2007), pp. 63–88.

84 John Bintliff, "The Frankish Countryside in Central Greece: The Evidence from Archaeological Survey," in *The Archaeology of Medieval Greece*, ed. Peter Lock and Guy D.R. Sanders (Oxford, 1996), pp. 1–18; idem, *The Complete Archaeology of Greece*, p. 391.

village churches in the later 13th century also suggests that Latin rule created the socio-economic conditions that allowed for their flourishing. Fifty-one churches of the 13th century with donor inscriptions have been surveyed by Sophia Kalopissi-Verti: twenty-nine churches were in the Byzantine Empire proper (concentrated in Lakonia after the return of Monemvasia, Mistra, Geraki and Maina to the Byzantines in 1262) and 22 in regions under Latin rule (five of them on Crete and six on Naxos).[85] Situated in rural areas, these were single-nave churches, barrel-vaulted and modest in size, suggesting a homogeneous cultural level of the donors and users of these provincial churches. In general the simple architecture of the churches (which in their majority are single-aisled or modest, additive buildings), the irregularities in plan, the thick masonry walls with few openings and the minimal ornamental sculptural designs on their portals and windows point to a local workforce using the indigenous stone construction technique without complex architectural planning.[86] Various factors indicate a "democratisation" of patronage and an expansion of the class of individuals who funded the construction and painted decoration of the churches: (a) the wide ranging discrepancy in the quality of painting in the 13th century seems to be a result of the broadening of the social range of patronage (wealth and social rank); (b) the decentralising historical and social developments after the Fourth Crusade allowed Greek local nobility (landowners, provincial magnates, and wealthy individuals) not connected to the Byzantine imperial family to gain prominence;[87]and (c) by the end of the 13th century donors' names are not accompanied by a title on inscriptions suggesting an even more expansive group of patrons from a lower class. On the islands (especially Naxos and Crete) and in the Peloponnesian Mani common people (laymen and clergy) are the ones who pay for the painting or the

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Sharon Gerstel is preparing a monograph on *Landscapes of the Village: The Devotional Life and Setting of the Late Byzantine Peasant*.

85 Sophia Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits in Thirteenth-Century Churches of Greece* (Vienna, 1992), pp. 34–35 and 41. On Geraki see Nikolaos C. Moutsopoulos and Georgios N. Dimitrokallis, *Γεράκι: οι εκκλησίες του οικισμού /Geraki: les églises du bourgade* (Thessalonica, 1981).

86 Klaus Gallas, *Mittel- und spätbyzantinische Sakralarchitektur der Insel Kreta: Versuch einer Typologie der kretischen Kirchen des 10. bis 17. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1983); and Kostas Lassithiotakis, "Οι κυριαρχούντες τύποι χριστιανικών ναών από τον 12ο αιώνα και εντεύθεν στη Δυτική Κρήτη" ["The Principal Types of Christian Churches since the 12th Century in Western Crete"], *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, 15–16 (1961–62), 173–201.

87 Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions*, pp. 33 and 44. Excluding some of the foundations in the Despotate of Epirus, which were founded by the despots, local elite shone in Castoria between the battle of Pelagonia (1259) and the Serbian conquest of 1342 during a time of prosperity when it was again part of the Byzantine Empire.

construction of a church either individually or in groups, as in the single nave barrel-vaulted church of the Holy Anargyroi in Kepoula dated to 1265.[88]

International trade and the opening of new markets may have expanded the horizons and earnings of Greek peasants and artisans and brought economic prosperity to provincial towns in the 13th century as the urban centres provided outlets of produce to the West. Apart from the greater number of churches in the countryside, landowning patterns and agricultural techniques remained constant for the most part so the rural landscape did not change dramatically.[89] As in all crusader states in the medieval Mediterranean undermanning was a constant problem for the Frankish fiefs in Greece.[90] Some of the large estates of the noble Byzantine families were divided after 1204 into smaller feudal units in accordance with western principles and eventually the Greek *archontes* became part of the feudal system; as a result local centres that were given certain privileges were strengthened.[91]

Churches sponsored by the Greek elite or by western feudal lords in their Greek villages strive to create buildings that are Byzantine structurally and stylistically but are also *en vogue*, so they use new architectural features visible in major urban monuments that display western features. The church of Panagia Katholike at Gastouni, built by the Greek Kalligopoulos brothers in 1278/9, is a Byzantine cross-in-square plan church with typical cloisonné masonry and decorative brickwork, has Italian gridiron pottery (*bacini*) on the exterior walls as well as a Gothic doorframe, a capital, and a cornice with billets (Figure 10.12).[92] Imported Italian pots (*bacini*) decorate the façade of a 15th century Greek church in Kitharida in Crete on the fief of the Venetian feudal lord and poet Marino Falier; despite the fact that he was a staunch Catholic he fought against the Venetian authorities to permit the ordination of a Greek priest that would benefit the farmers who worked his land.[93] A Frankish lord

88 Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions*, p. 35. The cost of the church of circa 4 × 2.50 metres was 14.5 *nomismata*.

89 Cooper, *Houses of the Morea*.

90 Bintliff, *The Complete Archaeology of Greece*, pp. 418–19.

91 Lefteris Sigalos, "Middle and Late Byzantine Houses in Greece (Tenth to Fifteenth Centuries)," in *Secular Buildings and the Archaeology of Everyday Life in the Byzantine Empire*, ed. Ken R. Dark (Oxford, 2004), pp. 53–81, 65.

92 Demetrios Athanasoulis, "Η αναχρονολόγηση του ναού της Παναγίας της Καθολικής στη Γαστούνη," ["The Redating of the Church of the Panagia Katholike at Gastouni"], *Δελτίον Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*, ser. 4, 24 (2003), 63–78.

93 Georgopoulou, "Vernacular Architecture," pp. 447–80; and Maria Vassilaki, "Saint Phanourios: Cult and Iconography," *Δελτίον Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 10 (1980–81), 223–38.

FIGURE 10.12 *Gastouni, Panagia Katholike.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR

in Boeotia, Anthony le Flamenc, commissioned a church in a Byzantine plan (cross-in-square of the four-column type) without any imported elements, obviously built by local workmen; the church, which eventually housed the tomb of the patron, was dedicated to St George and served as the katholikon of a Greek monastery.[94] Demetrios Athanasoulis has explained the stylistic resemblances on mainland Greece (Epirus, Athens, Mistra and Euboea) as the work of a travelling workshop. The Gothic typological influences are restricted; the Gothic influences on Orthodox church architecture in the region are found mainly in structure and morphology.[95] Other churches show no interest in new decorative details.[96] Numerous tiny Byzantine churches perched on hilltops of the Cretan countryside have the exact same characteristics.[97] Nevertheless, some

94 Sophia Kalopissi-Verti, "Relations between East and West in the Lordship of Athens and Thebes after 1204: Archaeological and Artistic Evidence," in *Archaeology and the Crusades: Proceedings of the Round Table, Nicosia, 1 February 2005*, ed. Peter Edbury and Sophia Kalopissi-Verti, (Athens, 2007), pp. 12–13.

95 Athanasoulis, "The Triangle of Power," pp. 146–50.

96 Myrto Georgopoulou-Verra, ed., *Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Monasteries of Achaia: Collective volume* (Athens, 2006); eadem, *The Kastro at Patras*, trans. David Hardy (Athens, 2000), esp. pp. 14–38.

97 Klaus Gallas, Klaus Wessel, and Manolis Borboudakis, eds., *Byzantinisches Kreta* (Munich, 1983).

FIGURE 10.13 *Varsamonero (Crete), monastery of St Phanourios.*
PHOTO: DIMITRIS TSOUGARAKIS

of the sculptural decoration of Cretan churches has a flamboyant "Gothic" flair, especially in the treatment of windows or the ornamental detailing of oculi, as in the case of the sculptural ornamentation of the monastery of St Phanourios in Varsamonero (Figure 10.13), which can be understood as an attempt to create a pole of attraction for pilgrims.[98]

### *Forts and Towers*

Other than the capital cities of each principality, the commonest settlement in medieval Greece was a fortified settlement with separate citadel and lower town. Above all, the landscape of medieval Greece is dominated by forts and towers that echo the rugged countryside. Rectangular towers reinforced the enceinte of a village or town at intervals, particularly at crucial points, such as corners and gateways.[99] Simple rectangular towers are typical of the Peloponnese region's Byzantine fortifications (the wall of Hexamilion at the

98 Georgopoulou, "Vernacular Architecture," pp. 1–34.

99 Athanasoulis, "The Triangle of Power," p. 117.

FIGURE 10.14 *General view of the Acropolis of Athens; James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, The Antiquities of Athens, vol. 2* (*London, 1787*).
COURTESY OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES, THE GENNADIUS LIBRARY.

Isthmus, Akrocorinth, Argos, and Patras) as well as the Frankish ones (Akova, Androusa, Kyveri, Ayionori, Mila, and Hagios Vasileios).[100]

New features tried out in France and the crusader states, like the concentric planning of the fortifications were used first in Chlemoutsi, it seems, and later on in Athens. The Athenian Acropolis was refurbished according to crusader concentric rings of fortification, successive bastions, a fortified residence (keep) at the northwest end of the Acropolis, and a domed hall built in the *Pinakotheke* by the Franks (Figure 10.14). The Rizokastro wall and the bastion that fortified the Klepsydra spring were built during the reign of the de La Roche family in the mid-13th century while new buildings were constructed in 1395–1444 by the Acciaiuoli.[101]

100 Timothy Gregory, *The Hexamilion and the Fortress* (Princeton, 1993), esp. pp. 132–34; Bon, *La Morée Franque* and idem, "The Medieval Fortifications of Acrocorinth and Vicinity," in *Corinth*, vol. 2, pt. 2, *The Defenses of Acrocorinth and the Lower Town*, ed. Rhys Carpenter and Antoine Bon (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), pp. 128–81, 160–281; Andrews, *The Castles of the Morea*.

101 Tasos Tanoulas, "The Athenian Acropolis as a Castle under Latin Rule (1204–1458): Military and Building Technology," in *Τεχνογνωσία στην Λατινοκρατούμενη Ελλάδα* [*Technology in Latin-Occupied Greece*] (Athens, 2000), pp. 96–122, esp. 106–17; and idem, *Τα Προπύλαια της*

FIGURE 10.15 *Frangokastello* (*Crete*).
PHOTO: OLAF TAUSCH

Free standing towers on mainland Greece and forts along the coasts of Crete (like the impressive Frangokastello on south-western Crete, (Figure 10.15) have been a recognisable feature of the landscape but their primary function is still debated. Frankish towers did not police routes but rather stood as strongholds built against raids. They were probably the residential and administrative headquarters of particular fiefs associated with villages within the lordship of regional barons or used for communication.[102] John Bintliff has studied the architecture of the isolated towers and has proposed a date that indicates pre-cannon warfare with rudimentary defences and arrow-slits.

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*Αθηναϊκής Ακρόπολης κατά τον Μεσαίωνα* [*The Propylaea of the Athenian Acropolis during the Middle Ages*], 2 vols. (Athens, 1997).

102 Andrews, *Castles of the Morea*; Peter Lock, "The Frankish Towers of Central Greece," in *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 81 (1986), 101–23; idem, "The Medieval Towers of Greece: A Problem in Chronology and Function," in *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. Benjamin Arbel, Bernard Hamilton, and David Jacoby (London, 1989), pp. 129–45; David Nicolle, *Crusader Castles*; and John Bintliff, *The Complete Archaeology of Greece*, p. 419.

On the islands of the Aegean archipelago, special care was given to create the necessary structures to defend the towns from raids and pirate assaults. Fortified settlements with houses built in rows used their back side as the fortification wall of the settlement in Lindos (Rhodes), Kimolos, Antiparos, Mastichohoria in Chios by the Genoese, and Naxos.[103] Such planned settlements seem to have close parallels with crusader settlements in the Levant.[104] Free standing Byzantine houses are still scattered in the *kastra* of the mainland, e.g. Geraki.[105]

The built environment depends to a large degree on unpretentious domestic structures that make up not only rural areas but even the bulk of the urban fabric. As in most medieval towns that have outlasted the Middle Ages, few remains of domestic architecture can be still detected intact; the houses of Mistra, a few houses and villas in Crete, fortified settlements (kastra) in the Aegean islands (Antiparos, Paros, etc.) or structures in rural Peloponnese uncovered in surveys give some idea of the landscape.[106] Arguably little has changed in the Aegean in terms of settlement and house designs since the 13th century. Only the island of Syros saw extensive rebuilding in the 19th century.[107] Moreover, the buildings and fortifications of Canea and Rethymnon, for instance, suffered only minor damage in the later medieval period and a large number of them were reused by the Ottomans but they preserve an image of the urban landscape that fits the 15th and 16th centuries and not necessarily the medieval period. Remains of houses of the Frankish period and especially from the rule of the de la Roche family (1205–1311) have been

103 Sigalos, "Middle and Late Byzantine Houses," pp. 53–81, esp. 68.

104 Ronnie Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 1998); Adrian J. Boas, *Crusader Archaeology: The Material Culture of the Latin East* (London, 1999).

105 Lefteris Sigalos, *Housing in Medieval and Post-Medieval Greece*. (Oxford, 2004); idem, "Middle and Late Byzantine Houses," pp. 65 and 70.

106 Cooper, *Houses of the Morea*; Athanassopoulos, "Landscape Archaeology," pp. 79–105; Bintliff, "Frankish Countryside," pp. 1–18; idem, "Reconstructing the Byzantine Countryside: New Approaches," in *Byzanz als Raum: zu Methoden und Inhalten der historischen Geographie des östlichen Mittelmeerraumes*, ed. Klaus Belke (Vienna, 2000), pp. 37–63.

107 Bintliff, *The Complete Archaeology of Greece*, p. 425.

excavated in Thebes not far from the castle of St Omer,[108] and in the area of the Athenian Agora.[109]

## Conclusion: Public Official Monuments and Local Realities

Uncovering the symbolic meaning of public monuments is important for appreciating the intentions of the rulers. Nonetheless, practical matters must also be considered: issues related to materials, patronage, and the available workforce. Assuming that the availability of building materials and local workers define to some degree the materiality of the monuments that will be built, it follows that the workforce, the technical skills of masons, and the presence of an imported or local master builder are critical for the outcome.[110] Until recently the art of Latin Greece had been interpreted as a colonial art, sponsored and executed by non-indigenous people who ruled over a foreign territory.[111] Such a binary hypothesis promoted a polemical discourse between the two communities by stressing the alterity between the overlords' high artistic pedigree, the Gothic style, and the indigenous, Byzantine style.[112] According to this reasoning, artistic production is intertwined with a search for ethnic identities in relation to political ideologies. In this scenario there is no room for a fully developed local artistic school that would incorporate imported and indigenous elements; masterminds and techniques have to be imported from abroad and local masons trained (hastily?) on the spot by foreign masters; finally, there is virtually no room for an indigenous patron of means. No

108 Pamela Armstrong, "Byzantine Thebes: Excavations on the Kadmeia, 1980," *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 88 (1993), 295–335.

109 Theodore Leslie Shear, "The Campaign of 1933," *Hesperia* 4 (1935), 451–74; and Kenneth M. Setton, "The Archaeology of Medieval Athens," in *Essays in Medieval Life and Thought, Presented in Honor of Austin Patterson Evans* (New York, 1955), pp. 227–58, repr. in Kenneth M. Setton, *Athens in the Middle Ages* (London, 1975), I. For the most recent excavations of Byzantine levels at the Athenian Agora see John McKesson Camp II, "Excavations in the Athenian Agora: 2002–2007," *Hesperia* 76 (2007), 627–63, esp. 646–48.

110 Robert Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium* (Princeton, 1999).

111 This 19th-century point of view is exemplified in the studies of Camille Enlart, *Gothic Art and Architecture in Cyprus* and idem, "Quelques monuments d'architecture gothique en Grèce," *Revue de l'art chrétien* 8 (1897), 309–14.

112 Charalambos Bouras has also noted the conservatism of Byzantine architecture vis-à-vis the challenge of the development of 13th-century Gothic architecture in Charalambos Bouras, "The Impact of Frankish Architecture," pp. 247–62.

diachronic development or any kind of assimilation of the imported art into a local idiom can be imagined in this polarised environment. It is important to insert into the equation the local population by according them a more significant role in shaping the architectural aesthetic of a region, understanding that they had more than one option.[113]

The juxtaposition of linguistic occurrences on the islands of Crete and Cyprus offers interesting insights; in Cyprus, where the royal monuments suggest beyond doubt the presence of an imported workforce, the majority of terms referring to architecture are French and Italian words even in Greek texts whereas in Crete some of the words for building materials had Greek roots.[114] We can thus surmise that, unlike the case of monumental painters who were predominantly local, there was a considerable transfer of western architects, sculptors, and masons from the West to the East as it has also been assumed for the crusader states and the Despotate of Epirus for sculptors.[115] Notarial documents from Crete mention the use of local artisans and masons and it is tempting to suggest the existence of workshops that were ethnically mixed in the 13th and 14th centuries. Numerous construction contracts in Candia confirm what seems intuitively obvious: the same masons would work on the construction of private homes regardless of the ethnicity of their patrons.[116]

The careful consideration of masonry techniques (that use the Byzantine practice of mixing in rubble and fragments of tiles) at the two Frankish buildings of Chlemoutsi and St Francis of Glarenza have shown the collaboration between Franks and Greeks on the ground.[117] In fact, a small group of churches shows signs of a fusion of western features and Byzantine tradition beyond the addition of one or two decorative details as is in the case in most rural churches.

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113 Fulvio Zuliani, "Le strade italiane del Gotico: Appunti per una revisione storiografica," *Hortus artium medievalium* 4 (1998), 145–54.

114 This is especially true in the chronicle of Leontios Makhairas, cf. Catherine Asdracha, "Cypriot Culture during the Lusignan Period: Acculturation and Ways of Resistance," *Σύμμεικτα* 9 (1994), 81–94, esp. 92; and for Crete; cf. Maria Georgopoulou, "Private Residences in Venetian Candia (Thirteenth to Fifteenth Centuries)," *Thesaurismata* 30 (2000), 95–126, esp. 110.

115 Linda Safran, "Exploring Artistic Links Between Epirus and Apulia in the Thirteenth Century: The Problem of Sculpture and Wall Painting," in *Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συμποσίου για το Δεσποτάτο της Ηπείρου* (*Άρτα, 27–31 Μαΐου 1990*) [*Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Despotate of Epirus* (*Arta, 27–31 May 1990*)], ed. E. Chrysos, (Arta, 1992), pp. 455–74.

116 Georgopoulou, "Private Residences," pp. 95–126.

117 Athanasoulis, "The Triangle of Power," p. 144.

FIGURE 10.16 *Merbaka* (*Argolid*), *Church of the Virgin.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR

Five churches in the Peloponnese incorporate Gothic and "Gothicising" features in an organic fashion: the katholikon of the Blachernae Monastery at Glarenza, the churches of the Virgin and the Saviour in Glatsa, the church of the Virgin in Merbaka (Argolid) and St George in Androusa (Messenia) (Figure 10.16). In addition to the features that are used in many other structures like pointed arches in the openings, ashlar masonry and decorated capitals, attached colonnettes, cornices with composite moldings, and corbels, these five churches introduce features unknown in Byzantine architecture, such as chamfered stone wall bases and chamfered joints between walls and roofs. They make wide use of new types of arches, pointed or segmental, and adopt the Gothic pointed vaults and groin vaulting with ribs. The widespread use and high degree of assimilation of these features into the architectural whole presuppose either western masons or the locals' familiarity with the new forms and, at the same time, the acquisition of the skills necessary to work soft stone.[118]

118 Athanasoulis, "The Triangle of Power."

When a back-water provincial town gains new life by becoming the seat of government of a new state, the revamping of its monuments and the concentration of teams of builders and new services obviously reinvigorates the adjacent region. The activities that new construction projects put in motion include the movement of people and ideas. The inevitable change in the landscape has long-term consequences; the influence that monuments like the castle of Chlemoutsi and the impressive Latin churches of the Cistercians and the mendicants exerted on the region and the locals are staggering. A recent re-evaluation of the archaeological remains and newly excavated sites has stressed the complexities of the transmission of skills and techniques but has also elucidated several issues of construction.[119] Demetrios Athanasoulis has proposed that throughout the 13th century the landscape of Frankish Greece (Epirus, the Despotate of Mistra and the Duchy of Athens) developed into a regional artistic centre originating in the court of the princes with the support of the Greek *archontes*. This local architectural idiom combined creatively French (Gothic), crusader, and Byzantine features, and was applied to buildings founded by Greeks and Franks alike; the fusion was gradual and depended on the means of the patron.[120]

Despite the differences in scholarship and focus for Frankish Peloponnese, Venetian Crete, and the Cycladic islands an overall view of the landscape of medieval Greece offers valuable perspectives for understanding its history and development. The colonial landscape of the Morea developed through its associations with mainland Greece, Naples, and France. Linguistic, social, cultural, and economic forces demanded an orientation towards the crusader Eastern Mediterranean region and stronger ties to the Byzantine heritage of the Peloponnese. The colonies of Venice worked as parts of an imperial maritime network. The long coexistence between Venetians and locals on Crete allowed the locals to find ways to accommodate their needs and to adjust their lives within the framework of Venetian rule. By cooperating with the authorities in agricultural production and the distribution of goods the locals championed their active involvement in agriculture, manufacture, and trade as a

119 Grossman, "Syncreticism Made Concrete," pp. 65–73; Dimitris Theodosopoulos, "Aspects of Transfer"; Georgopoulou, "Vernacular Architecture," pp. 447–80; and Demetrios Athanasoulis, "Η Ναοδομία στην Επισκοπή Ωλένης κατά την μέση και ύστερη βυζαντινή περίοδο" ["Church Construction in the Diocese of Olena during the Middle and Late Byzantine Period"] (unpublished doctoral thesis, Aristotelian University of Thessalonica, 2006).

120 Athanasoulis, "The Triangle of Power," p. 142.

critical means to further Venetian interests. The Greek and Jewish communities were after all vital for the production process on Venetian Crete. Their increasing success was translated into greater autonomy and easier access to the resources of the colony—this, in turn meant that they acquired more power to adjust the rules of the game to their benefit. Sally McKee has shown not only the extensive degree of interaction between Latins and Greeks but also how overwhelmingly Greek the culture of Candia was.[121]

121 Sally McKee, "Households," pp. 65–67.

CHAPTER 11

# Monumental Art in the Lordship of Athens and Thebes under Frankish and Catalan Rule (1212–1388): Latin and Greek Patronage

*Sophia Kalopissi-Verti*

This chapter will focus on monumental art in the Lordship of Athens and Thebes as a reflection of the encounter of the two worlds, East and West, in the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade. Chronologically it will extend from the beginning of the 13th to about the end of the 14th century including the rule of the Frankish lords (de la Roche, Saint Omer, de Brienne), from 1212 to 1311, and the dominion of the Catalans, from 1311 to 1388. Geographically it will include Attica, Boeotia and parts of the north-eastern Peloponnese (Argolis, Nauplia, peninsula of Methana) which belonged to the de la Roche lords of Athens.

The most imposing extant Latin monuments from this period, namely the fortifications—either newly built fortresses and towers or restored and reinforced Byzantine castles—bear testimony to the new rulers' power, their needs for defence, administration, and protection of rural products.[1] Excavations have brought to light remnants of the dwellings and storage rooms in the

1 Antoine Bon, "Fortresses médiévales de la Grèce centrale," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 61 (1937), 136–208; Peter Lock, "The Frankish Towers of Central Greece," *Annual of the British School at Athens* 81 (1986), 101–23; idem, "The Medieval Towers of Greece: A Problem of Chronology and Function," in *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. Benjamin Arbel, Bernard Hamilton and David Jacoby (London, 1989) [=*Mediterranean Historical Review* 4.1 (1989)], pp. 129–45; Eleni Makri, Konstantinos Tsakos and Angeliki Babylopoulou-Charitonidou, "Το Ριζόκαστρο. Σωζόμενα υπολείμματα: νέες παρατηρήσεις και επαναχρονολόγηση" ["Rizokastron. The Remains: New Observations and Re-Dating"], *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 14 (1987–88), 329–63; Tasos Tanoulas, "Η οχύρωση της Αθηναϊκής Ακρόπολης από τους Φράγκους σε συνάρτηση με τα κάστρα των Σταυροφόρων στη Μέση Ανατολή και την Κύπρο" ["The Fortification of the Athenian Acropolis by the Franks in Conjunction with the Crusader Castles of the Middle East and Cyprus"], *Πρακτικά του Γ΄ Διεθνούς Κυπρολογικού Συνεδρίου, Λευκωσία 1996* [*Proceedings of the Third International Cyprological Congress, Nicosia 1996*], 3 vols. (Nicosia, 2001), 2:18–83; idem, "The Athenian Acropolis as a Castle under Latin Rule (1204–1458): Military and Building Technology," in *Τεχνογνωσία στη Λατινοκρατούμενη Ελλάδα* [*Technology in Latin-Occupied Greece*] (Athens, 2000), pp. 96–122.

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towns and in the countryside showing the distribution of the population and the agrarian character of the settlements.[2] Numerous pottery finds testify to a rigorous local production and at the same time to significant imports primarily from Italy.[3] Stray finds of coins and the recovery of hoards bear also testimony to a monetary circulation and an extended trade network.[4] The few known specimens of monumental art of Latin sponsorship—secular and religious—and the great number of extant examples of painted churches of Orthodox patronage reveal the co-existence of a small corps of foreign conquerors and a large local population with different languages, sociopolitical institutions and doctrine. Did this co-existence lead to a mutual rapprochement or to a reaction of the local population? Can an interaction be observed or rather a tendency for introversion? Issues of confrontation and acculturation, differentiation,

2 For Boeotia, see John Bintliff, "Frankish Countryside in Central Greece: The Evidence from Archaeological Field Survey," in *The Archaeology of Medieval Greece*, ed. Peter Lock and Guy D.R. Sanders (Oxford, 1996), pp. 5–8.

3 For Thebes, see Pamela Armstrong, "Byzantine Thebes: Excavations on the Kadmeia 1980," *Annual of the British School of Athens* 88 (1993), 295–335; Joanita Vroom, *After Antiquity: Ceramics and Society in the Aegean from the 7th to the 20th Century: A Case Study from Boeotia, Central Greece* (Leiden, 2003), pp. 64–69, 164–69; Charis Koilakou, "Βυζαντινή και μεταβυζαντινή κεραμική από τη Θήβα" ["Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Pottery from Thebes"], in *Ε΄ Διεθνές Συνέδριο Βοιωτικών Μελετών, Θήβα 16–19 Σεπτεμβρίου 2005* [*Fifth International Conference of Boeotian Studies, Thebes 16–19 September 2005*] ( forthcoming). For pottery workshops in Athens, Maria Kazanaki-Lappa, "Medieval Athens," in *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou, 3 vols. (Washington DC, 2003), 2:643–45. For pottery from sites of Argos and Nauplion, which belonged to the de la Roche, see Anastasia Yangaki, "Céramique glaçurée provenant de Nauplie et d'Argos (XII$^{e}$–XIII$^{e}$ siècles): Observations préliminaires, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 13.1 (2008) Études, 587–616; eadem, *Εφυαλωμένη κεραμική από τη θέση «΄Αγιοι Θεόδωροι» στην Ακροναυπλία* (*11ος–17ος αι.*) [*Glazed Pottery from "Hagioi Theodoroi" in Akronauplia* (*11th–17th Centuries*)] (Athens, 2012), pp. 193–200.

4 See indicatively David M. Metcalf, "Frankish Petty Currency from the Areopagus at Athens," *Hesperia* 34 (1965), 203–23; Mina Galani-Krikou, "Φραγκικό εύρημα Αττικής (;) 1967" ["A Frankish Find in Attica (?) 1967"], *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 31 (1976), Α΄, 325–51; eadem, "Θήβα: 10ος–14ος αιώνας. Η νομισματική μαρτυρία από την Αγία Τριάδα" ["Thebes: 10th–14th Centuries: The Numismatic Evidence from the Holy Trinity"], *Σύμμεικτα* 11 (1997), 113–37; eadem, "Θήβα 6ος–15ος αιώνας. Η νομισματική μαρτυρία από το Πολιτιστικό Κέντρο" ["Thebes 6th–15th Centuries: The Numismatic Evidence from the Cultural Centre"], *Σύμμεικτα* 12 (1998), 141–70; Julian Baker, "Coin Circulation in Early 14th Century Thessaly and South-Eastern Mainland Greece," in *Χρήμα και Αγορά στην εποχή των Παλαιολόγων* [*Money and Market in the Age of the Palaiologoi*], ed. Nikos G. Moschonas, (Athens, 2003), pp. 293–336.

fusion, and appropriation will tentatively be addressed in the following on the basis primarily of the extant artistic evidence.[5]

## Monumental Art of Latin Patronage

In eastern central Greece over which extended the Lordship, and later Duchy, of Athens and Thebes, the Latin administrative and ecclesiastical authorities settled in the Byzantine castles of the Acropolis in Athens and the Kadmeia in Thebes.[6] The Frankish overlords reinforced the Byzantine fortifications and built or turned existing buildings into fortified residences. Orthodox churches were converted into Latin churches[7] and new religious houses were founded in Thebes, in Athens and their environs by Latin religious orders, mainly Benedictines, Franciscans, Dominicans, and Premonstratensians.[8] Daphni,

5 Sophia Kalopissi-Verti, "Επιπτώσεις της Δ΄ Σταυροφορίας στη μνημειακή ζωγραφική της Πελοποννήσου και της ανατολικής Στερεάς Ελλάδας έως τα τέλη του 13ου αιώνα / The Impact of the Fourth Crusade on Monumental Painting in the Peloponnese and Eastern Central Greece up to the End of the Thirteenth Century," in *Byzantine Art in the Aftermath of the Fourth Crusade: The Fourth Crusade and its Consequences, International Congress, March 9–12, 2004*, ed. Panayotis L. Vocotopoulos (Athens, 2007), pp. 63–88, colour pls. 6–7, pls. 44–48. For a short survey of the archaeological and art historical evidence in the Lordship of Athens and Thebes, eadem, "Relations between East and West in the Lordship of Athens and Thebes after 1204: Archaeological and Artistic Evidence," in *Archaeology and the Crusades: Proceedings of the Round Table, Nicosia, 1 February 2005*, ed. Peter Edbury and Sophia Kalopissi-Verti (Athens, 2007), pp. 1–33, figs. 1–15.

6 On Thebes, Sarantis Symeonoglou, *The Topography of Thebes from the Bronze Age to Modern Times* (Princeton, 1985); Charis Koilakou, "Byzantine Thebes," in *Heaven and Earth: Cities and Countryside in Byzantine Greece*, ed. Jenny Albani and Eugenia Chalkia (Athens, 2013), pp. 187–89. On the fortifications of Athens, see above n. 1. On the Frankish phase of the Acropolis, see Manolis Korres, "Ο Παρθενώνας από την αρχαία εποχή μέχρι τον 19ο αι." ["The Parthenon from Antiquity until the 19th Century"], in *Ο Παρθενώνας και η ακτινοβολία του στα νεώτερα χρόνια* [*Parthenon and its Radiance in the Modern Age*], ed. Panayotis Tournikiotis (Athens, 1994), pp. 148–51; Tasos Tanoulas, *Τα Προπύλαια της αθηναϊκής Ακρόπολης κατά τον Μεσαίωνα* [*The Propylaea of the Athenian Acropolis during the Middle Ages*], 2 vols. (Athens, 1997), 1:291–309; idem, "The Propylaea and the Western Access of the Acropolis," in *Acropolis Restoration: The CCAM Interventions*, ed. Richard Economakis (London, 1994), pp. 52–67.

7 For a brief overview, Kalopissi-Verti, "Relations between East and West," pp. 9–12.

8 On the presence of the Benedictines in the East, see recently Marina Koumanoudi, *Οι Βενεδικτίνοι στην Ελληνολατινική Ανατολή: Η περίπτωση της μονής του Αγίου Γεωργίου Μείζονος Βενετίας (11ος–15ος αι.)* [*The Benedictines in the Greco-Latin East: The Case of the Monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore of Venice (11th–15th Centuries)*] (Athens, 2011); on the church of St George in Thebes mentioned in four documents dated between 1270 and 1340, ibid. pp. 141–43.

one of the most prestigious and still extant Middle Byzantine monasteries, was donated by Otto de la Roche to the Cistercian monks of Bellevaux who rebuilt the 12th-century exonarthex.[9] In addition, few examples of sculptures in a western style found in Thebes and in Athens testify to the religious activities of the Latins in the Lordship.[10] However, there is very little evidence on the pictorial arts they produced.

In Athens soon after the Latin conquest, at the beginning of the 13th century, the Parthenon—the metropolitan church of the Byzantine archbishopric of Athens dedicated to the *Panagia Atheniotissa*—was turned into a Latin cathedral. Recent restoration works on the Acropolis have shown that the tower at the south-western end of the Parthenon, previously dated to the middle Byzantine period, was actually erected in the 13th century at the time of the de la Roche.[11] Consequently, the fragmentary murals painted directly

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On the activities of western religious orders in medieval Greece, Nickiphoros I. Tsougarakis, *The Latin Religious Orders in Medieval Greece, 1204–1500* (Turnhout, 2012); on the convents founded in the Lordship of Thebes, see ibid. pp. 140–41, 177, 269–70.

9 Gabriel Millet, *Le Monastère de Daphni: Histoire, architecture, mosaïques* (Paris, 1899); Anastasios Orlandos, "Νεώτερα ευρήματα εις την Μονήν Δαφνίου" ["New Finds in the Monastery of Daphni"], *Αρχείον Βυζαντινών Μνημείων της Ελλάδος* (1955–56), 69–73; Eustathios Stikas, "Στερέωσις και αποκατάστασις του εξωνάρθηκος του καθολικού της μονής Δαφνίου" ["Consolidation and Restoration of the Exonarthex of the Katholikon of the Monastery of Daphni"], *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* (1962–63), 25–43; Beata Kitsiki Panagopoulos, *Cistercian and Mendicant Monasteries in Medieval Greece* (Chicago, 1979), pp. 56–62.

10 See, for example, a marble capital with figures of angels in Thebes, Andromachi Katselaki, in *Byzantium 330–1453*, ed. Robin Cormack and Maria Vassilaki, exhibition catalogue (London, 2008), p. 446, no. 259; and two small marble statues of the Virgin in Athens, Maria Sklavou Mavroidi, *Γλυπτά του Βυζαντινού Μουσείου Αθηνών* [*Sculptures in the Byzantine Museum of Athens*] (Athens, 1999), p. 212, nos. 300–01; Nikos Melvani, "Η γλυπτική στις 'ιταλοκρατούμενες' και 'φραγκοκρατούμενες' περιοχές της ανατολικής Μεσογείου κατά τον 13ο και 14ο αιώνα: η διείσδυση της γοτθικής τέχνης και η συνύπαρξή της με τη βυζαντινή" ["Sculpture in the Italian-Held and Frankish-Held Territories of the Eastern Mediterranean in the 13th and 14th Centuries: The Penetration of Gothic and its Coexistence with Byzantine Art"], in *Γλυπτική και Λιθοξοϊκή στη Λατινική Ανατολή, 13ος–17ος αιώνας* [*Sculpture and Stone-Carving in the Latin East*] ed. Olga Gratziou (Herakleion, 2007), pp. 37–38. See also below, p. 403.

11 On the re-dating of the tower in the 13th century, Manolis Korres, "Der Parthenon bis 1687," in *Die Explosion des Parthenon*, exhibition catalogue (Berlin, 1990), pp. 23–24; idem, "Ο Παρθενώνας", p. 149; Tanoulas, *Τα Προπύλαια*, 1:308, n. 43; idem, " 'Το πολυτιμότερο στολίδι του κόσμου' στο στέμμα της Αραγωνίας: η αθηναϊκή Ακρόπολη υπό καταλανική κυριαρχία (1311–1388)" [" 'The Most Precious Jewel in the World' in the Crown of Aragon: the Athenian Acropolis under Catalan Rule (1311–1388)"], in *Η Καταλανο-Αραγωνική κυριαρχία*

on the marble blocks of its north wall were re-dated to the 13th century. It has been thus assumed that these paintings are remnants of the decoration of the converted Latin cathedral in the time of the de la Roche.[12]

The evidence of Frankish art in Thebes is based on literary sources. The *Chronicle of the Morea* recounts that Nicholas II de Saint Omer (1258–94), *bailli* of the Principality of Achaea (1287–89) and a relative of the de la Roche family from his mother's side, who ruled over half of Thebes, built a sumptuous palace on the Kadmeia suitable for a king.[13] He had it painted with scenes narrating episodes of the conquest of Syria, thus connecting his residence ideologically

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*στον ελληνικό χώρο* [*Catalan-Aragonese Rule in Greece*] (Athens, 2012), pp. 34–35. On the frescoes, see Andreas Xyngopoulos, "Παρθενώνος βυζαντιναί τοιχογραφίαι" ["The Byzantine Murals of the Parthenon"], *Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς* (1920), 36–53; idem, "Ο μεσαιωνικός πύργος του Παρθενώνος" ["The Medieval Tower of the Parthenon"], *Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς* (1960), 1–16; Anthony Cutler, "The Christian Wall Paintings in the Parthenon: Interpreting a Lost Monument," *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 12 (1994), 171–80; Nano Chatzidaki, "Mosaics and Wall-Paintings in Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Churches in Athens," in *Athens, from the Classical Period to the Present Day, 5th century B.C.–2000*, ed. Charalambos Bouras, Michael B. Sakellariou, Konstantinos S. Staicos, Evi Touloupa (Athens, 2000), pp. 249–50, fig. 2.

12 However Tanoulas, " 'Το πολυτιμότερο στολίδι του κόσμου'," p. 35, n. 35, expresses the view that the spiral staircase within the tower is Frankish whereas its marble walls could be older.

13 *The Chronicle of Morea* (*Το Χρονικόν του Μορέως*): *A History in Political Verse*, ed. John Schmitt (London, 1904; repr. Groningen, 1967), vv. 8080–92; Harold Lurier, ed. and trans., *Crusaders as Conquerors: The Chronicle of Morea* (New York, 1964), p. 298; Teresa Shawcross, *The Chronicle of Morea: Historiography in Crusader Greece* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 31–32. On the tower, Symeonoglou, *The Topography of Thebes*, p. 161. On the archaeological remains, Charis Koilakou, "Η οχύρωση της μεσαιωνικής Θήβας" ["The Fortifications of Medieval Thebes"] in *Δ΄ Διεθνές Συνέδριο Βοιωτικών Μελετών, Λιβαδειά 9–12 Σεπτεμβρίου 2000* [*Fourth International Conference of Boeotian Studies, Livadia 9–12 September 2000*], ed. Vasileios Aravantinos, 2 vols. numbered 4A and 4B [=*Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βοιωτικών Μελετών* (2008)], 4A:841–42. On the decoration, David Jacoby, "Knightly Values and Class Consciousness in the Crusader States of the Eastern Mediterranean," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 1 (1986), 169–70, repr. in idem, *Studies on the Crusader States and on Venetian Expansion* (Northampton, 1989), I; idem, "La littérature française dans les états latins de la Méditerranée orientale à l'époque des croisades: diffusion et création," in *Essor et fortune de la Chanson de geste dans l'Europe et l'Orient latin: Actes du IXe Congrès International de la Société Rencesvals pour l'étude des épopées romanes* (Modena, 1984), pp. 637–39, repr. in *Studies in the Crusader States*, II.

with the glorious moments of the crusaders in the Holy Land.[14] Saint Omer's palace was demolished by the Catalans in 1332.

Especially interesting is the church of St. George at Karditsa (ancient Akraiphnion) in Boeotia which marks the transition from the period of the Frankish Duchy of Athens to the establishment of Catalan rule in southern Greece.[15] According to the inscription, the Flemish knight Anthony le Flamenc, landlord of Karditsa and one of the participants and very few survivors of the battle of Halmyros (1311),[16] in which the Catalans routed the Franks, erected a church, according to the inscription, in the name of St. George, a saint venerated by Byzantines, Franks, and Catalans alike. Archaeological investigation has shown that the church had already existed, which means that the Frankish knight did not found the church but evidently supported financially its substantial renovation. Donations of Latin landlords to Orthodox churches and monasteries were not unknown in Latin- or Venetian-held regions. In fact, they were quite common in Venetian Crete, as recorded in the *Κατάστιχο εκκλησιών*

14 On paintings of episodes of the crusades in churches in France and Italy, see Paul Deschamps, "Combats de cavalerie et épisodes des Croisades dans les peintures murales du XII$^{e}$ et du XIII$^{e}$ siècle," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 13 (1947), 454–74; Gaetano Curzi, *La pittura dei Templari* (Milan, 2002).

15 William Miller, "The Frankish Inscription at Karditza," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 29 (1909), 198–201; idem, "Η φραγκική επιγραφή της εν Βοιωτία Καρδίτσης" ["The Frankish Inscription at Karditza in Boeotia"], *Νέος Ελληνομνήμων* 20 (1926), 377–80; Johannes Koder and Friedrich Hild, *Hellas und Thessalia* (Vienna, 1976), p. 182. On the church, Charis Koilakou, *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 42 (1987) B1, Χρονικά, pp. 116–17; Hieronymos (Liapis), Metropolitan of Thebes and Livadia, *Χριστιανική Βοιωτία* [*Christian Boeotia*] (Livadia, 2005), 1:424–29. Kalopissi-Verti, "Relations between East and West," p. 28, fig. 14.

16 Although le Flamenc is not among the two knights that the chronicler Muntaner mentions as having survived the battle of Halmyros, it is concluded from other sources that he was still alive in 1313; William Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient*, 2nd ed. (Amsterdam, 1964), pp. 132–34; Kenneth M. Setton, *Catalan Domination of Athens 1311–1388*, revised ed. (London, 1975), p. 11; Peter Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean 1204–1500* (London, 1995), p. 122. According to Raymond-Joseph Loenertz, "Hosios Lukas de Stiris dans quelques documents latins (1210–1309)," *Thesaurismata* 11 (1974), 32–33, 35, le Flamenc did not take part in the battle due to illness or injury. On the place of the battle, David Jacoby, "Catalans, Turcs et Vénitiens en Romanie (1305–1332): Un nouveau témoignage de Marino Sanudo Torsello," *Studi Medievali* 15 series 3 (1974), 223–30, repr. in idem, *Recherches sur la Méditerranée orientale du XII$^{e}$ au XV$^{e}$ siècle: Peuples, sociétés, économies* (London, 1979), V.

*και μοναστηριών του Κοινού*[17] and there are several examples in Lusignan Cyprus.[18] Moreover, the *Chronicle of the Morea* records donations made by William II deVillehardouin shortly before his death to monasteries both of the Franks and the Greeks.[19] In addition, the *Chronicle of Galaxeidi* mentions that the Hospitallers built a church dedicated to St John and offered it to the community of Galaxeidi in 1404.[20] According to the inscription over the *arcosolium* in the church of Akraiphnion, the monastery church was renovated and decorated in the year 1311 by two Greek brothers and hieromonks, the abbot Germanos and Nikodemos, who probably also arranged le Flamenc's burial in the church. In fact, the *arcosolium* under the inscription on the south wall of

17 Zacharias Tsirpanlis, ed., *Κατάστιχο εκκλησιών και μοναστηριών του Κοινού* (*1248–1548*)*: Συμβολή στη μελέτη των σχέσεων Πολιτείας και Εκκλησίας στη βενετοκρατούμενη Κρήτη* [*The Register of Churches and Monasteries of the State* (*1248–1548*)*: contribution to the study of the relations between Church and State in Venetian Crete*] (Ioannina, 1985), pp. 82–83 and passim. Chryssa Maltezou, "Κοινωνία και τέχνες στην Ελλάδα κατά τον 13ο αιώνα: Ιστορική εισαγωγή" ["Society and the Arts in 13th-Century Greece: An Historical Introduction"], *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 21 (2000), 9–16, esp. pp. 9–10, 14.

18 See the image of the Latin lady in the narthex of the church of Panagia Asinou; Sophia Kalopissi-Verti, "The Murals of the Narthex. The Paintings of the Late Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," in *Asinou Across Time: Studies in the Architecture and Murals of the Panagia Phorbiotissa, Cyprus*, ed. Annemarie Weyl Carr and Andréas Nicolaïdès, Dumbarton Oaks Studies 43 (Washington DC, 2012), pp. 122–30, and Annemarie Weyl Carr, ibid. p. 367; the depiction of the Latin couple of the Lusignan family in the scene of the Incredulity of Thomas in the north aisle of the church of the Holy Cross at Pelendri, Ioanna Christoforaki, "An Unusual Representation of the Incredulity from Lusignan Cyprus," *Cahiers Archéologiques* 48 (2000), 215–55; Nektarios Zarras, *Ο ναός του Τιμίου Σταυρού στο Πελένδρι* [*The Church of the True Cross at Pelendri*] (Nicosia, 2010), pp. 47–52; the icon of St Nicholas, now in the Byzantine Museum of the Archbishop Makarios III Foundation, dedicated by a knight of the Ravendel family to the church of St Nicholas of the Roof, Jaroslav Folda, "Crusader Art in the Kingdom of Cyprus c.1275–1291: Reflections on the State of the Questions," in *Cyprus and the Crusades*, ed. Nikos Coureas and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Nicosia, 1995), pp. 216–22; Ioannis A. Eliades, ed., *Η Κύπρος και η Ιταλία την εποχή του Βυζαντίου: το παράδειγμα της εικόνας του Αγίου Νικολάου της Στέγης του 13ου αι. που συντηρήθηκε στη Ρώμη* [*Cyprus and Italy in the Byzantine Age: The Case of the Icon of St Nicholas of the Roof which was Restored in Rome*] (Nicosia, 2009). See also Annemarie Weyl Carr, "The Holy Icons: A Lusignan Asset?" in *France and the Holy Land: Frankish Culture at the End of the Crusades*, ed. Daniel H. Weiss and Lisa Mahoney (Baltimore, 2004), pp. 319, 326.

19 *The Chronicle of Morea*, vv. 7778–7780.

20 Konstantinos N. Sathas, ed., *Χρονικόν ανέκδοτον Γαλαξειδίου* [*The Unpublished Chronicle of Galaxeidi*] (Athens, 1865), pp. 208–09. John Rosser, "Byzantine 'Isles of Refuge' in the *Chronicle of Galaxeidi*," in *The Archaeology of Medieval Greece*, pp. 141, 145, n. 43.

the *naos* has been identified as le Flamenc's tomb[21] and was decorated with frescoes of an eschatological character. The intrados of the arcosolium bears the figures of two angels, one of which holds the scroll of heaven[22] as in the monumental depiction of the Second Coming in Metochites's funerary chapel in *Mone Choras* in Constantinople (1315–21). The personifications of the sun and the moon as cosmological symbols decorate the scroll (Figure 11.1). Two more angels, one of them sounding the trumpet, have been revealed in the recent restoration works carried out by the 23rd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities on the wall directly above the arch of the tomb.[23] Stylistically the frescoes of Akraiphnion, though provincial, follow the early 14th-century trends in monumental painting in Byzantium. In fact, the church of St. George represents an epigraphically documented case of a Latin patron who made a donation to an Orthodox monastic church located in his fief and whose tomb was decorated with murals in accordance with Byzantine models. It offers thus a characteristic example of acculturation of a member of the upper class of the Latin community to the Byzantine cultural and religious ambience.

The surviving mural paintings in the antechamber of the gatehouse leading to the Latin part of the citadel of Nauplia in the Peloponnese, an area which belonged in the 13th century to the de la Roche overlords, offer another interesting example of monumental art that can be assigned with certainty to Latin patronage.[24] The key for identifying the patrons lies in the coats of arms depicted above the entrance to the chamber. Three of them have been identified by Wulf Schaefer, who uncovered the frescoes in 1956–58, as belonging to Hugh of Brienne, count of Lecce, to Isabelle, daughter of William II

21 For a different view, Lock, *The Franks*, p. 219.

22 Apocalypse 6:13–14; Isaiah 34:4. Herbert Hunger, "Ἑλιγήσεται ὁ οὐρανὸς ὡς βιβλίον" ["And the Heavens Shall be Folded together as a Book"], *Κληρονομία* 1 (1969), 79–82.

23 I wish to thank the director of the Ephorate, Dr. Pari Kalamara, and the archaeologist Yannis Vaxevanis for allowing me to see the newly revealed frescoes.

24 Wulf Schaefer, "Neue Untersuchungen über die Baugeschichte Nauplias im Mittelalter," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archaeologischen Instituts* 76 (1961), 156–214; Demetrios I. Pallas, "Ευρώπη και Βυζάντιο" ["Europe and Byzantium"], in *Βυζάντιο και Ευρώπη. Α΄ Διεθνής Βυζαντινολογική Συνάντηση, Δελφοί, 20–24 Ιουλίου 1985* [*Byzantium and Europe: First International Byzantine Meeting, Delphi, 20–24 July 1985*] (Athens, 1987), pp. 32–34; Sharon E.J. Gerstel, "Art and Identity in the Medieval Morea," in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy Parviz Mottahedeh (Washington DC, 2000), pp. 265–68; Monika Hirschbichler, "The Crusader Paintings in the Frankish Gate at Nauplia, Greece: A Historical Construct in the Latin Principality of Morea," *Gesta* 44 (2005), 13–30; Kalopissi-Verti, "Επιπτώσεις της Δ΄ Σταυροφορίας," pp. 64–65.

FIGURE 11.1 *Akraiphnion, Boeotia, church of St George, arcosolium. Angel holding the scroll of heaven.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR, BY PERMISSION OF THE 23RD EPHORATE OF BYZANTINE ANTIQUITIES.

de Villehardouin, and to her husband Florent de Hainaut, prince of Achaea (1289–97). Schaefer suggested furthermore that the frescoes were commissioned by Hugh of Brienne, who was appointed *bailli* of the duchy of Athens and guardian of the under-aged duke of Athens, Guy II de la Roche, and thus briefly governed the duchy (1291–94) and, accordingly, the areas of Argos and Nauplia. He also proposed that the occasion for the donation was the truce between the Byzantines and the principality in 1290/91. However, Monika Hirschbichler in a recent article argued that the coat of arms attributed to Florent de Hainaut should be rather assigned to Anthony le Flamenc, lord of Karditsa, and great baron of the Morea (1303–11). Therefore the paintings of the gate of Nauplia should be dated between 1291, the year in which Hugh of Brienne assumed power, and 1311, when he died at the battle of Halmyros.[25]

In addition to the coats of arms, the Latin inscriptions which accompany all scenes and figures and certain subjects, such as the Lamb of God, which at this time is encountered only in western medieval art while its representation was not allowed in the Eastern Church since the Council at Trullo in 691–92, reveal the Latin identity of the programme. The choice to depict certain saints especially honoured by pilgrims, such as St Christopher carrying the Christ-child and St James the Elder, venerated at Santiago di Compostela in Spain, relates the programme to crusader values. Nonetheless, other subjects, such as Christ in Glory within a mandorla held by four angels (Figure 11.2), recalling the central part of the Ascension of Christ, St Anthony, the exemplar of monasticism, and St George, now completely destroyed, equally honoured in Byzantium and in the crusader East, belong to the subjects shared by the two rites and reveal a rapprochement between the two ethnic groups. On the basis of their style, the frescoes in the gatehouse of Nauplia have been attributed to a local Byzantine painter who followed the provincial developments in art in southern Greece in the 13th century.[26]

A second layer of paintings in the gatehouse showing a warrior with no nimbus and a figure with a black-skinned face, probably a cynocephalus, have been attributed to the 14th century, before 1389, when the Franks lost control over the fortress of Nauplia. Schaefer had identified the dog-headed figure with St Christopher Cynocephalus.[27] Contrariwise, Monika Hirschbichler, regarding the two images as a pair, related them to the adventures of Alexander the Great with the cynocephali in India and to the narrations of the Romance of Alexander the Great which was a very popular text in both the Byzantine East

25 Hirschbichler, "The Crusader Paintings," pp. 20–21.

26 Gerstel, "Art and Identity," p. 268; Hischbichler, "The Crusader Paintings," pp. 21–22.

27 Schaefer, "Neue Untersuchungen," pp. 210–11.

FIGURE 11.2 *Akronauplia, Argolid, gatehouse. Angel holding Christ's mandorla.* PHOTO: AUTHOR, BY PERMISSION OF THE 25TH EPHORATE OF BYZANTINE ANTIQUITIES.

and the medieval West. She pointed out, furthermore, that the ancient hero was considered in western Europe as a personification of chivalric ideals and that the whole composition in the gatehouse served as a reminder of the crusader exemplars to the defenders of the fortress.[28]

In a period when there is very little literary or extant artistic evidence for the production of monumental painting by the Latins in Greek territories both painted layers in the gateway of the Frankish fortress of Nauplia convey clear political and ideological messages addressed to both Latins and Greeks.

## Monumental Art of Greek Patronage

### *Rule of the de la Roche (1212–1311): The Monuments*

Much more numerous are the extant monuments of the Orthodox local population particularly from the 13th century. This may be explained by the much larger numbers of the Greeks in relation to the Franks and, in addition, by the

28 Hischbichler, "The Crusader Paintings," pp. 22–24.

justifiable wish of the local population later to preserve their own monuments but not those of the Latins after their withdrawal from the land.

Among the earliest extant paintings in Attica after the establishment of Frankish rule are the few figures of Church Fathers and deacons that decorated once the bema of the church of St George at Oropos (about 1230), now exhibited in the Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens.[29] The painterly rendering of the volumes seems to reflect the mainstream artistic developments of the time. The images of two deacons preserved in the church of St George at Loukisia in Boeotia[30] (Figure 11.3) have been compared to the paintings in St George at Oropos and in St Peter at Kalyvia Kouvara and dated to the second quarter of the 13th century. This stylistic trend is continued in the church of the Holy Trinity at Kranidi in the Argolid, in the Peloponnese (1244),[31] (Figure 11.4) a region belonging then to the de la Roche family. The painter's name—Ioannes from the great city of Athens—is recorded in the foundation inscription, not without a certain pride: διὰ χειρὸς δὲ καμοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ καὶ ἀναστηλώσαντος τὰς σεπτὰς εἰκόνας ταύτας μεγαλοπόλεως Ἀθηνῶν (by the hand of me, Ioannes, who restored these holy images, from the great city of Athens).[32] The same painter is attested according to stylistic evidence in the few extant paintings in the church of St John Kalybites at Psachna on the island of Euboea (1245).[33]

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29 Manolis Chatzidakis, "Βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες στον Ωρωπό" ["Byzantine Murals in Oropos"], *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 1 (1959), 87–110; Nikolaos Nikoloudis, "Η περιοχή του Ωρωπού κατά τη βυζαντινή περίοδο και κατά τη Λατινοκρατία" ["The Area of Oropos in the Byzantine Period and the Period of Latin Rule"], in *Γ΄ Διεθνές Συνέδριο Βοιωτικών Μελετών, Θήβα, 4–8 Σεπτεμβρίου 1996* [*Third International Conference of Boeotian Studies, Thebes, 4–8 September 1996*], ed. Alexandra Christopoulou, 2 vols. numbered 3A and 3B [=*Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βοιωτικών Μελετών* (2000)], 3B:582–89.

30 Twenty-third Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, *Ο Άγιος Γεώργιος στα Λουκίσια* [*St George at Loukisia*] (Athens, 2010); Yannis Vaxevanis, "Οι τοιχογραφίες του ναού του Αγίου Γεωργίου στα Λουκίσια Βοιωτίας" ["The Murals of the Church of St George at Loukisia in Boeotia"], in *Τέταρτο Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας, 2009–2011, από τους προϊστορικούς στους νεώτερους χρόνους, 15–18 Μαρτίου 2012, Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλίας, Βόλος* [*Fourth Archaeological Meeting on Thessaly and Sterea Hellas, 2009–2011: From Prehistoric to Modern Times, 15–18 March 2012, University of Thessaly, Volos*] ( forthcoming). I wish to thank the author for showing me his unpublished paper.

31 Sophia Kalopissi-Verti, *Die Kirche der Hagia Triada bei Kranidi in der Argolis* (*1244*). *Ikonographishe und stilistische Analyse der Malereien* (Munich, 1975).

32 Kalopissi-Verti, *Die Kirche der Hagia Triada*, pp. 2–4; eadem, *Dedicatory Inscriptions and Donor Portraits in Thirteenth-Century Churches of Greece* (Vienna, 1992), pp. 64–65.

33 Kalopissi-Verti, *Die Kirche der Hagia Triada*, pp. 310–15; Melita Emmanuel, "Die Fresken der Kirche des Hosios Ioannes Kalybites auf Euboia," *Byzantinoslavica* 52 (1991), 136–44.

FIGURE 11.3 *Loukisia, Boeotia, church of St George. Deacon, detail.*
PHOTO: I. VAXEVANIS, BY PERMISSION OF THE 23RD EPHORATE OF BYZANTINE ANTIQUITIES.

The two churches in the eastern Peloponnese and in Euboea, which show the distances an itinerant painter could cover at that time, were related politically and ecclesiastically to Athens, since the Argolid at that time belonged to the de la Roche family while parts of Euboea were ecclesiastically dependent on the metropolis of Athens.[34]

On the basis of stylistic analysis a group of painted churches has been attributed to a local workshop active in Athens and in the countryside in the second quarter of the 13th century.[35] The most significant painted monument

34 Kalopissi-Verti, *Die Kirche der Hagia Triada*, pp. 318–19.

35 Nafsika Panselinou, "Επαρχιακό εργαστήριο ζωγραφικής που ανιχνεύεται από τον τοιχογραφικό διάκοσμο μνημείων του 13ου αιώνα στην Αττική" ["A Provincial Painters' workshop as Detected in the Murals of 13th-Century Monuments of Attica"], in *Δώρον. Τιμητικός τόμος στον καθηγητή Νίκο Νικονάνο* [*Gift: A Volume in Honour of Professor Nikos Nikonanos*] (Thessalonica, 2006),

FIGURE 11.4 *Kranidi, Argolid, church of the Holy Trinity. The Ascenscion.* PHOTO: AUTHOR, BY PERMISSION OF THE 25TH EPHORATE OF BYZANTINE ANTIQUITIES.

of this group is the church of St Peter at Kalyvia near Kouvaras in Mesogaia of eastern Attica.[36] Besides the dedication of the cross-in-square church to the leading apostles Peter and Paul, the dedicatory inscription records the date

pp. 169–76. On the role of local workshops, see Maria Panayotidi, "Village Painting and the Question of Local Workshops," in *Les Villages dans l'Empire byzantin* (*IV^e–XV^e siècle*), ed. Jacques Lefort, Cécile Morrisson and Jean-Pierre Sodini, Realités byzantines 11 (Paris, 2005), pp. 193–212. On the monuments of the Lordship of Athens and Thebes, see Monika Hirschbichler, "Monuments of a Syncretic Society: Wall Painting in the Latin Lordship of Athens, Greece (1204–1311)," (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Maryland, College Park, 2005).

36 Nafsika Coumbaraki-Panselinou, *Saint Pierre de Kalyvia-Kouvara et la chapelle de la Vierge de Mérenta, Deux monuments du XIII^e siècle en Attique* (Thessalonica, 1976); eadem, "Άγιος Πέτρος Καλυβίων Κουβαρά Αττικής" ["St Peter at Kalyvia Kouvara in Attica"], *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 14 (1987–88), 173–88; Eleni Ghini-Tsofopoulou, "Τα 'Μεσόγεια' από την επικράτηση του Χριστιανισμού έως την Οθωμανική κατάκτηση" ["Mesogaia from the Spread of Christianity until the Ottoman Conquest"], in *Μεσογαία: Ιστορία και Πολιτισμός των Μεσογείων Αττικής* [*Mesogaia: History and Culture of Mesogaia in Attica*] (Athens, 2001), p. 184. figs. 6–8.

of its erection in 1232/33 and the name of the founder, the monk and bishop Ignatios, *proedros* of Thermeia (Kythnos) and Kea, which was one of the suffragan bishoprics of the metropolis of Athens.[37] In addition to this important documentary information, the sophisticated language of the metrical inscription testifies to a scholarly milieu in early 13th-century Attica.

Preserved almost intact, the iconographic programme is in accordance with the established models of Orthodox church programmes. The equal role attributed to the leading apostles, Peter, the founder of the Church of Rome, and Paul, the most celebrated apostle in the East, for example in the scene of the Last Judgment is an indication of the new political situation in Frankish Attica. The foundation inscription praises Peter as the "foundation of Orthodox doctrines" (κρηπὶς ὀρθοδόξων δογμάτων) and Paul as the "preacher of godly teachings" (κῆρυξ ἐνθέων διδαγμάτων). If this emphasis on the two top-ranking apostles can be interpreted as a desire for compromise and rapprochement between Greeks and Latins on behalf of the founder, the portrait of Michael Choniates (d. *c.* 1222) in the sanctuary (Figure 11.5), nearly ten years after his death, shows the patron's desire to extol the last Orthodox metropolitan of Athens (1182–1204) before the Frankish conquest.

In addition, the representations of St Mamas and St Tryphon in the nave (Figure 11.6), who are considered as protectors of flocks and crops respectively, each holding a lamb in his arm, relate the iconography of the church to the rural communities of Mesogaia, an area which preserved its agrarian character from antiquity to almost the present day. Moreover, the images of St Floros and St Lauros, holding a chisel and cutters respectively, allude to their professions as stonemasons and to the handicrafts exercised by the local population.[38]

The stylistic features of the murals in St Peter at Kalyvia Kouvara, i.e. the adherence to the Komnenian artistic tradition traceable in certain figures and the flat, linear conception reflected in another group of paintings in the same church, link the painted decoration of St Peter to the murals that once adorned the two chapels of the cave church on Mount Penteli (now dispatched and exhibited in the Byzantine and Christian Museum of Athens), dated

37 On the dedicatory inscription, Coumbaraki-Panselinou, *Saint Pierre*, pp. 47–50; eadem, "Αγιος Πέτρος," pp. 173–78; Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory Inscriptions*, pp. 60–62. Andreas Rhoby, *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken* (Vienna, 2009), pp. 139–43. A now destroyed monogram on the impost of the mullion in the apse window mentioned Ignatios as bishop.

38 Sharon E.J. Gerstel, "The Byzantine Village Church: Observations on its Location and on Agricultural Aspects of its Program," in *Les Villages*, p. 170, fig. 3.

FIGURE 11.5 *Kalyvia Kouvara, Attica, church of St Peter. The Metropolitan of Athens Michael Choniates.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR, BY PERMISSION OF THE 1ST EPHORATE OF BYZANTINE ANTIQUITIES.

FIGURE 11.6 *Kalyvia Kouvara, Attica, church of St Peter. St Mamas and St Tryphon.* PHOTO: AUTHOR, BY PERMISSION OF THE 1ST EPHORATE OF BYZANTINE ANTIQUITIES.

to 1233/34.[39] Affinities between the two churches are also mirrored in the portrait of the metropolitan of Athens Michael Choniates depicted in the sanctuary of both churches—St Peter and the south chapel of the Spelia Pentelis. Moreover, the replacement of the portraits of Saints Barnabas and Kallinikos of the first, slightly earlier fresco layer in the sanctuary of the south chapel at Penteli by Saints Peter and Paul in the layer of 1233/34 reveals the same concerns evident in St Peter at Kalyvia Kouvara, also dedicated to both apostles, and is in accordance with the *Zeitgeist* in a time of confrontation and symbiosis of Latins and Greeks.

The painters' workshop attested in the two afore-mentioned monuments seems to have been active in two more churches within the town of Athens: St Marina on the Observatory Hill (*Asteroskopeio*) and St John the Theologian at Plaka.[40] The few extant figures of the earliest painted layer in the church of

39 Doula Mouriki, "Οι βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες της Σπηλιάς της Πεντέλης" ["The Byzantine Murals of the Spelia Pentelis"], *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 7 (1973–74), 79–119.

40 Eleni Kounoupiotou-Manolessou, "Άγιος Ιωάννης Θεολόγος: Εργασίαι στερεώσεως" ["St John the Theologian: Restoration Works"], *Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα Αθηνών* 8 (1975), 140–51;

St Marina may be compared to one group of paintings at Kalyvia Kouvara with regard to the modelling of the faces, the facial outlines, the linear rendering of the eyes and of the hair. The same linear features in an even more schematic form are found in the murals of St John the Theologian. Here the depiction of mounted military saints in the sanctuary and in the prothesis deviates from the standard iconographic programme of Byzantine churches. However, this arrangement is also found in two 13th-century churches on the island of Naxos and may be interpreted as a reflection of the encounter with the crusaders. In fact, the warrior saint on horseback in the prothesis has been compared with crusader icons in St Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai.[41]

The range of activities of this workshop seems to be impressively wide throughout the Lordship of Athens and Thebes. For example, the figure of the Pantokrator in the dome of the church of St John at Schematari in southern Boeotia (Figure 11.7), which has been detached and is now exhibited in the Christian and Byzantine Museum in Athens, has an arresting resemblance with the image of the Pantokrator in the chapel of St Nicholas at Spelia Pentelis (1232/33)[42] (Figure 11.8). In addition, more and more monuments that come to light in Attica, in Megaris and in southern Boeotia and are dated to the first half or around the middle of the 13th century are connected iconographically and stylistically to this workshop. For example, the images preserved in the sanctuary of the church of Hagia Sotera (Holy Saviour) in Maroussi[43] bear close resemblances to the linear style of the workshop. The same combination of linear and painterly features characterizes the recently uncovered fragments of the wall paintings in the church of St Nicholas at Varybobi (Thrakomakedones)

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Chatzidaki, "Mosaics and Wall-Paintings," pp. 250–54; Nafsika Panselinou, *Βυζαντινή Αθήνα* [*Byzantine Athens*] (Athens, 2004), pp. 60–61, pls. 24–27.

41 Kalopissi-Verti, "Επιπτώσεις της Δ΄ Σταυροφορίας," pp. 74–75.

42 Andromachi Katselaki, "Τοιχογραφίες" ["Murals"], in *Ο κόσμος του Βυζαντινού Μουσείου* [*The World of the Byzantine Museum*] (Athens, 2004), p. 108, fig. 85; Charis Koilakou, "Μνημειακή ζωγραφική στη βυζαντινή και μεταβυζαντινή Βοιωτία" ["Monumental Painting in Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Boeotia"], in *Εγκυκλοπαίδεια Μείζονος Ελληνισμού, Βοιωτία* [*Encyclopaedia of the Greek World, Boeotia*] accessible at <http://kassiani.fhw.gr/boeotia/forms/fLemma.aspx?lemmaId=12978> (consulted in September 2014). Hieronymos (Liapis), *Χριστιανική Βοιωτία*, 1:330–33.

43 Stelios Mouzakis, *Βυζαντινές–Μεταβυζαντινές Εκκλησίες Βόρειας Αττικής (12ος–19ος αιώνας): Αρχιτεκτονική–Εικονογραφική περιγραφή* [*Byzantine and post-Byzantine Churches of Northern Attica (12th–19th Century): Architectural and Iconographical Description*] (Athens, 2010), pp. 33–38.

FIGURE 11.7 *Schematari, Boeotia, church of St John. Pantokrator in the dome. Now in the Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens.*
PHOTO: Ο ΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ ΜΟΥΣΕΙΟΥ, ATHENS, 2004, FIG. 85, BY PERMISSION OF THE BYZANTINE AND CHRISTIAN MUSEUM.

at the foot of Mount Parnes.[44] Two frescoed churches in the plain of Megara, St Athanasius and St George at "Orkos", are also connected with it. In fact, the image of St Kyriake from the church of St Athanasius, nowadays exhibited in the Christian and Byzantine Museum, shares the same linearity with the dome frescoes of Spelia Pentelis.[45] Certain ornamental patterns still preserved in the church of St George at "Orkos" and the inscription ἡ φρόνησις (prudence), which

44 Mouzakis, *Βυζαντινές–Μεταβυζαντινές Εκκλησίες Βόρειας Αττικής*, pp. 127–32; Aikaterini Pantelidou-Alexiadou, "Προτάσεις και μέτρα για τη διάσωση των βυζαντινών και μεταβυζαντινών μνημείων της περιοχής δυτικής Αττικής μετά τους σεισμούς του 1999" ["Proposals and Measures for the Preservation of the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Monuments of Western Attica after the Earthquakes of 1999"], in *Σεισμόπληκτες εκκλησίες του Δήμου Αχαρνών* [*Churches of the Municipality of Acharnes Affected by the Earthquakes*], ed. Demetrios Yotas (Athens, 2004), p. 92.

45 Ioanna Stoufi-Poulimenou, *Βυζαντινές εκκλησίες στον Κάμπο των Μεγάρων* [*Byzantine Churches on the Plane of Megara*] (Athens, 2007), pp. 66–69, fig. 16, pl. 2.

FIGURE 11.8 *Spelia Pentelis, Attica, chapel of St Nicholas. Pantokrator in the dome. Now in the Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR, BY PERMISSION OF THE BYZANTINE AND CHRISTIAN MUSEUM.

FIGURE 11.9 *Kalyvia Kouvara, Attica, church of St George. Second Coming, individual punishments, detail.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR, BY PERMISSION OF THE 1ST EPHORATE OF BYZANTINE ANTIQUITIES.

accompanies one of the Church Fathers (John Chrysostom?) once depicted in the apse, find parallels in the chapels of the Spelia Pentelis.[46]

One more painters' workshop is attested in Attica shortly before the mid-13th century confirming the rigorous artistic activity in the first decades of the rule of the de la Roche. In fact, the rendering of the faces with the emphasised shaded parts around the contours in the figures of the Last Judgment in the church of St George at Kalyvia Kouvara (c. 1230–50)[47] (Figure 11.9) resembles the figures on the fragmentary paintings, probably also belonging to a scene of the Second Coming, of the first layer in the church of St Nicholas at the cemetery of Kalamos.[48]

46 Stoufi-Poulimenou, *Βυζαντινές εκκλησίες*, pp. 109–28.

47 Doula Mouriki, "An Unusual Representation of the Last Judgment in a Thirteenth Century Fresco at St. George near Kouvaras in Attica," *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 8 (1975–76), 145–71; Ghini-Tsofopoulou, "Τα 'Μεσόγεια'," p. 184, figs. 9–10.

48 Eleni Ghini-Tsofopoulou, "Άγιος Νικόλαος στο νεκροταφείο Καλάμου Αττικής: Νέα στοιχεία" [St Nicholas in the Cemetery of Kalamos in Attica: New Evidence"], *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 11 (1982–83), 227–48.

Few other monuments of the first half of the 13th century include mural decoration that cannot be attributed to the above mentioned workshops, such as the two fresco layers—the first very linear and flat, almost naïve, the second more painterly—in the church of the Hagioi Tessarakonta (Forty Martyrs) at Sykamino/Attica.[49] In addition, two 13th-century churches in the Argolid, in the vicinity of Kranidi, present different stylistic traditions. The frescoes of the church of the Taxiarches (or St Andrew) are characterised by a simplistic and naïve style and can be dated to about the middle of the century; the painter of the murals of St John the Theologian applies dense parallel lines to highlight the faces and model the garments and can probably be dated fairly later.[50]

Several frescoed monuments that have been preserved up to the present in the countryside go back to the second half of the 13th century. However, contrary to the stylistic coherence that was noticed in the first half of the century, mural decorations dated to its second half are characterised by a variety of stylistic idioms making it difficult to group painted ensembles together or assign them to the same master's hand or to a common workshop. This diversity of style, on the other hand, points to a great number of active painters and to their potentiality. Mostly provincial in quality, many of the paintings of this time still show stylistic echoes of Komnenian art and a tendency for simplification and linearity. In certain cases, however, a plastic rendering of the figures reflects the modern artistic developments in the major centres of Byzantium after the recovery of Constantinople. Only few monuments testify to a high-quality "imported" art opposed to the level of local craftsmanship.

The cross-in-square church of the Soteras (Saviour) in the plain of Megara is the product of an unknown, ambitious, and wealthy patron. Its frescoes, of an overall good quality, partly show a retrospective style adhering to Komnenian models, compared to contemporaneous churches in Megaris and in the other regions of the Lordship, a fact that initially led certain scholars to date them in the late 12th century.[51] However, the indication of volume and

49 Eleni Kounoupiotou-Manolessou, "Ναός Αγίων Τεσσαράκοντα στο Συκάμινο: Τα νεότερα ευρήματα" ["The Church of the Hagioi Tessarakonta near Sykamino: New Evidence"] in *Θωράκιον: Αφιέρωμα στη μνήμη του Παύλου Λαζαρίδη* [*Thorakion: A Dedication in Memory of Pavlos Lazaridis*] (Athens, 2004), pp. 313–23.

50 Nafsika Panselinou, "Τοιχογραφίες του 13ου αιώνα στην Αργολίδα: Ο ναός των Ταξιαρχών και ο Άγιος Ιωάννης ο Θεολόγος" ["Thirteenth-Century Murals in Argolid: The Church of the Taxiarches and St John the Theologian"], *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 16 (1991–92), 155–66.

51 Hélène Grigoriadou, "Peintures murales du XII[e] siècle en Grèce," (unpublished doctoral thesis, Paris, 1968), pp. 69–141; Hélène Grigoriadou-Cabagnols, "Affinités iconographiques

the painterly means applied in the rendering of certain figures, such as St Marina and St George, advocate for a later date, probably the third quarter of the 13th century.[52] In the vicinity of Megara, at Alepochori,[53] the small monastic church dedicated to the Saviour, a donation of a priest and his family, including his mother, is a much less ambitious monument. The frescoes, of lower quality and of a provincial character, show in their majority conservative features in iconography and style, mingled with certain reflections of contemporary art. They have been dated, on stylistic grounds, in the decades 1260–80.

Despite the simplification and schematisation in style that connects the frescoes of the church of the Panagia (the Virgin) at Merenta in Mesogaia[54] with the above discussed murals of the second quarter of the 13th century in Attica, the volumetric rendering of certain figures, such as the Holy Anargyroi, favours a later date in the 13th century.[55] Certain details, such as a shield with a chevron motif held by the centurion in the scene of the Crucifixion, show western influences. Moreover, Nikodemos at the feet of the dead Christ in the scene of the Lamentation is not dressed in the typical tunica and *himation* usually encountered in Byzantine painting, but rather in a garment that recalls

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de décors peints en Grèce au XII^e^ siècle," in *Πρακτικά του Πρώτου Διεθνούς Κυπρολογικού Συνεδρίου, Λευκωσία 1969*, [*Proceedings of the First International Cyprological Congress, Nicosia 1969*], 3 vols. in 4 parts (Nicosia, 1972), 2:38–39; Karin M. Skawran, *The Development of Middle Byzantine Fresco Painting in Greece* (Pretoria, 1982), pp. 175–76 and passim, figs. 319–35.

52 Vojislav J. Djurić, "La peinture murale byzantine: XII et XIII^e^ siècles," *Actes du XV^e^ Congrès International d'Études Byzantines, Athènes–Septembre 1976* (Athens, 1979), p. 225; Doula Mouriki, *Οι τοιχογραφίες του Σωτήρα κοντά στο Αλεποχώρι της Μεγαρίδος* [*The Murals of the Saviour near Alepochori of Megara*] (Athens, 1978), pp. 55–56; Sophia Kalopissi-Verti, "Tendenze stilistiche della pittura monumentale in Grecia durante il XIII secolo," *Corso di Cultura sull'arte Ravennate e Bizantina* 31 (1984), p. 247; Titos Papamastorakis, *Ο διάκοσμος του τρούλου των ναών της Παλαιολόγειας περιόδου στη Βαλκανική χερσόνησο και την Κύπρο* [*The Decoration of the Dome of Churches of the Palaiologan Period in the Balkans and Cyprus*] (Athens, 2001), p. 16; Stoufi-Poulimenou, *Βυζαντινές εκκλησίες*, pp. 151–59. The nowadays destroyed frescoes in the church of St. Demetrius "Kardata" close to Megara, which combine painterly with linear features, have been dated, correctly I think, to the last quarter of the 13th century, Stoufi-Poulimenou, *Βυζαντινές εκκλησίες*, pp. 203–22.

53 Mouriki, *Οι τοιχογραφίες του Σωτήρα κοντά στο Αλεποχώρι*.

54 Coumbaraki-Pansélinou, *Saint-Pierre*, pp. 123–70, pls. 58–85 (second quarter of the 13th century). For a slighlty later dating, see Mouriki, *Οι τοιχογραφίες του Σωτήρα κοντά στο Αλεποχώρι*, p. 58 (mid 13th century or a little later). Kalopissi-Verti, "Tendenze stilistiche," pp. 247–49. For colour plates, see Ghini-Tsofopoulou, "Τα 'Μεσόγεια'," figs. 11–12.

55 Coumbaraki-Pansélinou, *Saint-Pierre*, pl. 81.

the garb of Latin monks.[56] In addition, a monumental panel of St George Diasorites and St Theodore Teron on horseback (Figure 11.10) in a blind arch of the south wall holding triangular shields with a chequered motif, has its iconographic parallel in a 13th-century "crusader" icon of Sinai.[57] The wall painting has been dated, on stylistic grounds, to the beginning of the 14th century. The mounted saints hold lances with fastened pennants bearing the white cross on a red ground (St George) and the red-cross on a white ground (St Theodore) that have been connected to the Hospitallers and the Knights Templar respectively.

An important painted ensemble of the late 13th century is found in the Crypt of St Nicholas at Kampia in Boeotia.[58] The Deesis and other representations of eschatological content reveal the funerary function of the crypt. The paintings, which are the work of a provincial workshop with knowledge of the leading contemporary trends, have been dated on stylistic grounds to about 1300. The depiction of the metropolitan of Thebes Ioannes Kaloktenes approximately 100 years after his death reveals the strong bonds of the Orthodox people with one of their ecclesiastical leaders before the time of the Latin rule.

To the second half of the 13th century have been dated the paintings preserved in the dome and the apse of the church of St Nicholas at Exarchos in south Phthiotis, a region which probably belonged to the de la Roche family and later to the Catalans.[59] The iconography of the dome in the church of the Taxiarches in Markopoulo[60] deviates from the usual programme since it includes, among the figures of the prophets on the drum, the images of the medical saints Panteleemon, Cosmas, Damian, and the mother of the latter two, Theodote (Figure 11.11). A survival of an early Christian tradition, the

56 Coumbaraki-Pansélinou, *Saint-Pierre*, pls. 73–75.

57 Ghini-Tsofopoulou, "Τα 'Μεσόγεια,' " pp. 184–85, fig. 1; Kurt Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 20 (1966), 79–80, fig. 64.

58 Maria Panayotidi, "Οι τοιχογραφίες της κρύπτης του Αγίου Νικολάου στα Καμπιά της Βοιωτίας" ["The Frescoes of the Crypt of St Nicholas at Kampia in Boeotia"], in *Actes du XV^e Congrès International d'Études Byzantines, Athènes 1976*, 3 vols. in 4 parts (Athens, 1981), 2:597–622. Hieronymos (Liapis), *Χριστιανική Βοιωτία*, 1:288–95.

59 Papamastorakis, *Ο διάκοσμος του τρούλου*; Chara Konstantinidi, "Το Άγιο Μανδήλιο μεταξύ των ιεραρχών: ένα ακόμα σύμβολο της θείας ευχαριστίας" ["The Holy Mandelion among the Hierarchs: Another Symbol of the Eucharist"], in *Λαμπηδών. Αφιέρωμα στη μνήμη της Ντούλας Μουρίκη* [*Lampedon: A Dedication in Memory of Doula Mouriki*], 2 vols. (Athens, 2003), 2:485, fig. 6.

60 Maria Aspra-Vardavaki, "Οι βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες του Ταξιάρχη στο Μαρκόπουλο Αττικής" ["The Byzantine Murals of the Taxiarches at Markopoulo in Attica"], *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 8 (1975–76), 199–229.

FIGURE 11.10 *Merenta, Attica, church of the Virgin. St George Diasorites and St Theodore Teron on horseback.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR, BY PERMISSION OF THE 1ST EPHORATE OF BYZANTINE ANTIQUITIES.

FIGURE 11.11 *Markopoulo, Attica, church of the Taxiarches. The prophet Elisaios and St Theodote in the dome.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR, BY PERMISSION OF THE 1ST EPHORATE OF BYZANTINE ANTIQUITIES.

iconography of the dome in the church of the Taxiarches represents one of the rare instances of inclusion of saints' images in the dome in the Byzantine period and probably indicates the donor's intention to dedicate the church to the Holy Anargyroi. Stylistically the murals of the church belong to a provincial and simplified trend and have been dated to the last decades of the 13th century.

Komnenian reminiscences combined with corporeality in the frescoes of St John at Acharnes (Menidi)[61] indicate a date towards the end of the

61 Mouzakis, *Βυζαντινές–Μεταβυζαντινές Εκκλησίες Βόρειας Αττικής*, pp. 73–78. For other mural paintings in Attica—Panagia (Virgin) at Varamba, St Demetrius Saronikou, St George at Kadi, going back to the 13th century, mostly its second half, see Eleni Ghini-Tsofopoulou, "Νεώτερα από τη συντήρηση των βυζαντινών μνημείων στα Μεσόγεια" ["News from the Restoration of the Byzantine Monuments in Mesogaia"], in *Πρακτικά Γ΄ Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης ΝΑ. Αττικής, Καλύβια Αττικής, 5–8 Νοέμβρη 1987* [*Proceedings of the Third Scientific Congress of South-East Attica, Kalyvia, 5–8 November 1987*] (Kalyvia, 1988) pp. 431–44; eadem, "Τα 'Μεσόγεια,'" pp. 184–85. For Boeotia, see Koilakou, "Μνημειακή ζωγραφική στη βυζαντινή και μεταβυζαντινή Βοιωτία". The wall paintings of St Kyriake in Keratea/Attica, formerly dated to the 13th century, Dean McKenzie, "Provincial Byzantine Painting in Attica: H. Kyriaki, Keratea," *Cahiers Archéologiques* 30 (1982), 139–46, have been recently

13th century. The painterly rendering and classicising beauty of the faces in the few surviving fresco fragments in the church of Hagioi Theodoroi (ss. Theodores) at Aphidnes (Kiourka)[62] place the monument among those which follow the classical trend of the late 13th/beginning of the 14th century.

Three churches in the peninsula of Methana in the eastern Peloponnese, which was administered by the de la Roche rulers of Athens from 1212 to 1311, preserve their original mural paintings.[63] A linear simplistic approach and Komnenian reminiscences characterize the provincial murals of the church of the Panagitsa which have been dated to the decade 1270–80. A similar style combined with a painterly technique in the rendering of the faces characterises the few extant frescoes in the church of St John, also dated in the third quarter of the 13th century. The frescoes in the church of St Demetrius follow a simplified provincial style; they are characterised by the awkward execution of the disproportioned figures and have been dated to the beginning of the 14th century. The anonymous donors or renovators in an inscribed invocation appealing to the saints for their protection attest to the participation of more than one patron.

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re-dated on the basis of an inscription of the year 1197/98, Ghini-Tsofopoulou, "Νεώτερα από τη συντήρηση," pp. 439–41, figs. 6–7.

62 Mouzakis, *Βυζαντινές – Μεταβυζαντινές Εκκλησίες Βόρειας Αττικής*, pp. 203–209; Eleni Ghini-Tsofopoulou, "Αφίδνες, Άγιοι Θεόδωροι," ["Aphidnes, ss. Theodores"], *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 40 (1985), B, Χρονικά, p. 78. To the same time belong the few detached fragments of paintings from the now ruined church of St Nicholas or St Paraskeve at Kanavari, near Thebes: Charis Koilakou, "Βυζαντινή και μεταβυζαντινή ζωγραφική στη Θήβα" ["Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Painting in Thebes"], in *Γ΄ Διεθνές Συνέδριο Βοιωτικών Μελετών Θήβα, 4–8 Σεπτεμβρίου 1996* [*Third International Conference of Boeotian Studies, Thebes 4–8 September 1996*], ed. Vasileios Aravantinos, 2 vols. numbered 3A and 3B [=*Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βοιωτικών Μελετών* (2000)], 3A:1021–24, figs. 11–17.

63 Theodoros Koukoulis, "Medieval Methana and Catalogue of Churches," in *A Rough and Rocky Place: The Landscape and Settlement History of the Methana Peninsula, Greece*, ed. Christopher Mee and Hamish Forbes (Liverpool, 1997), pp. 92–100, 219–33, 239–40, 247–48, 250–55; Theodoros Koukoulis and Marianna Oikonomou, "Δύο βυζαντινοί ναοί των Μεθάνων: Άγιος Δημήτριος και Άγιος Ιωάννης ο Θεολόγος" ["Two Byzantine Churches of Methana: St Demetrius and St John the Theologian"], *Peloponnesiaka* 22 (1996–97), 221–76; Angeliki Mitsani, "Provincial Byzantine Wall Paintings on Methana, Greece," in *Byzantinische Malerei. Bildprogramme–Ikonographie–Stil. Symposion in Marburg vom 25.-29.6.1997*, ed. Guntram Koch (Wiesbaden, 2000), pp. 234–43; Panayotis L. Vocotopoulos, "Panagitsa: A Byzantine Chapel in Methana," in *Λιθόστρωτον. Studien zur byzantinischen Kunst und Geschichte. Festschrift für Marcell Restle*, ed. Birgitt Borkopp and Thomas Steppan (Stuttgart, 2000), pp. 313–18.

Particularly interesting is the painted decoration of the Omorphe Ekklesia (Hagioi Theodoroi) on Aegina, not only for its precise dating in the year 1289, but also for certain western influences that have recently been linked to the art of the crusader East.[64] Although Aegina was under the rule of the de la Roche at that time, the dedicatory inscription, incised on the west wall of the church, mentions the Byzantine emperor Andronikos II and the patriarch of Constantinople Athanasios I. Evidently the anonymous donor consciously wished to acknowledge not the Latin but the Byzantine authorities, probably encouraged by the fact that the duchy was then governed by a Greek, Helena Komnene Doukaina, who ruled from 1287 to 1291 as regent of her minor son Guillot and had refused to pay homage to the new prince of Achaea, Florent de Hainaut. According to Foskolou's apt analysis this attitude has to be linked to Andronikos II's opposition to his fathers's church policy and to Athanasios I's anti-Unionist activity even before he acceded to the patriarchal throne in 1289.[65]

Despite the orientation of the donor towards Constantinople, certain iconographic motifs reveal the impact of western art. Thus, although iconographically the paintings go back, to a great extent, to middle Byzantine models, there are secondary features that reveal the contact with western art. For example, the special way the masonry of city walls in the architectural background of the scenes (Figure 11.12) is rendered recalls Romanesque manuscripts and more specifically codices of the *Histoire Universelle* and the *Histoire d'Outremer* produced in the scriptoria of Acre in the second half of the 13th century.[66] These

64 Georgios Sotiriou, "Η Όμορφη Εκκλησιά Αιγίνης" ["The Omorphe Ekklesia of Aegina"], *Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών* 2 (1925), 243–76; Vasiliki Foskolou, "Η Όμορφη Εκκλησιά στην Αίγινα: Εικονογραφική και τεχνοτροπική ανάλυση των τοιχογραφιών" ["The Omorphe Ekklesia in Aegina: Iconographic and Stylistic Analysis of the Murals"], (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Athens, 2000); Charalambos Pennas, *Η βυζαντινή Αίγινα* [*Byzantine Aegina*] (Athens, 2004), pp. 20–29, figs. 20–30.

65 Foskolou, *Η Όμορφη Εκκλησιά στην Αίγινα*, pp. 28–41. See also Alice-Mary Talbot, "The Patriarch Athanasios (1289–1293; 1303–1309) and the Church," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 27 (1973), 11–28; eadem, *The Correspondence of Athanasios I* (Washington DC, 1975).

66 Vasiliki Foskolou, "Δυτικές επιδράσεις στην τέχνη της λατινοκρατούμενης Ανατολής: Μία πρόταση ιστορικής ανάγνωσης" ["Western Influences on the Art of the Latin East: A Proposal for a Historical Reading"], in *Ψηφίδες: Μελέτες Ιστορίας, Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης στη μνήμη της Στέλλας Παπαδάκη-Oekland* [*Tesserae: Studies in History, Archaeology and Art in Memory of Stella Papadaki-Oekland*], ed. Olga Gratziou and Christos Loukos (Herakleion, 2009), pp. 144–55. On western influences on Byzantine art, see Pallas, "Ευρώπη και Βυζάντιο," pp. 30–61; Stella Papadaki-Oekland, "Δυτικότροπες τοιχογραφίες του 14ου αιώνα στην Κρήτη: Η άλλη όψη μιας αμφίδρομης σχέσης" ["Western-Style Murals of the 14th Century in Crete: The Other Side of an Interrelationship"], in *Ευφρόσυνον: Αφιέρωμα στον Μανόλη Χατζηδάκη* [*Euphrosynon: A Dedication to Manolis Chatzidakis*], 2 vols. (Athens, 1992), 2:491–516.

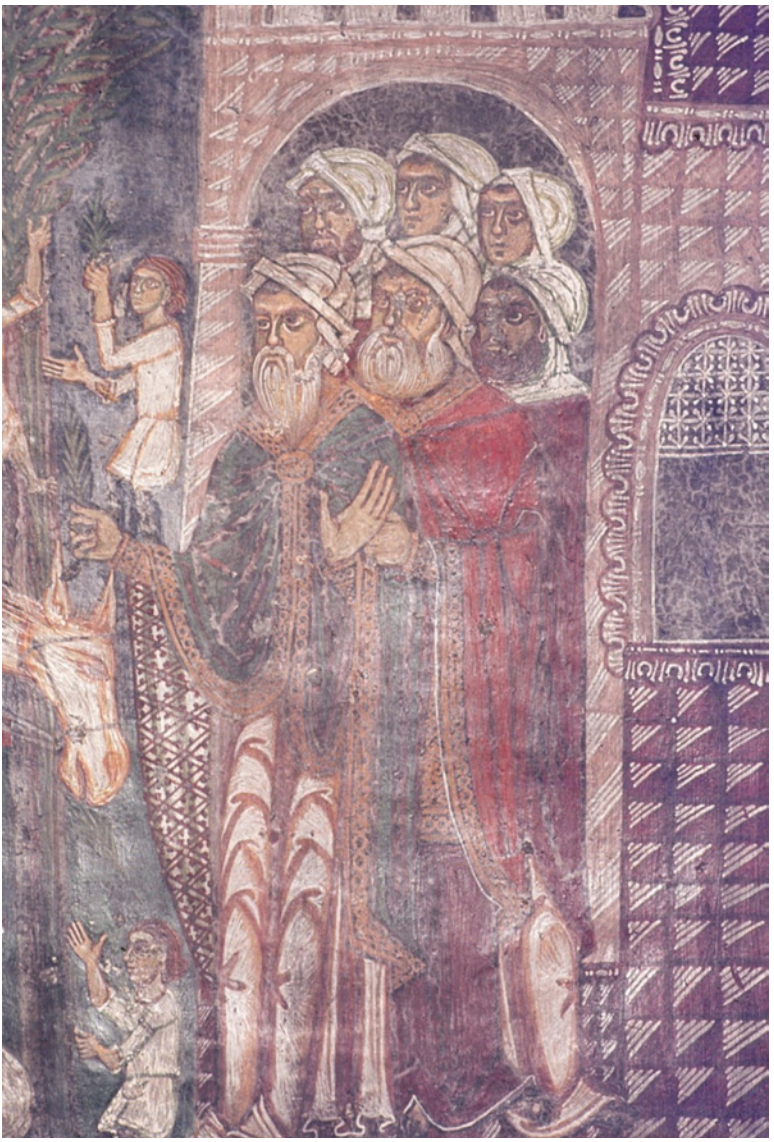

FIGURE 11.12 *Aegina, Omorphe Ekklesia. Entry into Jerusalem.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR, BY PERMISSION OF THE 1ST EPHORATE OF BYZANTINE ANTIQUITIES.

works were very popular among crusaders of the Latin states in the East and evidently very well known in the Frankish society of southern Greece, as shown by the mural decoration of the palace of Saint Omer in Thebes discussed above and by the painted cycle of the Trojan war that Niccolò da Martoni saw in 1395

adorning the palace of the Latin archbishop in Patras.[67] Foskolou's observation that the depiction of the masonry corresponds to the building techniques of the crusaders in the Latin East is of special interest and shows the origin, the pictorial reception and the mechanisms of transportation and dissemination of certain motifs. Stylistically the fresco decoration of Omorphe Ekklesia in Aegina belongs to the conservative trend prevailing in the Byzantine and in the Latin-held provinces of southern Greece which is characterised by the survival of Komnenian features. In particular, close affinities with mural decorations in Byzantine Lakonia and in Venetian Crete have been observed.

Local production of mural paintings in Aegina is also attested in the first phase of decoration in the church of St Nicholas Mavrika close to Paliachora.[68] The images of Christ and of St George mounted (Figure 11.13) find stylistic parallels in the figures of the first layer in the church of St Nicholas at Kalamos and in St George at Kalyvia Kouvara (mid-13th century) and show affinities with the frescoes of Omorphe Ekklesia on Aegina. They have been dated to the second half of the 13th century, probably in the last decades.

The church that by far surpasses in quality, in iconographic complexity and perceptions, and in style all other, generally provincial, monuments in the duchy is the Omorphe Ekklesia (St George) at Galatsi in Athens.[69] Besides the usual Christological and Mariological scenes, the sophisticated and knowledgeable iconographic programme is characterised by the juxtaposition of Old and New Testament scenes with similar symbolism. The numerous figures of holy Orthodox monks in the naos are in accord with the function of the church as a katholikon of a Greek Orthodox monastery. However, the depiction of St Peter as the middle of the three apostles in the Transfiguration in the naos, deviating from the established iconography of the scene, and the representation

67 Jacoby, "La littérature française," pp. 635–36; idem, "Knightly Values," pp. 170–73; Teresa Shawcross, "Re-Inventing the Homeland in the Historiography of Frankish Greece: The Fourth Crusade and the Legend of the Trojan War," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 27 (2003), 136–43.

68 Angeliki Mitsani, "Οι τοιχογραφίες του Αγίου Νικολάου Μαύρικα στην Αίγινα" ["The Murals of St Nicholas of Mavrika in Aegina"], *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 56 (2001), Α΄, Μελέτες, pp. 365–82, esp. 367–71; Pennas, *Η βυζαντινή Αίγινα*, pp. 75–81, figs. 86–87.

69 Agapi Vasilaki-Karakatsani, *Οι τοιχογραφίες της Όμορφης Εκκλησιάς στην Αθήνα* [*The Murals of Omorphe Ekklesia in Athens*] (Athens, 1971); Chatzidaki, "Mosaics and wall-paintings," pp. 270–72, figs. 1, 30–35; Panselinou, *Βυζαντινή Αθήνα*, pp. 73–74, pls. 45–49; Kalopissi-Verti, "Επιπτώσεις της Δ΄ Σταυροφορίας," pp. 77–78, pls. 7b, 48b; eadem, "Relations between East and West," pp. 18–23, figs. 8–10. I wish to thank my friend and colleague Charis Koilakou, then director of the First Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, for permitting and facilitating my study in the church.

FIGURE 11.13 *Aegina, church of St Nicholas Mavrika, near Palaiochora. St George on horseback, detail.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR, BY PERMISSION OF THE 1ST EPHORATE OF BYZANTINE ANTIQUITIES.

of western monks holding gospel books in the narthex show an attempt for consensus with the Latin Church. Nonetheless, the images of Saints Peter and Paul facing each other on the north and the south wall respectively in the naos emphasise the equal role recognised to the two leading apostles. Furthermore, emphasis is laid on the Incarnation, Sacrifice and the Eucharist which made possible the Church's missionary activities. The scene of the Mission of the Apostles (Figure 11.14) in the south chapel, in which both leading apostles Peter and Paul are equally accentuated, and the images of apostles holding the gospel book in the same chapel show an emphasis on the spreading of the Gospel and the role of apostolic preaching. In a way, the chapel's programme seems to be a pendant to that of the narthex in which figures of Latin monks holding the gospel book (Figure 11.15) are included. Was it an intention of the donor(s) to give an Orthodox answer to the missionary activities of the mendicant orders in the East? The depiction of a nowadays almost destroyed monumental figure of St George on horseback, in the south chapel, a highly venerated saint both in Byzantium and in the Latin East, on the one hand, and the scenes of his martyrdom in the narthex, on the other, seem to link the two spaces as well. The figure of St Procopius mounted next to George points to Palestine where he was especially venerated.[70] The representation of so many western saints in the narthex among monks of the Orthodox East is unique in mainland Greece and raises questions about the status and the intentions of the donor. The erudite, meaningful, and targeted iconographic programme and the stylistic quality of the frescoes point to an eminent donor(s) from ecclesiastical and monastic circles, exceptionally learned, preoccupied and concerned with the differences and disagreements between the two rites and promoting a rapprochement between the two Churches.

The murals of the Omorphe Ekklesia are the work of more than one painters who seem to have been trained in one of the major artistic centres of the time, probably Thessalonica. The stylistic affinities with the second phase of the fresco decoration in the church of St Nicholas at Kalamos[71] and with one of the

70 Georgios Tsantilas, "Η λατρεία του Αγίου Προκοπίου την περίοδο των Σταυροφόρων και η βιογραφική εικόνα του στο Πατριαρχείο Ιεροσολύμων" ["The Cult of St Procopius in the Crusader Period and his Vita Icon in the Patriarchate of Jerusalem"], *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 27 (2006), 245–58.

71 Charalambos Bouras, Athina Kalogeropoulou and Rena Andreadi, *Εκκλησίες της Αττικής* [*Churches of Attica*] (Athens, 1969), pp. 360–62, figs. 327–36; Doula Mouriki, "Stylistic Trends in Monumental Painting of Greece at the Beginning of the Fourteenth Century," in *L'art byzantin au début du XIV^e siècle, Symposium de Gračanica 1973* (Belgrade, 1978), p. 75, fig. 42.

FIGURE 11.14 *Athens, Galatsi, Omorphe Ekklesia, south chapel. Mission of the Apostles.* PHOTO: AUTHOR, BY PERMISSION OF THE 1ST EPHORATE OF BYZANTINE ANTIQUITIES.

painters of the church of the Hodegetria at Spelies on Euboea (1311)[72] reveal the range of itinerant workshops coming from northern Greece, the penetration of the art of Thessalonica and its neighbouring area in southern Greece, and the reception of these progressive stylistic trends by donors in Frankish-held regions of southern Greece. Lastly the exact date of the frescoes in Spelies of Euboea gives a terminus that allows a dating of the murals of the Omorphe Ekklesia to around 1300 or to the beginning of the 14th century.

### *The Impact of the Encounter between the Greeks and Latins: Identities, Reactions, and Rapprochement*

The numerous extant Orthodox religious foundations dated, partly through inscriptions, to the first half of the 13th century, their diffusion in both town and country, the attestation of at least three painters' workshops working

72 Melita Emmanuel, "Die Fresken der Muttergottes-Hodegetria-Kirche in Spelies auf der Insel Euboia (1311). Bemerkungen zu Ikonographie und Stil," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 83 (1990), 451–67.

FIGURE 11.15 *Athens, Galatsi, Omorphe Ekklesia, narthex. Latin monk.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR, BY PERMISSION OF THE 1ST EPHORATE OF BYZANTINE ANTIQUITIES.

simultaneously, the range of the painters' activities outside Attica in neighbouring regions (Boeotia, Euboea, Argolid) reveal a time of peace, stability, and economic and cultural flourishing for the Orthodox population. A letter addressed by Pope Innocent III to the Latin Archbishop of Athens Bérard in

1209 confirming privileges of four abbeys (*abbatias*) and 17 monasteries (*monasteria*) in Athens and its environs, which were under the jurisdiction of the Latin archbishopric of Athens,[73] also testifies to a considerable number of active monasteries at the beginning of the 13th century.

The attitude of the painter Ioannes who mentions with pride his place of origin, the great city of Athens (μεγαλοπόλεως Ἀθηνῶν), in the foundation inscription of the church of the Holy Trinity in Kranidi/Argolid in 1244, is indicative of the self-esteem of the painters and of the reception of Athens in the consciences of the Greeks at that time. A proud sense of identity begins to emerge. In addition, the scholarly language of the metrical inscription in the church of St Peter at Kalyvia Kouvara reveals a high-standing cultural milieu at least among the Greek high ecclesiastical hierarchy.[74]

At the same time, shortly before and around the mid-13th century, a workshop of sculptors probably originating from southern Italy who were assumedly also active in the court of the Komnenoi-Doukai rulers of Epirus is attested in Athens.[75] The funerary sculptures showing a western style bear inscriptions, both in Greek and Latin, which reveal that the workshop addressed a mixed, Greek and Latin, clientele. This fact points to an acculturation, to a certain extent, from the side of the Greek patrons who evidently belonged to a rich middle class and had the means to commission sculpted burial monuments alike to those of the Franks. Contrariwise, in the extant monumental paintings of the first half of the 13th century there are no signs of western painters or direct western influences. However, the Latin conquest had its consequences, first of all in style which, based on the previous Komnenian tradition, after the

73 Othmar Hageneder et al., eds., *Die Register Innocenz' III.*, 12 vols. (Graz, 1964–) [in progress], 11:403–08, no. 250; Johannes Koder, "Der Schutzbrief des Papstes Innozenz III. für die Kirche Athens", *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 26 (1977), 129–41. See also Jean Longnon, "L'organisation de l'église d'Athènes par Innocent III," in *Mémorial Louis Petit. Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie byzantines* (Bucharest, 1948), 336–46.

74 See above, p. 383.

75 Andreas Xyngopoulos, "Φραγκοβυζαντινά γλυπτά εν Αθήναις" [Franco-Byzantine Sculpture in Athens"], *Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς* (1991), 69–102; Sklavou Mavroidi, *Γλυπτά του Βυζαντινού Μουσείου*, pp. 189–95, nos. 263–71; Pallas, "Ευρώπη και Βυζάντιο," pp. 27–28, fig. 1; Linda Safran, "Exploring Artistic Links between Epirus and Apulia in the Thirteenth Century: The Problem of Sculpture and Wall Painting," in *Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συμποσίου για το Δεσποτάτο της Ηπείρου, (Άρτα 27–31 Μαΐου 1990)* [*Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Despotate of Epirus (Arta 27–31 May 1990)*], ed. Evangelos Chrysos (Arta, 1992), pp. 457–59; Kalopissi-Verti, "Relations between East and West," pp. 24–28; Melvani, "Η γλυπτική," pp. 37–38. See also Eric A. Ivison, "Latin Tomb Monuments in the Levant 1204–ca 1450," in *The Archaeology of Medieval Greece*, pp. 92–94.

loss of Constantinople, either continues the old artistic models or simplifies and schematises them.

The second half of the 13th century is characterised by a great number of monuments and an almost equal number of painters. In contrast to the monuments of the first half of the century, only rarely can a painter be attested that worked on more than one monument. The diversity of stylistic idioms and the gradations in quality show a broad participation of different social strata disposing of varying financial means and differentiated taste and cultural niveau. Although the majority of the painted ensembles show a simplified and conservative style still adhering to Komnenian models, the principles of the new trends of official monumental art as developed in the great artistic centres, placing emphasis on the painterly means and the rendering of volume, gradually penetrate, particularly after the recapture of Constantinople in 1261.

As far as the selection of iconographic subjects is concerned there are details indicating the problems that arose from the confrontation with the Latin doctrine and culture and their reception by the locals. The emphasis on both leading apostles Peter and Paul, as representatives of the two Churches, and sometimes the prominent place given to St Paul, the apostle *par excellence* of the East,[76] as well as the portraiture of significant Orthodox metropolitans before the Latin conquest, namely Michael Choniates and Ioannes Kaloktenes, may be considered as expressions of identity.[77] The predilection for images of mounted warrior saints has been interpreted by Sharon Gerstel as "a reciprocal interchange" between the two cultures.[78] A symbolic indication of approach between the Latin and Orthodox population is probably reflected in the depiction of the Embrace of Peter and Paul.[79] These subjects seem to be a kind of response, a conscious reply, to the new challenges provoked by the encounter with the conquerors, their culture and doctrine, a response that propagates identity or shows either opposition and reaction or rapprochement. The depiction of the Melismos, the pictorial expression of the Eucharist according to the

76 Mouriki, "An Unusual Representation," pp. 154–55, 170.

77 See above, pp. 383–85 and 392.

78 Gerstel, "Art and Identity," pp. 269–80, esp. p. 273.

79 See the church of St George at Skourta in the region of Dervenochoria in Boeotia (end of the 13th century). The frescoes are destroyed but they are known from old photos: Koilakou, "Μνημειακή ζωγραφική στη βυζαντινή και μεταβυζαντινή Βοιωτία". On iconographic subjects in Byzantine art inspired by the confrontation of the two Churches, see Nikolaos Gkioles, "Εικονογραφικά θέματα στη βυζαντινή τέχνη εμπνευσμένα από την αντιπαράθεση και τα σχίσματα των δύο εκκλησιών" ["Iconographic Themes in Byzantine Art Inspired by the Confrontation and Schisms of the Two Churches"] in *Θωράκιον*, pp. 263–81 (on the Embrace of Peter and Paul, pp. 276–77).

Orthodox rite, well-established in the semi-cylinder of the apse in this time, has also been considered as the Orthodox answer to the challenge of the Latin doctrine.[80] Moreover, a predilection for representations of the Synaxis of the Archangels may be connected to the triumph of the Orthodox faith also alluding to the confrontation of the two doctrines.[81] In addition, the archaising expression "ἀναστηλώσαντος τὰς σεπτὰς εἰκόνας" in the foundation inscription of the Holy Trinity at Kranidi[82] points to church inscriptions dated immediately after the restoration of the icons in 843, such as those in St Sophia in Constantinople and in the church of the Koimesis (Dormition) in Nicaea,[83] and might allude to the Frankish conquest and its consequences for the Orthodox Church and to the native population's wish to restore their churches and their decoration.

Self-consciousness of the local population's own cultural tradition and identity increased gradually after the installation of the Franks and the confrontation with them. The inscription of the Omorphe Ekklesia in Aegina reveals the loyalty of an anonymous individual to the Byzantine imperial and patriarchal policies. On the other hand, in certain painted ensembles of the second half of the century the impact of crusader art becomes evident, for example in the church of the Virgin in Merenta, and, paradoxically, in the Omorphe Ekklesia on Aegina itself, whose donor openly declares his loyalty to Constantinople.[84] Only in very rare cases, an inclination for cultural and religious amalgamation may be traced especially towards the end of the 13th century or the beginning of the 14th, as for example, in the enigmatic Omorphe Ekklesia at Galatsi.[85]

The great number of the extant churches dated to the 13th century dispersed in the landscape of Attica, Boeotia and the Argolid shows an active and relatively prosperous local population at the time of the rule of the Burgundian family of de la Roche. The concentration of churches in fertile plains, rich in agricultural products and stock-breeding, such as the Mesogaia and the Megaris, reveals the agrarian character of the economy. The erection of

80 Sharon E.J. Gerstel, *Beholding the Sacred Mysteries: Programs of the Byzantine Sanctuary* (Seattle, 1999), p. 47. Gkioles, "Εικονογραφικά θέματα," pp. 271–73. On the iconography of the Melismos, Chara Konstantinidi, *O Μελισμός* (Athens, 2008).

81 Kalopissi-Verti, *Die Kirche der Hagia Triada*, p. 192.

82 Kalopissi-Verti, *Die Kirche der Hagia Triada*, pp. 2–4; eadem, *Dedicatory Inscriptions*, pp. 64–65.

83 Cyril Mango, *Materials for the Study of St. Sophia at Istanbul* (Washington DC, 1962), p. 82; Theodor Schmit, *Die Koimesis-Kirche von Nikaia* (Berlin, 1927), p. 123, pl. XIII; E. Lipčić, "Navkratij Nikejskie Mosaiki," *Zbornik Radova Vizantinološkog Instituta* 8.2 (1964) [=Mélanges G. Ostrogorsky II], 241–46.

84 See above, pp. 391–93 and 396–98.

85 See above, pp. 398–401.

ambitious cross-in-square churches in Megaris[86] and in Attica[87] points to well-to-do donors among the Greek Orthodox population. Large built storage vessels (σιροί) and ceramic jars which came to light in clusters during excavations confirm the production and storage of agrarian goods.[88] This accumulated wealth of agricultural products may be connected with the new developments in commerce after the Fourth Crusade, with the growth of long-distance maritime trade and shipping and with the integration of the Latin Romania, as David Jacoby has observed, within the trans-Mediterranean trade pattern and the western supply system.[89]

### *The Catalan Domination (1311–1388): The Monuments*

The Catalans focused their building activities on erecting or restoring older fortifications, castles and towers.[90] In the Acropolis of Athens they did not make any changes thus preserving the alterations implemented by the Franks

86 St Athanasius, St Nicholas at "Akres", St George at "Orkos", Holy Saviour; see Stoufi-Poulimenou, *Βυζαντινές Εκκλησίες*, pp. 37–159.

87 For example, St Peter at Kalyvia Kouvara, Omorphe Ekklesia at Galatsi; see above.

88 "Το Έργο της 1ης ΕΒΑ 2000–2010" ["The Work of the First Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities 2000–2010"], *Από το ανασκαφικό έργο των Εφορειών Αρχαιοτήτων* [*Concerning the Excavation Work of the Ephorates of Antiquities*], accessible at <http://www.yppo.gr/0/anaskafes/index.html> (consulted in November 2012). Georgios Pallis, "Τοπογραφικά του αθηναϊκού πεδίου κατά τη Λατινοκρατία" ["The Topography of Athenian Territory during the Latin Rule"], in *10ο Συμπόσιο Ιστορίας και Λαογραφίας της Αττικής* (Αχαρνές, 20–23 Οκτωβρίου 2011) [*Tenth Symposium of History and Folklore* (*Acharnes, 20–23 October 2011*)] (forthcoming). For storage jars in middle Byzantine Athens, see Charalambos Bouras, *Βυζαντινή Αθήνα 10ος–12ος αι.* [*Byzantine Athens 10th-12th Centuries*] (Athens, 2010), pp. 104–08.

89 David Jacoby, "Les états latins en Romanie: phénomènes sociaux et économiques (1204–1350 environ)," in *XV^e Congrès international d'études byzantines*, 3 vols. (Athens, 1976), 1:42–48, esp. 45, repr. in *Recherches sur la Méditerranée orientale du XII^e au XV^e siècle* (London, 1979), I; idem, "From Byzantium to Latin Romania: Continuity and Change," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 4 (1989), 26–32, repr. in idem, *Byzantium, Latin Romania and the Mediterranean* (Aldershot, 2001), VIII; idem, "Changing Economic Patterns in Latin Romania: The Impact of the West," in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy Parviz Mottahedeh (Washington DC, 2001), pp. 220–33. See also idem, "The Economy of Latin Greece," in the present volume.

90 Antoine Rubió y Lluch, *Περί των καταλανικών φρουρίων της ηπειρωτικής Ελλάδος* [*On the Catalan Fortresses of Mainland Greece*], trans. Georgios N. Mavrakis (Athens, 1991); Nikos Kontogiannis, "Ανιχνεύοντας την καταλανική Βοιωτία: η αμυντική οργάνωση του Δουκάτου των Αθηνών κατά τον 14ο αιώνα" ["Tracing Catalan Boeotia: The Defensive Organisation of the Duchy of Athens in the 14th Century"], in *Η Καταλανο-Αραγωνική κυριαρχία στον ελληνικό χώρο* [*Catalan and Aragonese Rule in Greece*] (Athens, 2012), pp. 67–109.

about a century earlier[91] whereas in the Kadmeia they demolished the palace of Saint Omer.[92] The wall painting of the so-called Panagia of the Catalans, from the church of the Prophet Elias at Staropazaro in Athens, now in the Byzantine and Christian Museum of Athens, has been re-dated to the mid-15th century, i.e. the time of the rule of the Florentine family of the Acciaiuoli, since the two coats-of-arms depicted on either side of the Virgin have been identified as belonging to the last duke of Athens Francesco Acciaiuoli (1455–56) and to the Genoese Lorenzo Spinola.[93] Although there are no extant samples of monumental art produced by the Catalans, written sources testify to their interest for books.[94]

Not only is there no evidence of Catalan monumental art in the Duchy of Athens and Thebes but, moreover, the extant frescoed monuments of the Orthodox Greeks going back to the time of the Catalan domination are not very numerous in comparison to the period of Frankish rule. A cave church on the shore of the now drained lake of Kopais, near Aliartos, dedicated to Zoodochos Pege or St Blasius, preserves frescoes on the masonry templon (Figure 11.16) and in the sanctuary dated to the year 1333.[95] Although modest in size and the result of the cooperative donorship of three individuals with their families, one of whom is a priest, it surprises us with the quality of its paintings, when compared to other contemporary examples in the region. The painter seems to be familiar with the artistic developments of the great centres of his time, such as Thessalonica and Mount Athos, surpassing by far the artistic level of local mural paintings.

Donated by two priests with the same surname (brothers or cousins) and a layman, the church of the Taxiarches in Desphina on the south slope of Mount Parnassus was built and decorated in the year 1332, in the time of the reign of

91 Tanoulas, " 'Το πολυτιμότερο στολίδι του κόσμου,' " pp. 23–65.

92 Symeonoglou, *The Topography of Thebes*, p. 229; Lock, *The Franks*, p. 79.

93 L.J.A. Lowenthal, "A Note on the So-Called Panaghia of the Catalans," *Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα Αθηνών* 4 (1971), 89–91; Katselaki, "Τοιχογραφίες," in *Ο κόσμος του Βυζαντινού Μουσείου*, p. 103, fig. 89; Anastasia Lazaridou, "The 'Virgin of the Catalans'," in *Heaven and Earth: Art of Byzantium from Greek Collections*, ed. Anastasia Drandaki, Demetra Papanikola-Bakirtzi and Anastasia Tourta (Athens, 2013), pp. 314–15, no. 164.

94 Kenneth M. Setton, "Catalan Society in Greece in the Fourteenth Century," in *Essays to the Memory of Basil Laourdas*, ed. Louisa Laourdas (Thessalonica, 1975), pp. 278–79, repr. in Setton, *Athens in the Middle Ages* (London, 1975), v.

95 Hieronymos (Liapis), *Χριστιανική Βοιωτία*, 1:430–43; idem, "Η Ζωοδόχος Πηγή της Κωπαΐδος και οι Καταλανοί" ["Zoodochos Pege in Kopais and the Catalans"], in *Γ΄ Διεθνές Συνέδριο Βοιωτικών Μελετών*, 3A:1–13.

FIGURE 11.16 *Kopais, Boeotia. Cave church of the Zoodochos Pege. The Virgin, Christ and John the Baptist on the masonry screen.*
PHOTO: AUTHOR, BY PERMISSION OF THE 23RD EPHORATE OF BYZANTINE ANTIQUITIES.

Andronikos III.[96] The murals, which include an impressive representation of the Synaxis of the Archangels, follow a provincial trend (Figure 11.17), although in certain figures the painter seems to have a good knowledge of contemporary artistic developments.

The paintings of the second phase in the church of St Nicholas Mavrika near Paliachora on the island of Aegina are accompanied by two inscriptions recording the donors—a priest and three laymen with their families—, the year of donation 1330, and the painter Georgios Aras.[97] Of special interest is the mention of Don Alfonso Fadrique d'Aragon, the Catalan ruler of Aegina from 1317, when he married Marulla da Verona and received the island as dowry, to his death in 1338. He was an illegitimate son of the king of Sicily Frederick II and *bailli* of the Catalan Duchy of Athens from 1317 to 1330. Stylistically the fresco

96 Maria Sotiriou, "Αι τοιχογραφίαι του βυζαντινού ναϋδρίου των Ταξιαρχών Δεσφίνης" ["The Murals of the Byzantine Church of the Taxiarches in Desphina"], *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 3 (1962–63), 175–202.

97 Mitsani, "Οι τοιχογραφίες του Αγίου Νικολάου Μαύρικα," pp. 371–78; Pennas, *Βυζαντινή Αίγινα*, p. 76.

FIGURE 11.17 *Desphina, church of the Taxiarches. Ascension and Nativity, details.* PHOTO: AUTHOR, BY PERMISSION OF THE 24TH EPHORATE OF BYZANTINE ANTIQUITIES.

fragments of 1330 seem to follow the linear and flat provincial style of the first fresco layer of the church.[98] As has been noted, certain early 14th-century monuments in the Latin-held provinces seem to continue the conservative stylistic trend of the last decades of the 13th century.[99] Other examples in Aegina following more or less the same stylistic tendency are the image of the mounted St Demetrius in the eponymous church at Asomatoi, and the decoration of the church of the Taxiarches on Mount Hellanion. In the dome of the latter church, deviating from the standard iconographic programme, are depicted scenes of

98 See above, p. 398.

99 Manolis Chatzidakis, "Classicisme et tendances populaires au XIV$^{e}$ siècle. Les recherches sur l'évolution du style," in *Actes du Congrès International des Études Byzantines, Bucarest 6–12 septembre 1971*, 3 vols. (Bucharest, 1974), 1:162–64; Mouriki, "Stylistic Trends," pp. 74–78; Sophia Kalopissi-Verti, "Τάσεις της μνημειακής ζωγραφικής περί το 1300 στον ελλαδικό και νησιωτικό χώρο (εκτός από τη Μακεδονία)" ["Trends in Monumental Painting around 1300 in Greece and the Islands (except for Macedonia)"], in *Ο Μανουήλ Πανσέληνος και η εποχή του* [*Manuel Panselenos and his Age*], ed. Lenos Mavrommatis (Athens, 1999), pp. 63–90; Mitsani, "Οι τοιχογραφίες του Αγίου Νικολάου Μαύρικα," pp. 376–77.

the Miracles of the Archangels to whom the church is dedicated ( first half of the 14th century).[100]

In contrast to the plethora of painted ensembles in Attica during the 13th century, the few extant fresco fragments preserved in churches in Mesogaia and on Mount Parnes that can be dated to the 14th century—all provincial in style—bear testimony to the paucity of monuments decorated in the time of the Catalan rule.[101] Excavations at Panakton, in the Skourta plain in south Boeotia, brought to light a late medieval towered stronghold and a small (about 30 families) agricultural settlement. It was built around the mid-14th century under Catalan rule and survived until the first decades of the 15th century when the Acciaiuoli ruled the Duchy of Athens and Thebes. Fragments of painted plaster, mainly with ornamental patterns, were uncovered in the central church of the settlement which also served as a burial place.[102]

As has been noted, in contrast to the time of the de la Roche rule, the extant painted monuments of the Catalan era are fewer in number and generally of inferior quality with very few exceptions. Paradoxically, the evidence of the inscriptions shows that all dated ensembles were painted between 1330 and 1333 which does not seem to be a coincidence since the decade 1330–40 was relatively peaceful. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the only two Greek manuscripts known to have been copied in Athens during the Catalan rule go back to the fourth decade of the century as well (1337 and 1339).[103] In the first half of the 14th century, despite the agreements with Venice in 1319, 1321, and 1331 preventing the use of the port of Piraeus, trade activities in the Catalan duchy are documented. The relative wealth allowed the local population to continue founding and decorating churches. After the middle of the century, however, the evidence of painted churches becomes scarce. The plague of the mid-14th century, the Turkish invasions, and the impoverishment

100 Mitsani, "Οι τοιχογραφίες του Αγίου Νικολάου Μαύρικα," p. 377; Pennas, *Η Βυζαντινή Αίγινα*, pp. 28–40; Papamastorakis, *Ο διάκοσμος του τρούλου*, p. 18.

101 For example, Palaiopanagia in Kantza and St George at Koropi in Mesogaia, Ghini-Tsofopoulou, "Τα 'Μεσόγεια'," pp. 184–85; St Marina on Mt Parnes, Mouzakis, *Βυζαντινές–Μεταβυζαντινές Εκκλησίες Βόρειας Αττικής*, pp. 303–08.

102 Sharon E.J. Gerstel, Mark Munn et al., "A Late Medieval Settlement at Panakton," *Hesperia* 72 (2003), 147–234, esp. 174–80.

103 Spyridon P. Lampros, *Αθηναίοι βιβλιογράφοι και κτήτορες κωδίκων κατά τους μέσους αιώνας και επί Τουρκοκρατίας* [*Athenian Scribes and Manuscript Owners in the Middle Ages and the Period of Turkish Rule*] (Athens, 1902), pp. 15–18, nos. 3 and 4; Setton, "Catalan Society in Greece," p. 280. The content of the manuscripts shows the interests of the commissioners for ancient literature and medicine.

of the Catalans during the ducal reign of King Frederick III of Sicily (1355–77) seem to have played a decisive role.[104]

### Patrons, Painters, and Sovereigns: The Evidence of Inscriptions and Paintings

The evidence for Latin sponsorship is very limited, as noted above. The few known Latin patrons—rulers and knights—belong to the elite of Frankish social hierarchy and their knightly ideology is reflected in the choice of the iconography for their secular buildings. At the same time, certain iconographic predilections, the assignment of painted decoration to Greek artisans, and the financial support of Orthodox religious foundations reflect, besides practical reasons, a certain degree of acculturation on the part of the Latin lords and an inclination towards rapprochement with the local population.

Whereas in the fortified cities we know about Orthodox churches converted into Latin ones, in the countryside, with the exception of certain monasteries, there is no evidence, literary or archaeological, for any Latin religious foundations decorated with murals, although place-names, such as Frangoklissia, point to the existence of Frankish churches.[105] We actually do not know where the Latins, scattered in the fiefs of the lordship and housed close to the preserved towers, practiced their religious duties. Some of them certainly founded their own chapels. Others might have used the Orthodox churches of the local population.

With regard to Orthodox patronage, dedicatory inscriptions of painted ensembles in the Duchy of Athens and Thebes testify to the social status of the donors. Among the epigraphically attested *ktetores* are ecclesiastics, monks and lay people. The usual scheme includes a male patron, alone or with his nuclear family, and seldom with members of the extended family. For example the donor's mother is mentioned in the inscription of the church at Alepochori (1260–80), while brothers or cousins are implied in the churches of St Nicholas Mavrika in Aegina (1330) and of Taxiarches in Desphina (1332).[106] Father and son

104 Setton, "Catalan Society," p. 247; Jacoby, "Changing Economic Patterns," p. 203. Marie-Hélène Concourdeau, "Pour une étude de la Peste Noire à Byzance," in *Mélanges offerts à Hélène Ahrweiler* (Paris, 1998), pp. 149–63; Elisavet A. Zachariadou, "The Catalans of Athens and the Beginning of the Turkish Expansion in the Aegean Area," *Studi Medievali* 31 (1980), 821–38, repr. in eadem, *Romania and the Turks* (*c. 1300–c. 1500*) (London, 1985), v.

105 Kalopissi-Verti, "Relations between East and West," pp. 10–13.

106 See above pp. 391, 407–08.

are attested in the church of St Nicholas at Malagari in Perachora.[107] The most prominent representative of the ecclesiastical hierarchy is Bishop Ignatios who donated the church of St Peter at Kalyvia Kouvara (1232/33). Priests alone or with their families, such as Leo Kokkalakis who built and decorated the church of the Saviour at Alepochori near Megara, or priests in collaboration with lay people have been attested in several cases, for example in the churches of St Nicholas Mavrika in Aegina and of the Taxiarches in Desphina, and in the cave church of Zoodochos Pege in Kopais, Boeotia (1333).[108] This latter patronage scheme of collaborating ecclesiastics and lay people is common in Latin-held provinces and reflects the lack of the necessary financial means for an individual donation.[109] On the other hand, it is possible that priests undertook the initiative of founding or renovating a church not only because they felt responsible for the religious life of the Orthodox population but also because they could probably raise money from their flock. Two priest-monks, the abbot and his brother, in the church of St George at Akraiphnion have played an important role in the renovation of the church and the preparation of the tomb of the knight Anthony le Flamenc. According to epigraphic evidence two monks, father and son, are the donors in the church at Malagari.[110] The donation of a church by a priest or a monk is also very common in Venetian-held Crete.[111]

Individual lay patronage is documented in only a few cases. Manuel Mourmouras and his family, for example, probably a local *archon*, donated the church of the Holy Trinity at Kranidi in 1244.[112] However, no collective donation by numerous members or by the totality of a community, mostly peasants, has been documented, as in other Byzantine or Latin-held provinces.[113]

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107 Eleni Ghini-Tsofopoulou, in *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον* 36 (1981), B, Χρονικά, pp. 173–74; Demetrios Athanasoulis, "Corinth," in *Heaven and Earth: Cities and Countryside in Byzantine Greece*, ed. Jenny Albani and Eugenia Chalkia (Athens, 2013), p. 206, fig. 184.

108 See above, pp. 407–08.

109 See indicatively churches in the castellania of Selino in Giuseppe Gerola, *Monumenti veneti nell'isola di Creta*, 4 vols. (Venice, 1905–1932), 4:431–71, nos. 9, 10, 14, 15, 21, 26, 41, 46, 48 etc. See also Tsirpanlis, *Κατάστιχο*, p. 68, no. 121.

110 See above, note 107.

111 Gerola, *Monumenti veneti*, 4: 431, nos. 5, 18, 19, 22, 53, 56; Tsirpanlis, *Κατάστιχο*, pp. 61–62, nos. 55, 64; Olga Gratziou, *Η Κρήτη στην ύστερη μεσαιωνική εποχή: Η μαρτυρία της εκκλησιαστικής αρχιτεκτονικής* [*Crete in the Late Middle Ages: The Evidence of Church Architecture*] (Herakleion, 2010), pp. 118–23.

112 See above, pp. 380–81, 403.

113 Sophia Kalopissi-Verti, "Collective Patterns of Patronage in the Late Byzantine Village: The Evidence of Church Inscriptions," in *Donation et donateurs dans le monde byzantin: Actes du colloque international de l'Université de Fribourg; 13–15 mars 2008*, ed. Jean-Michel

Painters' names are seldom recorded. Exceptionally, a distinctive reference to the painter Ioannes "from the great city of Athens" is made in the dedicatory inscription of the church of the Holy Trinity at Kranidi (1244). Moreover, Georgios Aras is mentioned in the inscription of St Nicholas Mavrika on Aegina (1330).[114] In addition to these rare references to painters' names, the extant church murals in the Duchy of Athens and Thebes in the 13th and 14th centuries are eloquent testimonies of painters' working patterns. Thus, we may assume that they worked either alone or were organised in workshops and that they covered small distances within the duchy or in neighbouring regions. Ioannes from Athens, for example, painted churches in the Argolid and in Euboea. The "workshop of St Peter at Kalyvia Kouvara" had a very large range of activity mainly in churches in Attica and its borders, both in town and in the countryside.[115] At the same time, the artistic evidence shows that there were itinerant painters coming to Attica or Boeotia from other regions, trained in important artistic centres, mainly Thessalonica according to stylistic evidence, who worked simultaneously with their local colleagues. Such painters have been located in Omorphe Ekklesia at Galatsi and in the church of St Nicholas at Kalamos (second phase) and probably also in the cave church of Zoodochos Pege in Kopais (1333).[116]

The mention of rulers and high ranking ecclesiastics in church inscriptions reveals the patrons' political convictions and religious beliefs in conjunction with local historical and social circumstances. An inscription in the Omorphe Ekklesia on Aegina (1289) mentions Andronikos II—a few years after his ascent to the throne and the refutation of his father's pro-Union policy—, and Patriarch Athanasios I, revealing thus the unknown patron's loyalty to the Byzantine emperor and his adherence to Orthodoxy. Andronikos III is recorded in the founders' inscription in Desphina (1332).[117]

One of the dedicatory inscriptions in the church of St Nicholas Mavrika in Aegina (1330) records the Catalan ruler, Don Alfonso, the son of King Frederick (ἀφεντέβοντος δὲ ντὸν αλφοσ / ηὸσ ρὲ φεδερήγου). Don Alfonso Fadrique d'Aragon ruled over Aegina from 1317 to 1338.[118] The mention of foreign rulers

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Spieser and Elisabeth Yota, Réalités Byzantines 14 (Paris, 2012), pp. 125–40. See also Angeliki E. Laiou, "The Peasant as Donor (13th–14th Centuries)," ibid. pp. 107–24.

114 See above, pp. 380, 408.

115 See above, pp. 381–89.

116 See above, pp. 400–01, 407.

117 See above, pp. 396, 407–08.

118 See above, p. 408.

in Orthodox churches built by the Greek-speaking native population in ex-Byzantine provinces is extremely rare. There is a parallel in Venetian-held Crete, in the dedicatory inscription of the church of the Archangel Michael in Kavalariana at Kandanos Selinou (1327/28) where the Venetian rulers are mentioned.[119] In addition, two 13th-century inscriptions in Asia Minor mention both the Byzantine emperor and the Seljuk ruler.[120]

## Continuity, Locality and Universality

Certain specific features in iconography, ornaments, and style encountered in the mural paintings of Attica and Boeotia which date back to the *Frangokratia* i.e. the time of Latin rule, although used sporadically in other regions as well, seem to point to a local art rooted in the middle Byzantine period. A local characteristic, for example, seems to be the depiction of saints' figures, especially hierarchs, under a painted arcade supported on colonettes occurring as early as the church of the Metamorphosis in Koropi in the beginning of the 11th century[121] and then repeated in 13th-century monuments, such as the south chapel in Spelia Pentelis, and the churches of Soteras at Megara, Taxiarches at Markopoulo, Soteras at Maroussi.[122] Moreover, inscriptions inspired by the

119 Angeliki Lymberopoulou, *Church of the Archangel at Kavalariana: Art and Society on Fourteenth-Century Venetian-Dominated Crete* (London, 2006), pp. 194–217,

120 The inscription in the church of Panagia Spelaiotissa in Sille/Lykaonia (1288/89) mentions the Byzantine Emperor Andronikos II (1282–1328) and the Seljuk Sultan of Rūm Masud II (1284–1297 and 1303–1307), Nikos Bees, *Die Inschriftenaufzeichnung des Kodex Sinaiticus Graecus 508* (*976*) *und die Maria-Spiläotissa-Klosterkirche bei Sille* (*Lykaonien*). Texte und Forschungen zur byzantinisch-neugriechischen Philologie 1 (Berlin, 1992), p. 7; Klaus Belke, *Galatien und Lykaonien*, Tabula Iimperii Byzantini 4 (Vienna, 1984), pp. 234–35; Sophie Métivier, "Byzantium in Question in 13th-Century Seljuk Anatolia," in *Liquid and Multiple: Individuals and Identities in the Thirteenth-Century Aegean*, ed. Guillaume Saint-Guillain and Dionysios Stathakopoulos (Paris, 2012), p. 241. The inscription in St George at Belisirama in Cappadocia (1283–1295) also mentions Andronikos II and Masud II: Nicole Thierry and Michel Thierry, *Nouvelles églises rupestres de Cappadoce: Région de Hasan Dağı* (Paris; 1963), pp. 202–204; Métivier, "Byzantium in Question," p. 239. See also, Mitsani, "Οι τοιχογραφίες του Αγίου Νικολάου Μαύρικα," pp. 371–73.

121 Maria Panayotidi, "La peinture monumentale en Grèce de la fin de l'iconoclasme jusqu'à l'avènement des Comnènes (843–1081)," *Cahiers Archéologiques* 34 (1986), 89.

122 Mouriki, "Οι βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες της Σπηλιάς της Πεντέλης," p. 84, pls. 21–23; Stoufi-Poulimenou, *Βυζαντινές εκκλησίες*, p. 152, fig. 64; Aspra-Vardavaki, "Οι βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες του Ταξιάρχη," pp. 219–20, pl. 106; Mouzakis, *Βυζαντινές–Μεταβυζαντινές Εκκλησίες Βόρειας Αττικής*, p. 36.

liturgical hymnography and practice accompanying the images of the Church Fathers, such as ἡ φρόνησις (prudence), for John Chrysostom or Basil in the church of St George at Orkos in the plain of Megara, and ἡ γνῶσις (knowledge), ἡ φρόνησις (prudence), ἡ βρύσις τῶν θαυμάτων ( fountain of miracles), ἡ καινὴ φύσις (new nature), for Basil, John Chrysostom, Nicholas and Gregory respectively in the south chapel of the Spelia Pentelis also relate the monuments in Attica to one another.[123] In addition, Byzantine art historians have singled out certain iconographic or stylistic features going back to or copying middle Byzantine models. The full length image of the enthroned Pantokrator in the dome of the church of Soteras at Megara, for example, copies the equivalent figure in the monastery church of St Hierotheos, dated to the third quarter of the 12th century.[124]

Nonetheless, this artistic entity bearing regional characteristics which continues the Komnenian tradition shares common features with the dominant style of the 13th and 14th centuries in nearly all regions of the Eastern Mediterranean under Latin or Venetian rule: the mixture of retrospective and progressive elements in iconography and style, a provincial quality sometimes characterised by a popular taste, linearity, simplification, and schematisation of the artistic means. The shared—Greco-Roman and Byzantine—cultural and artistic past of these regions and common socio-economic conditions imposed by the Latins explain the uniformity of this style, the stylistic *koine* of the time. In fact, the degree of assimilation of the progressive features varies; there are gradations in quality and rare exceptions of "imported" art from great centres.

The recapture of Constantinople in 1261 by the Byzantines generated a sense of optimism and euphoria in the liberated provinces, such as the Peloponnese, evident both in the great number of newly founded or re-founded and (re-)decorated churches and in the quality of the frescoes, a fact which is not recorded in the Latin-held regions. Nonetheless, a re-orientation towards Constantinople after 1261 in the duchy is observed. The dedicatory inscription of the Omorphe Ekklesia in Aegina is eloquent in this respect. The unknown

123 Stoufi-Poulimenou, *Βυζαντινές εκκλησίες*, pp. 113, 127; Mouriki, "Οι βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες της Σπηλιάς της Πεντέλης," p. 91; Konstantinidi, *O Μελισμός*, p. 130.

124 Doula Mouriki, "Ο ζωγραφικός διάκοσμος του τρούλλου του Αγίου Ιεροθέου κοντά στα Μέγαρα" ["The Painted Decoration of the Dome of St Hierotheos near Megara"], *Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα Αθηνών* 1 (1978), 116; Grigoriadou-Cabagnols, "Affinités iconographiques," pp. 38–39, pl. VIII; Stoufi -Poulimenou, *Βυζαντινές εκκλησίες*, pp. 152–53. In addition, Maria Aspra-Vardavaki, "Οι βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες του Ταξιάρχη," p. 222 has observed in the church of the Taxiarches at Markopoulo, that the draperies of certain prophets in the dome are rendered in a way that recalls the garments of the prophets in the dome of the katholikon at Daphni.

*ktetor* is aware of the political and ecclesiastical developments in the empire and takes side with the pro-Union policy of the emperor and the patriarch. On the other hand, the few monuments that show an exceptional stylistic quality, such as the Omorphe Ekklesia at Galatsi and St Nicholas at Kalamos (second phase), point, as already noted, to artists who probably came from Thessalonica and its environs rather than from Constantinople.[125]

Many questions remain open, such as the use and function of these churches—parochial, monastic, funerary, private. The role of burials within and around the churches needs to be further investigated through excavations. Furthermore, the acquisition of permission and consent from the landlord to found and own an Orthodox church in the territory of his fief, the management of the finances of a church remain open issues as there are no written documents, in contrast to Venetian Crete.[126] Some of these churches were sponsored by local *archontes* who collaborated with the Latins and were incorporated in the feudal system. Thus, we may assume that the churches they donated were located on their own properties. However, there is no relevant information for the plethora of Orthodox churches donated by priests, monks and lay people.

In conclusion, the monumental and artistic evidence has shown few monuments of Latin patronage mainly concentrated in the fortified towns and mostly of secular use and a great number of Orthodox churches, both existing in towns and scattered in the countryside, a phenomenon which obviously reflects the density and distribution of the population. This great number of extant Orthodox churches, particularly from the 13th century, reveals a vigorous local population and a surplus of wealth which allowed members of the Orthodox community to erect and decorate churches. It also points to a religious tolerance and good terms of co-existence between Latins and Greeks. The loss of Constantinople and the dismemberment of the empire led to an adherence to Komnenian art and to the emergence of local traditions. Nonetheless, the local artistic evolution in the lordship was not an isolated phenomenon but was incorporated in a common pictorial language, a *koine*, shared widely in the regions around the Eastern Mediterranean. The epigraphically confirmed expansion of church patronage to middle and lower social classes explains the often mediocre quality of mural paintings and the diversity of stylistic trends.

Although the overwhelming majority of mural paintings in 13th- and 14th-century Orthodox churches in the Lordship of Athens and Thebes remained loyal to tradition, the encounter between the two worlds, East and West,

125 See above, pp. 400–01, 407.

126 Gratziou, *Η Κρήτη στην ύστερη μεσαιωνική εποχή*, pp. 114–18.

resulted—in a limited number of cases—in a certain degree of reciprocal interrelationship and interchange. The scarce evidence has shown a tendency towards acculturation and rapprochement from the side of the Latins. The Greek Orthodox population in the duchy, notwithstanding its adherence to Komnenian tradition, its devotion to the Orthodox rite and its orientation towards Constantinople, accepted the challenges of the West and opened a dialogue. The encounter with the Latin dogma and culture strengthened the sense of identity and self-consciousness of the local inhabitants. Greek patrons, clergy and painters responded to the Latins by assimilating certain secondary motifs and by creating and using iconographic subjects which allude to the doctrinal differences and reveal mostly opposition to the Latin doctrine or, more rarely and mostly in theologically very erudite circles, a rapprochement.

# Chronological Table

**1204** **March:** *Partitio Romaniae*; agreement between the crusaders and the Venetians for the division of the lands and assets of the Byzantine Empire.

**12 April:** Constantinople falls to the Fourth Crusade.

**8–14 May:** Venetian clergy in Constantinople choose 15 canons for St Sophia. They pledge to appoint only Venetians to the cathedral clergy. They also choose the Venetian Tomasso Morosini as the first Latin patriarch. He was a papal subdeacon studying in Ravenna. The pope declared this election uncanonical.

**9 May:** Baldwin of Flanders elected first Latin emperor of Constantinople.

**16 May:** Baldwin crowned in St Sophia by Nivelon de Cherissy, bishop of Soissons.

**September/October:** partition of the Byzantine Empire after the March agreement implemented.

**October/November:** Boniface of Montferrat conquers Boeotia and Attica.

**November/December:** Jacques d'Avesnes conquers Euboea and Boniface begins the sieges of Akrocorinth and Nauplia.

**1205** **21 January:** Morosini confirmed as first Latin patriarch of Constantinople by Innocent III.

**March:** Innocent III ordains Morosini and consecrates him bishop.

**Spring:** William de Champlitte and Geoffrey de Villehardouin leave Nauplia with a force of 100 knights and 400 sergeants to conquer the north and west of the Peloponnese between Corinth and Messenia.

**30 March:** Morosini formally consecrated as Latin patriarch in Rome.

**April:** Baldwin of Flanders captured by the Bulgarians near Adrianople. His brother, Henry of Flanders appointed Regent or bailli of the Latin Empire. Many Latins return to the West from Constantinople.

**May:** Innocent III calls for a crusade to aid the Latin Empire.

**May:** Battle of Koundoura in Messenia; the Franks secure their conquests in the Peloponnese from an Epirote challenge.

**15 May:** Benedict of Santa Susanna appointed papal legate to the Latin Empire.

**May:** procedure for the election of future Latin patriarchs of Constantinople confirmed by the pope.

**1 June:** death of Doge Enrico Dandolo, leader of the Venetians on the Fourth Crusade. He is buried in St Sophia.

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**June:** the Venetians in Constantinople choose Marino Geno as their podestà and dominator in Romania.

**June:** Tomasso Morosini, in Venice to take ship for Constantinople, is forced to take the same oath as the 15 Venetian canons of St Sophia. Late in the month he arrives in Constantinople for the first time.

**August:** Euboea divided into triarchies by Boniface of Montferrat.

**August:** Innocent III offers plenary indulgence for any crusaders going to Constantinople.

**19 November:** in a letter noting the election of the first Latin archbishop of Patras, the Pope acknowledged William de Champlitte as "princeps totius Achaiae".

**1206** Venetians occupy Modon and Coron in Messenia.

**17 March:** agreement between the regent and the church authorities in Constantinople that the Latin Church will receive an endowment of one-fifteenth of conquered lands in Romania.

**April–September:** Nivelon de Cherissy recruiting a crusading army for Constantinople in north-eastern France and Flanders.

**July:** death of Baldwin of Flanders in Bulgarian captivity reported in Constantinople.

**12 August:** archbishop elect of Thebes mentioned for first time.

**20 August:** Henry of Flanders crowned as second Latin emperor by Morosini.

**27 November:** first mention of archbishop-elect of Athens.

**December:** Nivelon de Cherissy appointed in absentia as first Latin archbishop of Thessalonica.

**1207** **July:** Venice grants Corfu, which she owned by the terms of the *Partitio*, to ten Venetian nobles. Naxos and Andros captured by Marco Sanudo and relatives.

**4 September:** Boniface of Montferrat killed by the Bulgarians near Mosynopolis.

**September:** Nivelon de Cherissy dies at Bari, apparently leading a crusading army to aid the Latin Empire.

**1208** **Early:** small crusading army sent by Philip of Namur and lead by Peter of Douai arrives.

**July:** Latin episcopal structure extended to Thessaly. Dispute over the payment of tithes develops between the Latin clergy and Frankish lords. Latin rite to be used in all episcopal consecrations in Romania.

**September:** Emperor Henry defeats Greeks at the battle of Voulae.

**December:** Henry marches to Thessalonica and places Boniface's young son Demetrios on the throne.

William de Champlitte returns to France.

**December 15:** Morosini publicly retracts pledge over Venetian appointments to St Sophia made in June 1205.

**1209** **Early:** William de Champlitte's nephew dies before he can claim the princedom of Achaea. Geoffrey de Villehardouin assumes lordship of the Morea.

**March:** Venetian suzerainty over Euboea acknowledged by the triarchs.

**1–2 May:** Parliament of Ravennika near Lamia attended by the emperor and 60 barons.

**June:** treaty of Sapienza between Villehardouin and the Venetians defines the boundaries of Modon and Coron.

**1210** **February:** Corinth falls to Villehardouin.

**4 March:** Corinthian Church reorganised on Latin lines.

**22 March:** Villehardouin first addressed as "Princeps Achaiae" in a papal letter.

**2 May:** second Parliament of Ravennika sought to regulate relations between Church and barons. Tithes and mortmain remain in dispute.

**1211** Venetians begin the conquest and colonisation of Crete.

**June/July:** Morosini dies at Thessalonica. The Latin Patriarchate remains vacant until November 1215.

**1212** **Early:** Argos falls to the Franks. Treasures from the Corinthian church found there develops into a dispute with the Church.

**June:** Cistercians and Premonstratensians mentioned for the first time in Greece.

**September:** papal attempts to oversee the election of a new Latin patriarch.

**1213** The Hagiostephanites family revolt against the Venetians in Crete. The first of several 13th-century Cretan rebellions.

The Epirotes recapture Durazzo from the Venetians.

**1214** **January:** Athonite monasteries placed under papal protection.

**1215** The Epirote Greeks capture Corfu, Demetrias and Domokos.

**11–30 November:** Fourth Lateran Council.

**11 November:** consecration of Gervais, bishop of Heracleia Pontika as the second Latin patriarch of Constantinople.

Gervase excommunicates Geoffrey de Villehardouin and Otto de la Roche for ignoring the Concordat of Ravennika of 1210.

**1216** **11 June:** death of the Emperor Henry at Thessalonica.

**16 July:** death of Pope Innocent III.

**24 July:** coronation of Pope Honorius III.

Death of Ravano dalle Carceri, lord of Euboea.

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| 1217 | **11 February:** Pope Honorius III orders the sentence of excommunication against Villehardouin and de la Roche to be relaxed. |
| | **9 April:** Peter de Courtenay crowned Latin emperor in Rome. |
| | **14 April:** John Colonna appointed papal legate with powers to rationalise Latin dioceses in Greece and the Aegean. |
| | **17 April:** Peter with a force of 160 knights and 5,500 foot set out to capture Durazzo and re-open the Via Egnatia as they proceed to Constantinople overland. |
| | **April–June:** Peter and John Colonna are captured by the Epirotes. Peter dies in captivity. His wife Yolande, the sister of Baldwin I, rules in his name. |
| 1218 | Villehardouin and de la Roche excommunicated again for appropriating church revenues to build Chlemoutsi castle (completed 1223). |
| 1219 | Yolande arranges the marriage of her daughters Agnes to Geoffrey II de Villehardouin and Maria to Theodore Laskaris of Nicaea, both of which strengthen the empire. |
| | **August:** commercial treaty between Venice and Nicaea. |
| | **September:** Yolande dies in Constantinople raising the question of the succession. Regency council headed by Conon de Béthune and John Colonna. |
| | **October:** Parliament of Rodosto to resolve this issue. |
| | **8 November:** death of Patriarch Gervais in Constantinople. |
| 1221 | **31 January:** Matthew, bishop of Jesolo, consecrated patriarch. |
| | **15 March:** Robert de Courtenay, second son of Peter and Yolande crowned emperor in Constantinople. |
| | **November:** Theodore I Laskaris dies at Nicaea. Robert de Courtenay supports Theodore's brothers for the succession. |
| | Demetrios of Thessalonica in Italy seeking military support for his kingdom. |
| 1222 | Venice sends a second colonising expedition to Crete (Rethymnon). |
| 1223 | **May:** Pope Honorius calls for a crusade to aid Thessalonica, to be led by William de Montferrat. |
| | **September:** excommunication of Villehardouin and de la Roche lifted. An agreement is reached regarding the Church in the Morea. |
| 1224 | **March:** William de Montferrat's troops assemble at Brindisi. |
| | **April:** Latin army from Constantinople attacks Serres as part of the relief operation for Thessalonica. |
| | **May:** Latins defeated at Poimanenon in Asia Minor, loosing most of their territory there. The expedition for Thessalonica is aborted. |
| | Emperor Robert appeals to Louis VIII for armed assistance. |

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| | **November:** William de Montferrat ill in Brindisi and his crusade delayed. |
| | **December:** Thessalonica surrenders to the Greeks of Epirus. |
| 1225 | Otto de la Roche returns to Burgundy leaving the lordship of Athens and Thebes to his nephew Guy. |
| | William de Montferrat's crusade peters out in Thessaly. |
| 1227 | **18 March:** death of Pope Honorius III. |
| | **27 March:** coronation of Pope Gregory IX. |
| | **April:** Emperor Robert in Rome with plan to abandon Constantinople. |
| | **Late 1227/early 1228:** death of Geoffrey I de Villehardouin. |
| 1228 | **January:** death of the Emperor Robert at Glarenza. |
| | **February:** Maria de Courtenay becomes regent for her brother the Emperor Baldwin II. |
| 1229 | **9 April:** treaty of Perugia; John de Brienne agrees to become co-emperor with the 12 year-old Baldwin II who will become his son-in-law. |
| 1230 | **April:** Epirote army defeated by the Bulgarians at Klokotnica, which weakens their hold on Thessalonica and reduces their threat to Constantinople. |
| | Latins in Constantinople looking to Cumans for military support. |
| | Death of Demetrios, titular king of Thessalonica at Amalfi. He bequeaths his interests to the Emperor Frederick II. |
| 1231 | **Late July:** John de Brienne arrives in Constantinople. |
| | Geoffrey II de Villehardouin sends his first subsidy of 22,000 *hyperpera* to Constantinople. |
| 1232–34 | Negotiations for the union of the Churches culminate in debates between Latin friars and Greek clergy at Nicaea and Nymphaeum. |
| 1234 | Gregory IX sends mission to Nicaea to discuss Church union in return for the cession of Constantinople. |
| 1235 | Nicene Greeks take Gallipoli from the Venetians. |
| | **July:** Greek raids on Thebes increase in frequency. |
| 1236 | **Winter:** Geofrey II de Villehardouin with a fleet of 120 ships relieves Constantinople from Greek attack. |
| 1237 | **March:** death of John de Brienne in Constantinople. |
| | Agreement with the Cumans signed. |
| 1238 | **18 January:** first papal levy on the Latin Church in Greece to aid the Latin Empire. |
| | Baldwin II in western Europe seeking military aid. |
| | **September:** the Latin Empire sells the relic of the Crown of Thorns to Louis IX. |

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| | **Late summer:** Baldwin returns to Constantinople with an army of 30,000. |
| **1241** | Baldwin signs two-year truce with Nicene Greeks. |
| **1244** | Truce extended for one year. |
| **1245** | **June–July:** first church council of Lyon. Baldwin II is a guest of honour to recruit military support. |
| **1246** | **Spring:** an Epirote army attacks the Duchy of Athens from Thessaly. It is repulsed at Larissa with help from the Morea.<br>**Early summer:** death of Geoffrey II de Villehardouin. He is succeeded by his brother William, who lays siege to Monemvasia.<br>**December:** Nicene army captures Thessalonica from the Epirotes. |
| **1247** | Baldwin II in western Europe. |
| **1248** | **October:** Baldwin returns to Constantinople.<br>William de Villehardouin takes Monemvasia and begins a castle-building programme at Mistra and in the Mani. |
| **1249** | **May:** William de Villehardouin joins the Seventh Crusade. |
| **1255–58** | War of the Euboeote Succession; Villehardouin and the Genoese take on the Venetians and the lords of central Greece who fear Villehardouin ambitions. |
| **1258** | **May:** Villehardouin wins the battle of Karydi and ends the civil war on Euboea.<br>Guy de la Roche is sent to Paris for judgement of his actions by Louis IX. He is absent until 1260.<br>The Epirotes cede Corfu to Manfred of Sicily. |
| **1259** | **Autumn:** battle of Pelagonia in Macedonia. Villehardouin allied with the Greeks of Epirus is decisively defeated and captured by the Nicene Greeks. |
| **1261** | **25 March:** treaty of Nymphaeum gains Genoese naval support for the Nicene Greeks.<br>**25 July:** Constantinople captured by the Greeks, bringing the effective end of the Latin Empire.<br>Baldwin II flees to Euboea and thence to Italy.<br>**15 August:** coronation of Michael VIII Palaiologos in St Sophia.<br>Release of William de Villehardouin from captivity secured in return for the cession of Maina, Mistra and Monemvasia. |
| **1263** | Death of Guy de la Roche. He is succeeded by his elder son John (–1280). |
| **1263–64** | Greeks of Mistra attack Latin possessions in the Morea capturing Geraki. |

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| **1266** | **6 January:** Charles of Anjou is crowned king of Sicily. |
| | Baldwin II grants title to the Kingdom of Thessalonica to Hugh IV of Burgundy. |
| | Venetians defeat the Genoese and Byzantines in a major naval battle off Settepozzi (Spetses) off the Peloponnese. It is the biggest encounter in the First Veneto-Genoese war (1256–70). |
| **1267** | **26 February:** Charles I defeats and kills Manfred of Sicily at Benevento. |
| | Corfu passes into Angevin control. |
| | **24 May:** treaty of Viterbo; William de Villehardouin becomes the vassal of Charles of Anjou. |
| | Marriage of Philip de Courtenay, son of Baldwin II to Beatrice, daughter of Charles of Anjou. |
| **1268** | **25 August:** William de Villehardouin serves in the Angevin army at Tagliacozzo. |
| **1270** | Build up of Greek troops in the Morea. |
| | **June:** Charles of Anjou receives oaths of fealty from Moreotes. |
| **1271** | Licario of Karystos begins piratical campaign against the Latins in the Aegean (–1280). |
| | **28 May:** marriage of Isabelle de Villehardouin to Charles' eldest son Philip of Anjou at Trani. |
| | **Summer:** John of Athens with 300 men saves Neopatras from Byzantine attack. John Doukas marries his daughter to John's brother William. |
| **1272** | Charles sends 700 troops to the Morea. |
| **1273** | **15 October:** death of Baldwin II at Bari, leaving his claims to the Latin Empire to his son Philip. |
| **1274** | **6 July:** Second Council of Lyon agrees the union of the Greek and Latin churches. Thereby Michael VIII staves off an Angevin attack. |
| **1275** | Alum mines at Phocaea granted to the Genoese entrepreneur Manuele Zaccaria. |
| **1276** | Licario captures most of Euboea at the battle of Vatonda. |
| | Daphni mentioned as the only Cistercian house left in Greece. |
| **1277** | Philip of Anjou dies without issue. |
| | Greeks capture Kalavryta in the Morea. |
| **1278** | **1 May:** death of William de Villehardouin. The Principality of Achaea passes to Charles of Anjou. |
| **1280** | Death of John de la Roche, succeeded as duke of Athens by his brother, William (–1287). |
| **1281** | **3 July:** treaty of Orvieto underpins a Venetian—Angevin alliance to reconquer Constantinople. |

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| **1282** | **30 March:** the Sicilian Vespers aborts Angevin plans to attack Constantinople by expelling Angevin garrisons from Sicily and beginning war for the possession of the island (–1302).<br>**11 December:** death of Michael VIII. His son Andronikos II repeals the Church union of Lyon. |
| **1283–99** | Revolt against the Venetians in Crete, led by the Kallergis family. |
| **1284** | Marriage of Andronikos II and Yolande of Montferrat with whom came the Latin claim to Thessalonica. |
| **1285** | **7 January:** death of Charles of Anjou. |
| **1287** | Death of William de la Roche, succeeded by his son Guy II (Guillot) (–1308) under the guardianship of his mother Helena Komnene and his uncle Hugh de Brienne. |
| **1288** | **22 April:** death of Manuele Zaccaria; the alum concession passes to his brother Benedetto. |
| **1289** | **16 September:** Florent of Hainaut marries Isabelle de Villehardouin and becomes ruler of Achaea. |
| **1294–99** | Second Veneto-Genoese war marked by naval actions off Lajazzo, Candia, and Modon and attacks on the Genoese quarter of Galata and the alum works at Phocaea (1296). |
| **1294** | **24 June:** Guy of Athens knighted by Boniface of Verona.<br>**August:** Charles II grants suzerainty of Achaea to his son Philip of Taranto. Catherine de Courtenay, the titular Latin empress of Constantinople confirms the treaty of Viterbo (1267). |
| **1297** | **23 January:** death of Florent of Hainaut. |
| **1300** | Turks capture Smyrna from the Genoese. |
| **1301** | **18 January:** marriage of Catherine de Courtenay and Charles of Valois, the brother of Philip IV of France.<br>**12 February:** Philip of Savoy marries Isabelle de Villehardouin and rules Achaea in the name of Charles II.<br>Death of Philip de Courtenay; his title to the Latin Empire passes to his daughter Catherine. |
| **1302** | **27 July:** battle of Bapheon in Bithynia is the first encounter between Byzantine and Ottoman forces.<br>Genoese fortify Galata.<br>**31 August:** peace of Caltabellota ends the Angevin-Aragonese war over Sicily. |
| **1303** | Turkish raids on the Aegean islands begin and become a permanent feature of the next two centuries.<br>**September:** Catalan Company of mercenaries recruited from Sicily to fight against the Turks in Bithynia for the Byzantines. |

**1304** Genoese lease Chios from the Byzantines.
Pope Benedict XI warns that Byzantine territory may be seized in order to mount effective opposition to the Turks.

**1305** Marriage of Guy II de la Roche and Mahaut de Hainaut, heiress of Achaea.

**1306** **5 June:** Charles II removes Philip of Savoy from his role in the Morea.
**June:** Philip of Taranto makes his only visit to Greece to campaign against Mistra.

**1308** **Early:** death of Catherine de Courtenay, whose claim to Constantinople passes to her daughter Catherine de Valois Courtenay.
**5 October:** death of Guy II de la Roche who is succeeded by his cousin Gauthier I de Brienne, the son of Isabelle de la Roche and Hugh de Brienne.

**1309** **6 May:** death of Charles II of Naples, succeeded by his son Robert the Wise (–1343).
**15 August:** Hospitallers capture Rhodes and begin to move their headquarters from Cyprus.

**1310** Gauthier de Brienne hires the Catalans to campaign in Thessaly. He captures 30 towns but quarrels with them over pay.
**11 November:** Templar properties in Attica and Boeotia transferred to Gauthier I de Brienne.

**1311** **15 March:** battle of Halmyros; Catalans destroy a Frankish army sent against them, kill Gauthier I and win control of the duchy. The battle was witnessed by Marino Sanudo Torsello.

**1312** **22 January:** Gauthier de Chatillon, constable of France, is appointed bailli of briennist possessions in Greece for his young grandson Gauthier II (d. 1356).

**1313** **29 July:** Philip of Taranto marries Catherine de Valois Courtenay and acquires the claim to the Latin Empire by right of his wife.
**29 July:** Louis of Burgundy marries Mahaut de Hainaut and acquires rights to the Principality of Achaea. His grandfather, Hugh V of Burgundy, transfers his claim to Thessalonica to Louis.

**1314** **8 February:** titular Latin patriarchate of Constantinople united with the see of Negroponte.
**February:** marriage at Messina of Ferrando of Majorca and Isabelle de Sabran daughter of Margaret de Villehardouin.

**1315** **Summer:** Ferrando lands at Glarenza to claim the Principality of Achaea in right of his wife.

**1316** **Early:** Louis of Burgundy arrives in Achaea to claim the principality.
**22 February:** battle of Picotin; Louis defated by Ferrando with Catalan help.

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| | **5 July:** battle of Manolada; Louis defeats and kills Ferrando. |
| | **August:** death of Louis of Burgundy. |
| **1318** | Turks raid Santorini and Karpathos. |
| | Venetians record Turkish depredations for the first time. |
| **1320** | **September:** Greeks from Mistra hold nine of the original twelve castles of the Peloponnese, leaving only Chalandritsa, Patras, and Vostitsa in Frankish hands. |
| **1321** | Mahaut de Hainaut imprisoned in the Castel dell' Ovo, Naples. |
| **1325** | **January–October:** campaign of John of Gravina in the Morea fails to recapture Karytaina. |
| **1327** | Turks raid Aegina and Damala. |
| **1329** | Turkish mercenaries in Catalan employ attack Athens. |
| | **Autumn:** Byzantine forces recover Chios from the Genoese. |
| **1330** | Crusade preached against the Catalans of central Greece. |
| **1331** | Mahaut de Hainaut dies at Aversa. |
| | Turkish raids on the Greek coast and islands intensify. |
| | **Autumn–late summer 1332:** Gauthier II de Brienne crosses from Taranto to attack the Catalans but achieves little. |
| | **26 December:** death of Philip of Taranto. |
| **1332** | **Late summer:** Gauthier II de Brienne returns to Taranto with huge debts. |
| | **17 December:** John of Gravina exchanges with Catherine de Valois the Principality of Achaea for Durazzo and the kingdom of Albania. |
| **1332–34** | First anti-Turkish naval league made up of Venice, Cyprus, the Hospitallers, and Byzantines. |
| **1333–46** | Assizes of Romania written down. |
| **1336** | **1 February:** Niccolò Acciaiuoli received as a vassal of the Principality of Achaea. |
| **1338–41** | **November 1338–June 1341:** Catherine de Valois as princess of Achaea, her son Robert of Taranto and Niccolò Acciaiuoli as principal backer visit the Peloponnese. |
| **1343** | **31 August:** new Holy League against the Turks, formed by the pope with the assistance of Venice, Cyprus, and the Hospitallers. |
| **1344** | **28 October:** Holy League captures Smyrna. |
| | Turks occupy Naxos. Population flees to Crete. |
| **1346** | **5 October:** Catherine de Valois dies. Her claims to Constantinople and Achaea are inherited by her son Robert of Taranto. |
| | Genoese recapture Chios from the Byzantines. |
| **1347–48** | Black Death spreads in the Aegean region from Kaffa in the Crimea. |
| **1350–55** | Third Veneto-Genoese war |
| **1350** | **April:** Turkish raid on Boudonitsa. |

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| **1354** | Turks occupy Gallipoli. |
| **1356** | **19 September:** Gauthier II de Brienne killed at Poitiers fighting as Constable of France. |
| **1358** | **22 April:** Corinth granted to Niccolò Acciaiuoli by Robert of Taranto. |
| **1361** | Turks capture Adrianople. |
| **1362–64** | Venetian-Catalan conflict over Euboea. |
| **1363–68** | Rebellion of St Titus; Venetian feudatories in Crete rebel against Venice. |
| **1363** | Crusade planned in Aegean for March 1365. Pressure brought on Catalans to dismiss Turkish mercenaries. |
| **1364** | **Early summer:** Turkish fleet defeated off Megara by Venetians and Hospitallers. Turkish survivors take refuge in Thebes.<br>**10 September:** death of Robert of Taranto. His claims to the Latin Empire and Achaea pass to his brother Philip. |
| **1365** | **July:** peace between Venetians and Catalans. Turks forced to leave the Duchy of Athens.<br>**8 November:** Niccolò Acciaiuoli dies in Naples. |
| **1366** | **August–December:** crusade of Amadeo VI of Savoy to recover Gallipoli. |
| **1370–71** | Campaign of the Enghien brothers (Guy, John, and Louis), nephews of Gauthier II de Brienne fails to recover the Duchy of Athens from the Catalans. |
| **1372** | First Ottoman landings in Attica, the Morea and the Adriatic.<br>Pope Gregory XI proposes an international conference to meet at Thebes in October 1373 to discuss the Ottoman threat.<br>**November:** the pope acknowledges Nerio Acciaiuoli as lord of Corinth. |
| **1373** | **25 November:** Philip of Taranto dies leaving his title as titular Latin emperor to his nephew Jacques des Baux and the Principality of Achaea to Joanna of Naples. |
| **1376–81** | Fourth Veneto-Genoese war (known as the War of Tenedos or the War of Chioggia). |
| **1377–81** | Achaea leased to the Hospitallers. |
| **1378–1417** | The great schism between popes of Avignon and Rome. |
| **1381** | **Spring:** Achaea formally handed back to representatives of Joanna of Naples by the Hospitallers.<br>**16 July–26 August:** Coup in Naples; Joanna of Naples besieged and captured by Charles of Anjou-Durazzo and the supporters of Jacques des Baux.<br>**November:** Jacques des Baux flies the banners of Romania and Achaea on his castle at Taranto. |
| **1382** | **22 May:** Joanna of Naples murdered.<br>**7 July:** Jacques des Baux, last titular Latin Emperor, dies at Taranto. |

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| **1386–91** | Attempts by Amadeo VI of Savoy to capture the Principality of Achaea are thwarted by the papal schism. |
| **1387** | **April:** Ottomans occupy Thessalonica for the first time. |
| **1388** | **2 May:** Nerio Acciaiuoli occupies the Acropolis at Athens. |
| **1389** | **15 June:** battle of Kosovo; Serbs crushed followed by first Ottoman raids into Hungary. |
| **1391–1403** | Thessalonica occupied by the Turks. |
| **1392–94** | Thessaly conquered by the Turks. |
| **1394** | **Early:** Turks capture Neopatras, Livadia and Salona.<br>**25 September:** Nerio Acciaiuoli dies at Corinth. He leaves Corinth to his daughter Francesca, Athens to the dean and chapter of the cathedral under Venetian protection, and Thebes and Livadia to his bastard Antonio. |
| **1394–1403** | Venetian garrison installed on the Acropolis at Athens. |
| **1396** | Turks conquer Albania.<br>**25 September:** Burgundian and Hungarian crusaders slaughtered by the Turks at Nicopolis. |
| **1397** | **3 June:** Argos razed by the Turks. |
| **1399–1402** | Manuel Palaiologos travels through western Europe seeking military support against the Turks. |
| **1402** | Antonio I Acciaiuoli captures the lower town of Athens.<br>**28 July:** Tamerlane defeats the Turks at Ankara and captures Bayezid I. Halt placed thereby on Ottoman expansion.<br>**December:** Tamerlane expels the Hospitallers from Smyrna. |
| **1403** | **January/February:** Acciaiuoli expels the Venetian garrison from the Acropolis at Athens.<br>Venetians regain Thessalonica from the Ottomans. |
| **1404** | **30 April:** Centurione II Zaccaria purchases investiture as prince of Achaea from Ladislas of Naples.<br>Hospitallers try unsuccessfully to raise revolt against the Turks in the Salona region.<br>Duke of Naxos in the West seeking support against the Turks. |
| **1414** | **20 June:** Turks capture Boudonitsa. |
| **1415** | Greeks of Mistra rebuild the 5th-century Hexamilion Wall across the Isthmus of Corinth as protection against Turkish expansion. |
| **1415–16** | Turks occupy several Aegean islands. |
| **1417–18** | Greeks of Mistra capture Elis, reducing Frankish possessions to Glarenza and Patras. |
| **1423–30** | War between Venetians and Ottomans over Thessalonica.<br>Venetian garrison installed in Thessalonica. |

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| **1430** | **29 March:** Thessalonica captured by the Turks. |
| | Glarenza and Patras captured by the Greeks of Mistra. Centurione Zaccaria dispossessed. |
| | Caterina Asanina Zaccaria, his daughter, marries Thomas Palaiologos, Byzantine despot of the Morea, bringing any remaining lands as her dowry. |
| **1432** | Death of Centurione II Zaccaria, the last Latin prince of Achaea. |
| **1434** | Death of Antonio I Acciaiuoli. |
| **1438–39** | General Council of Ferrara-Florence. |
| **1438** | **March:** John VIII Palaeologos and Greek delegation arrive in Ferrara. John left Constantinople in November 1437. |
| **1439** | **6 July:** union of the Greek and Latin Churches declared. Agreed by John VIII but repudiated in Constantinople. |
| **1440** | Pope Eugenius IV declares a crusade against the Turks. |
| **1443** | Hexamilion Wall rebuilt again. |
| **1444** | **10 November:** Hungarian and Slav crusaders annihilated at Varna. |
| **1446** | Turks ravage the Peloponnese and occupy the Hexamilion Wall. |
| **1453** | **29 May:** Sultan Mehmed II (1451–81) captures Constantinople after a siege of two months. He gained the epithet "Fatih" (Conqeror) therby, following previous unsuccessful sieges by his predecessors in 1390, 1395, 1400 and 1422. |
| **1456** | **4 June:** Athens occupied by the Turks, ending Latin rule in central Greece. |
| **1460** | Conquest of the Morea by the Turks. Venice retains control of Modon, Coron, Nauplia, Argos and Euboea. |
| **1462** | Turks capture north Aegean islands including Mytilene. |
| **1463–79** | First Veneto-Ottoman War. |
| **1464** | Campaign of Sigismondo Malatesta from Messenia to Mistra. |
| **1470** | **12 July:** Turks capture Negroponte (Chalkis). |
| **1479** | **24 January:** treaty of Constantinople; Venice cedes Argos, Euboea, and Lemnos to the Turks. |
| | The Turks also wrest the County of Cephalonia from the Tocco dynasty. |
| **1480** | **23 May–17 August:** The Hospitallers withstand Turkish siege in Rhodes. |
| | **July 1480–May 1481:** Turks besiege and sack Otranto. |
| **1482** | Venice recovers Zakynthos from the Turks. |
| **1499–1503** | Second Veneto-Ottoman War. |
| **1500** | Venice loses Coron, Modon, and Old Navarino to the Turks but annexes Cephalonia and Ithaca. |
| **1502** | Venice briefly recovers the island of Lefkada from the Turks but loses it again the next year. |

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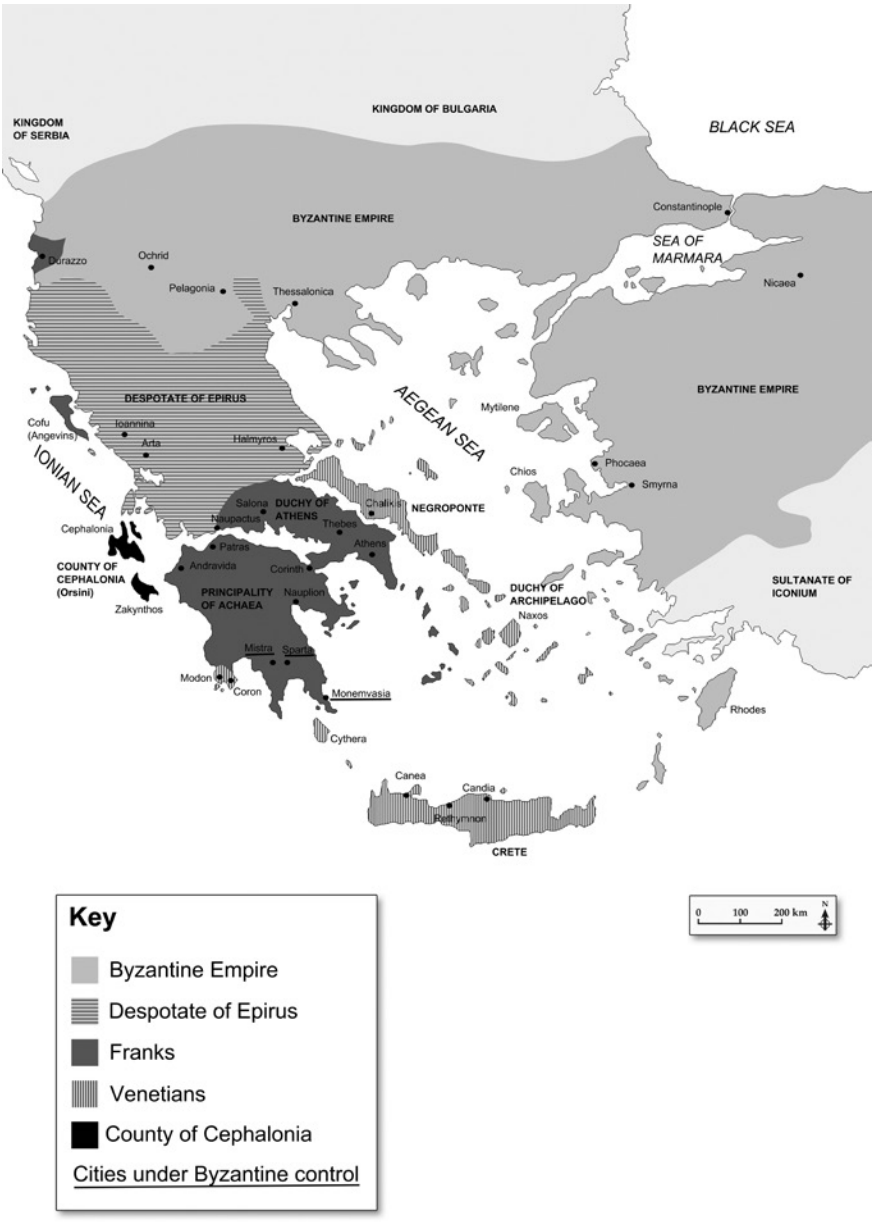
| **1517** | Ottomans annex Mamluk lands into their empire. |
| **1522** | **18 December:** Ottomans conquer Rhodes from the Hospitallers. |
| **1532** | **Summer:** Genoese admiral Andrea Doria captures Naupactus and Corone but the Turks reclaim them the following year. |
| **1537–40** | Third Veneto-Ottoman War. |
| **1540** | Turks conquer Monemvasia and Nauplion. |
| **1566** | Turks wrest Chios from the Genoese. |
| **1570–71** | Turks capture Cyprus. |
| **1571** | **7 October:** Christian fleet defeats the Turks at the Sea Battle of Lepanto (Naupactus). |
| **1645–49** | War of Candia for the control of Crete, waged between the Turks and Venice. |
| **1694–1715** | Venice recovers territories in the Peloponnese. |
| **1718** | **21 July:** treaty of Passarowitz; the Ottomans gain Peloponnese and the Aegean islands while Venice retains Cythera, Lefkada and Cerigotto. |
| **1797** | **May:** Venice's submission to Napoleon brings the Venetian *Stato da Mar* to an end. |

# Maps




MAP 1 *The Latin States of Greece* c. *1262*

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MAP 2 *The Latin States of Greece* c. *1355*

MAP 3 *The Latin States of Greece* c. *1460*

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Note for the reader:
i) The words Greece, Greek(s) and Latin(s) are not indexed separately.
ii) All persons are listed by their first or Christian names but certain important dynasties are also entered by their family name.


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